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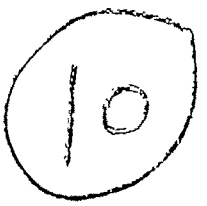
BULLETIN OF
The New York Public Library

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

VOLUME 61
JANUARY TO DECEMBER
1957



NEW YORK
THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
1957

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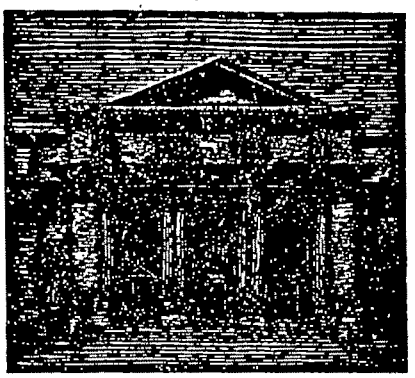

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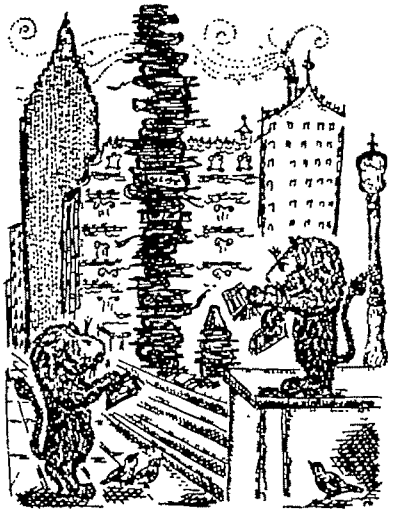
January, 1957. Volume 61. Number 1. form p5 [1-10-57 1925]

CENTRAL LIBRARY UNIVERSITY

Front Matter

Yet Ever New

An artist transforming a statistic into a picture (after a writer has shaped it into an image) carries it one bridge further into the realm of fantasy and Essential Truth. Our statistic, daily circulation by the Library of 30,000 volumes, is shaped in President Hadley's report beginning on page 9 into the image of a pile of books taller than the Empire State Building. (This constitutes the first of a series of *Bulletin* selections from the Ten Year Report now being compiled.) What resulted when this image and a photograph of the neighborhood entered the mind and inkwell of a master of fantasy is the drawing on the present page.



The artist is Palmer Brown, author and illustrator of *Beyond the Pawpaw Tree, The Silver Nutmeg* (both influenced by his own scholarly interest in and visionary affinity with William Blake) and an unnamed volume now in progress. Here his visionary portrait of the library lions suddenly makes clear to us what their function is!

Another artist, resuming the almost lost art of fine wood engraving, has cut for our front cover a new vision of the front face of the Library and has redesigned the cover with respectful preservation of its traditional character. Thus the *Bulletin* enters Volume 61 "old yet ever new," to take a phrase from the motto carved over one of the niches beside our doorway. This artist, a Library staff member from 1927 to 1937 and again in 1949 and 1950, is William G. Haynes, Jr., now of Darien, Georgia, another emulator of Blake both in his full dedication to art and in his taking all the crafts of book production into his own hands. His Ashantilly Press (its first completed book, *Anchored Yesterdays,* appeared this fall) is creating illuminated printed works of — the simplest word is — beauty.

Beauty it is, of course, that is old yet ever new. But architectural visions of it differ so drastically that the old at times seems only old — and the new only new. We are pleased that Mr. Haynes's engraving ignores neighboring buildings and even much of the façade and compells a fresh steady look at the Front Entrance in all its grand and ornamental unmodernity. A beautiful building this is, and we who were born the year it opened refuse to believe ourselves or it to be so out of date as some critics aver. We often go out of our direct path to roam the marble corridors or to stride up or down the stony steps, not for the sermons in them but for the exhilaration. (There are side entrances for weary days, and some year there may be swift modern elevators.) Even while working in a tiny (casemented) room meant for a closet, we enjoy the view of stone wreaths adorning even inner-court windows and feel the luxuriance of such wreaths above our own windows though unseen. We like hav-

ing a radiator topped by a thick beveled strip of marble. Is superabundance superfluity?

Our predecessor in this editorial cubbyhole left us a clipping on the subject. It is from the *Times* Magazine Section of last March, an article by Henry Hope Reed with two headlines: "For the 'Superfluous' in Buildings" and: "Banishing decoration from architecture, says a critic, has made our city 'a poorer place.'"

It would be difficult to conceive of a mere doorway more dedicated to Superfluity than ours, taking it from pavement to frieze and from niche to niche, including the south niche with its marble goddess and her banner of "Beauty old yet ever new. . . ." The entire building is, for Henry Reed, "a perfect example" of what he writes about, ornamental architecture deemed superfluous today but once asked for by New Yorkers humanly in need of "something to delight and distract." Reed lists nine categories of the beautifully superfluous, and our Central Building scores heavily in six: decorative use of architectural features including "columns, flights of steps and pediments"; carved ornament of all kinds (inside and out); figure sculpture, in groups in pediments and free-standing (how well Haynes captures those in our entablature); isolated monuments (consider the lions and William Cullen Bryant); metal work adorning even the bases of flagpoles ("the pair on the terrace in front of The New York Public Library," says Reed, "have no rivals in the world unless they are those in St. Mark's Square in Venice"); mural painting (this we have, and a vast painted ceiling we *did* have before the roof leaked).

"Satan took away Ornament First," said Blake; and left us chained down to "Necessaries." Today we lack necessary space for books, offices. But would a "functional" library built in 1911 have served us even so well? There would have been no casemented closets to resort to.

Libraries designed today go directly to the point, lead readers swiftly to the books on open shelves. Our own branches, the newest of which is to incorporate our most modern functional thinking in a "split-level" design, give first place to Necessaries and then endeavor to steal back from Satan some Ornament if only in the design and texture of the Necessaries. Tile walls instead of plaster edge us back toward marble. Entrance stairs are retracted inside the doors and then divided, a half-flight to be used by children, a half-flight by adults but both halves to be open and *seen* as ornament. Architect's *plans* for the Grand Concourse building (for which ground will be broken this spring) call boldly for exterior sculpture. We sense that the era of utter "absence of ornament" is in retreat.

As editor for a whole library system we must be eclectic even in our discrimination; see the virtues in old and new. In coming months we intend to report visits to several branches and centers. We sincerely share not only the love of Central Building, but the enthusiasm for split-levels; the shock of the scholar-visitor who writes us that Mr. Mumford's "most shocking statement" about Donnell "related to the drapes: he said the printers' marks were watermarks!"; the anxiety of visitors and staff about the crisis of Space. But we have our own space problem and must not maunder.

Various and Valuable

"Every American scholar should subscribe to the *Bulletin* of The New York Public Library. The dollar so expended will bring twelve issues of various and valuable information. . . ." We quote Professor James M. Osborn of Yale,

lecturing on "The Search for English Literary Documents," *English Institute Annual 1939* (New York, Columbia University Press 1940) p. 47 n. 6. Yes, in 1939 the *Bulletin* could be acquired for one dollar — now the price is three. Every American scholar (alas!) should understand how *that is.*

OUR January variety includes the unearthed surprise of an early satire by Stephen Crane, written with a trowel, of British imperial descent upon — not a canal but — the Fiji Isles. This concludes the present series of new Crane sketches and stories edited by Robert Stallman. He hints of later surprises to come, however.

With the essay by the very popular yet very scholarly Marchette Chute, "The Fun of Writing a [Scholarly] Book," an essay originally written as a talk to young adults in our Donnell Library Center, the *Bulletin* opens its pages to a genre our readers may have more of, if they like. We have in hand and hope to publish soon another of these author's confessions, an essay by William Pène du Bois, sometime illustrator of the delectable *Young Visitors* by Daisy Ashford and recently the creator of *LION,* in which essay he reveals the workings of the "hot hot bath" theory of literary composition. It is the paper Mr. du Bois read in November in the Central Children's Room when the Anne Carroll Moore festschrift volume, *Reading without Boundaries,* was presented on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Miss Moore's inauguration of the Library's service to children.

Analysis of Freudianism

We appreciate golden anniversaries and centenaries and bicentenaries; they make kinks in our memory and help us feel some order in the fortuitous course of human activities. Yet not invariably. The departing year was a Freud centenary, but we were only confused and bewildered by the shoal of books by, on, about, and against Freud and his followers. Unable to make way even among the reviews of these books, we asked a wiser man, Dr. Zygmunt Piotrowski, Research Psychologist for the State of New Jersey, to supply us an intelligible guide to intelligent reading. The good doctor was so impressed by our muddle that he decided to take the whole century by the horns of its dilemmas and write out a systematic analysis of the rise and development of (Freudian) psychoanalysis. We are comforted by his lucidity and by his simple reading suggestions.

George Washington

Our February *Bulletin* will be a specialized, though not an oversize, number devoted almost entirely to Washingtoniana: Carr's "Dead March," a double Coleridgean eulogy of Washington, correspondence involving the provenance of one of the Library's Stuart portraits, and other notes.

New Publications

Bernard Shaw 1856–1950 An Exhibition from the Berg Collection: Manuscripts, autograph letters, first editions, by John D. Gordan, a paperbound 51-page Catalogue of the exhibition now filling Room 318. Just out, priced at $1. Indexed.

In his famous note-writing style, which makes an annotated catalogue as good reading as a gourmand's cookbook, Dr. Gordan has concocted a Shavian biography, a Shavian bibliographer's feast, and an Everybody's What's What in this running commentary on our Shavian hold-

ings from a typescript of a childhood friend's reminiscences (corrected in Shaw's hand) to the Watergate Theatre Programme for his *Farfetched Fables*. (This Shaw Catalogue is a pre-printing from the *Bulletin*, in which it will run serially, but without the index, beginning in our March issue.)

Mrs. Gamp by Charles Dickens, announced in our October columns, is now out, priced at $6; and at present writing the pre-Christmas sale is breaking records. The pièce de résistance is a collotype facsimile of the copy of Dickens' character sketch of *Mrs. Gamp* which he used in public readings. A carefully prepared critical apparatus enables us to savor the textual variants of six "fixed" and "an indeterminate number of unfixed" stages of the text. An Introduction by the editor, Dr. Gordan, directs attention to main matters of interest. Preceding that a foreword by Monica Dickens recounts the family traditions that grew up around the readings. There is much to relish in this volume. As Sairey Gamp herself might have advised, "try the collotypes, Lord bless you!"

New Accessions

BONIFACE GIFT. Mrs. John D. Boniface of East Orange, New Jersey, has recently presented three boxes of manuscripts, promptbooks, and other material relating to members of her husband's family including George C. Boniface (1832–1912), George C. Boniface, Jr. (1861–1917), and Stella Boniface Weaver (1856–1936). Included are some of the promptbooks of George C. Boniface, Sr.; many mid-nineteenth century manuscripts by Joseph Stevens Jones (author of *Solon Shingle* and other rural and domestic plays) which relate to the Tremont Theatre in Boston and to the Boston Museum; Jones's account books for Bangor and Boston theatres (1837–1855); thirty-five promptbooks used by his actor-son, Nathaniel Dexter Jones (1838–1912); and the latter's notebook. The collection also contains the younger Jones's 1857 diary of a sailing trip from Boston to India; photographs of Jones and various members of the Boniface family; and assorted personal and business correspondence to Jones and others. The second generation Bonifaces were nieces and nephews of Jones.

WHITE GIFT. Miss Rope White of the White Studio, Incorporated, 26 West 58th Street, has presented the studio's collection of 300,000 photographic negatives and 31 indexed key volumes of positives. The almost ninety cartons of negatives will be of great value to students of the American dramatic and musical theatre. They cover the first thirty years of this century, a period during which the White Studios were the most important theatrical photographers. The "key" scrapbooks, with numbers for each play, serve as an index to this potentially very useful collection.

SOUDEIKINE WATERCOLORS. A gift of 22 original watercolor sketches by Sergei Soudeikine for the Samuel Goldwyn production of *We Live Again* has been received from the Museum of Modern Art as part of the Lincoln Kirsten Collection of the Dance.

TAIWAN SERIES. The Citizen's Library of Fundamental Knowledge, Third Series, in 100 pamphlet volumes, has been received by exchange from the National Central Library, Taipei, Taiwan, China. Besides essays and outline histories of various aspects of Oriental history and culture, the series includes translations into Chinese of books by Bertrand Russell, Kant, Fichte,

Vernadsky, Beloff, Keynes, and Moulton, of three volumes on atomic energy, and of Allardyce Nicoll's *World Drama.*

The Good Things in Life

Our annual fund-raising campaign has begun auspiciously, it is reported. Some users of the Library had suggested the installing of five- or ten-cent turnstiles at entrances or the charging of special fees for research involved in the answering of difficult questions. Such encroachments on free use the Library categorically rejected. But voluntary "coin boxes," widely recommended by users, have now been set up in the Fifth Avenue and third floor lobbies, and the chink and crackle of coins and bills daily encourage the Library to keep on buying books and paying salaries.

Lithography for Portraits

From Frank Weitenkampf, curator emeritus of the Library's print collection, we have received a pithy communication reminding us of the wealth of lithographs in the collection. It is Mr. Weitenkampf's earnest wish that more of today's artists would study the rich variety of portrait prints in the Library and be inspired to discover in their own practice the rich and varied possibilities of the medium. "Lithography is a supple, flexible, responsive medium," observes Mr. Weitenkampf. "Its gamut of tones ranges from the most delicate silvery gray to a luscious black that can become resounding." It is an autographic process that reproduces the artist's original drawing. "Between artist and beholder there is no intervention of an engraver, nor even of the artist's own manipulation of printing surface, as in the cookery of etching." The variety of effects possible is tremendous.

The historical development of lithography has been irregular but full of surprises. "After somewhat halting beginnings, the colorless gray of which did not disclose much understanding of this new artist's tool, there soon came realization of its peculiar qualties, of the responsiveness of the grease-crayon to the artist's touch and aim. Increasing mastery of this new aid was displayed in a variety of ways, in various countries, by artists of widely differing manner and style. So artistic lithography developed, even when the commercial application of the process — in portraiture, too — was overwhelmingly in evidence. Even draughtsmen such as Deveria and Hanfstängl, while they turned out, with capable hands, much work of the best conventional quality, could rise above their usual practice, as De-

Käthe Kollwitz, Self Portrait *Print Room*

veria did in his notably free drawing of the beardless Victor Hugo (1829)."

Mr. Weitenkampf cites these examples of portraiture successfully created on the lithographic stone, plate, or transfer paper: "There's the group 'Morning with Liszt' by Kriehuber, which has both grace and character; the satirical characterizations of Daumier; the hatted head of Tennyson by Alphonse Legros, with the shimmering delicacy of a silver-point drawing; the quite sketchy Champfleury by the same artist, so absolutely different in its handling of the crayon; Fantin-Latour's portrait of himself, mirroring spirit rather than detail of features indicating character; Whistler's impression of a lounging Joseph Pennell, with no strong accents; the work of C. H. Shannon, W. Rothenstein, and Toulouse-Lautrec; the portrait of Käthe Kollwitz by herself, done with the same sympathetic understanding with which she pictured the poor; the prim precision of Jan Veth; the vapory indefiniteness of Carrière's head of Goncourt; the vigor of male heads by Albert Sterner."

The power and variety of modern lithography at its finest are to be seen in the current exhibit of the prints of Hans Erni, in our third-floor Print Gallery.

Home from Sea

C. E. Dornbusch, compiler in 1948 of "Stars and Stripes: Check List of the Several Editions" (*Bulletin* July 1948, July 1949), has been dwelling for eight years in the illusion of the list's definitiveness. But another, a thirty-fourth, edition of the soldiers' newspaper, heretofore unknown, has just drifted into the Library's collection: *The Stars and Stripes at Sea*, 2 vols. in 12 nos. June 26 through July 7, 1943, published on Landing Ship Tank 325 at anchor off Tunisia, awaiting the invasion of Sicily, and then one of the Sicily landing fleet.

Printing of the daily four pages on gelatin pad was an uncomfortable process. "It's a hand job of massaging each page to get an impression and it takes about two hours to make 30 copies and it's pretty hot in the hole." Yet the two sergeants rubbing the gelatin added color to several issues, a touch of red on the draped flags in the masthead. The editor received the reward all editors hope for — the satisfaction of "seeing a bunch of guys . . . reading every word, of hearing the boys ask for it when it's a little late, of having somebody come out with 'Yeah, it's a pretty good little paper.'"

Use and Additions October, November, December, 1956

	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
Visitors in Central Building	259,388	250,311	253,003
Readers in Reference Department	79,241	81,628	90,843
Volumes Consulted	220,106	222,950	244,107
Volumes for Home Use (Circulation Department)	1,169,588	1,065,900	1,012,665

Received through purchase and gift

	Circ. Dept. Gifts			Ref. Dept. Gifts			Purchase and Gift		
	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Volumes	799	578	648	1,942	2,176	1,929	50,230	37,344	40,802
Pamphlets	169	348	16	5,518	2,922	4,325	6,471	4,100	5,650
Prints	---	---	---	27	1	5	27	1	5
Misc.	82	117	169	259	91	180	343	210	362
					(Maps)				

BULLETIN OF THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

JANUARY 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 1

Ten Year Report of The New York Public Library 1946-1956

I. REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY in 1956 completed its 107th year of service to the public. The decade just closed, which carried us through the century mark, established new records and saw plans laid to meet the ever-growing demands of the future.

The public served by the Library covers all the range from scholars the world over who come to consult unique items in the Library, through thousands of persons from greater New York who come to the Reference Department to use its working collections, and on to hundreds of thousands of readers who use the eighty libraries of the Circulation Department. These last are located in three of the five boroughs of New York, in Manhattan, The Bronx and Staten Island, but also serve many other readers who live in Brooklyn or Queens but work in Manhattan.

Taking the Library as a whole, it is the most used library system in the world. The eighty libraries of the Circulation Department have nearly three quarters of a million registered borrowers, a book collection of over 2,500,000 volumes, and a circulation of approximately 12,000,000 volumes a year. Figures as large as these are hard to visualize. One vivid illustration is that if the books taken home by readers each day were stacked in a pile, flat on their sides, the pile would be much higher than the Empire State Building, television mast and all.

The Reference Department, which is housed in the great building at Fifth Avenue & 42nd Street, has over 3,700,000 volumes, and is used daily by thousands of persons in search of information. During the year these readers filed over 2,500,000 calls for books, over and above the books they consulted on

the open shelves, which open shelves alone hold a working collection of some 50,000 volumes.

An organization so huge could easily find its mere size a hindrance to the public, rather than a help. The technical problems of running a great library are many, but solving them is only half the battle, and it remains to make sure that the users of the library are welcomed and aided in every way possible. It is one of the outstanding achievements of the staff of 2,300 members that each one seems able to take a personal interest in the problems of each individual user, so that there is a spirit of welcome and of helpfulness that guides the beginner and aids even the veteran user. The professional attainments of the various members are as diverse as the collections, but what users comment on most of all is their devoted service to the public, whether they are telling stories to children in the Circulation Department, or answering inquiries in the Reference Department, or working behind the scenes (but always with the interests of the readers in mind) translating unusual languages as they catalogue foreign material.

This tradition of service has been built up over the years. During the decade presently under review three Directors of the Library have been the leaders in this as in the other aspects of the Library work. The start of the decade saw the closing months of service of Franklin Hopper, who had entered the Library in 1914, and after heading the Circulation Department from 1919 to 1941 had succeeded Harry M. Lydenberg as the Director in 1941. On his retirement he was followed by Ralph A. Beals, who came from the post of director of libraries at the University of Chicago, and became our Director in October 1946 at the age of 47. His brilliant leadership was cut short in mid-career by his death in October 1954. He in turn was followed by the present Director, Edward G. Freehafer, nearly all of whose career of library service, since his graduation from Brown in 1930, had been with this Library, and who was Chief of the Reference Department before becoming Director.

On the financial side, prior to the decade under review there had been a happy quarter-century when the income of the Library was adequate for its work, and when directors and officers could concentrate on purely library matters, without having to strive for funds as well. The rising costs of the Second World War and of the following years put an end to this, and it has been a struggle to make ends meet. On the one hand all expenses have been scrutinized and newer and more economical ways of running a library have

been explored; on the other hand funds have been actively sought for much needed expansion, or even to maintain existing services.

In the Circulation Department our partnership with the City of New York has been of inestimable value. Under the contract entered into between the City and the Library when Andrew Carnegie gave the branch library buildings in 1901, the City undertook to provide the ever-growing funds necessary for the operation of the Circulation Department of the Library. At the same time the City undertook corresponding obligations to the independent systems which serve Brooklyn and Queens. As the population of the City has spread into new areas the City has supplied from the capital budget the necessary new branches. The City also provides the operating budget, with substantial assistance in the form of State Aid. While libraries, like other recipients of City funds, could use to advantage even more money than is allocated to them, the City over the years has shown itself a faithful partner. In the last year, 1945, before the decade under review the Circulation Department had fifty branches, 1,500,000 volumes and an operating budget of $1,984,000. In the year ending June 30, 1956, there were eighty branches, 2,500,000 volumes, and the budget was $5,986,000, of which $831,000 came from the State of New York, $524,000 from other non-City funds, and the balance of $4,631,000 from the City of New York.

In the Reference Department the story has been very different. That Department, while it is housed in a building erected by the City, is supported almost entirely by private funds, an arrangement that has many advantages, but the great disadvantage that when costs go up existing funds become inadequate. In 1945, when the pinch was already beginning to be felt, the operating budget was $1,737,000 to service the collection of 3,000,000 volumes, add new volumes, and to make the whole available to the public. These expenses exceeded income by the relatively modest sum of $18,000. In the year ending June 30, 1956, the volumes had grown to over 3,700,000, and the operating budget to $3,665,000. In the meantime, while income had almost doubled, from $1,719,000 to $3,402,000, there was still a deficit for the year just ended of $263,000.

The increase in expenses needs little explanation; probably every reader of this report is familiar by personal experience with the rise in costs during the period. In the case of library costs, salaries had been too low at the start of the period, and increases were overdue even aside from rising costs. Wherever money could be saved it has been saved, and by vigilant attention to details, and by the introduction of new methods, every means has been em-

ployed to hold down costs as much as possible, or the increase would have been still more marked.

The funds to meet the increased costs of the Reference Department have been sought in a variety of directions. Endowment has grown by gifts from generous friends of the Library, sometimes in the form of gifts made during their lifetime and sometimes by bequest. Careful investment, and a rising security market, have further increased the funds. The market value of the total endowment of the Library (mostly for the use of the Reference Department) stood in 1946 at $46,000,000 and in 1956 at $74,000,000. For a time substantial aid was received from the State of New York, as a result of legislation in whose adoption the Library played an important part. In the peak year (1954) this item amounted to $350,000, but the allocation of funds received from the State is in the hands of the City, and under the formula adopted by the City the first call on the funds goes to the Circulation Department of this Library and to Brooklyn and Queens. Only what is left goes to the Reference Department, and by the year 1956 only $210,000 was available; next year it will be only $60,000.

The gap between expenses and income would have been worse had it not been for the work of a devoted group of citizens, some of them users of the Library, and others interested because of their recognition of the importance of the Library in the life of this City. Annual appeals have been made and actively pressed. The work was started during the decade, and by 1956 gifts for the year had been brought up to $430,000, of which $372,000 was unrestricted as to use, and $58,000 was given for special purposes.

For the future it is not enough merely to hold our own. The Library is bursting at the seams. We either must secure large sums for overdue expansion in building space, or we must find means to take advantage of modern inventions, such as microcards, which will let us house more material in our present building. Even this latter will require more funds, though not as much more as the conventional solution of a larger building. Studies are actively in progress to make sure that in the coming decade, and in the decades to follow, the Library can continue to give the service needed by our City.

MORRIS HADLEY

The Fun of Writing a Book*

By MARCHETTE CHUTE

ON my father's side of the family I come of a long line of Puritans. It is one of the special marks of a Puritan that he always feels a little guilty whenever he is enjoying himself, and I have enough of the Puritan in me to feel the same. As a result, I feel a slight sense of sin while I am working on a book, because I enjoy myself so much.

I have been thinking over the reasons why I enjoy writing biographies, and I think the chief reason is that I find them very difficult. When I start one of my biographies I have no idea whether I can do it or not, and it takes me a long time to find out that I can. The result is that I am always full of excitement and curiosity and have no chance at all to become bored.

It is very natural to become bored if the thing you are doing is too easy. For instance, a tennis game can be very dull if you know from the beginning that you can beat your opponent. The enjoyable tennis match is the one that calls for everything you possess all the way through — your skill, your strength, your endurance and your ingenuity. Not only is winning the game much more of a satisfaction, but during such a game there is never any opportunity to become bored.

The same thing is true of writing books. It often takes me three or four years to write a biography and that is far too long a time to spend on something mechanical and easy. It is much more interesting to be constantly on the stretch, never quite sure that I can achieve what I have set out to do, but always hopeful. I may become worried sometimes, in the same way a tennis player will worry if he seems to be losing the game; but worry is a much better companion than boredom.

One special reason why I find biographies difficult to write is that I choose people who lived a long time ago and it is not easy to bring them to life again. It is the little things that make a past century seem real — the small, casual, human things that people do when they are not being watched — and there is very little record of these for a long-ago age like Shakespeare's. There were no newspapers or magazines in those days to reflect the ordinary day-to-day life of the people. There was no photography, with its great gift of the quick, informal image, and the few people who could afford portraits posed for

* This paper, the first annual Mabel Williams Lecture, was read at the Donnell Library Center of The New York Public Library on May 10, 1956, before an audience of highschool students chosen for their special interest in writing and criticism. The Lectures honor Miss Williams for her appreciation of young people as readers and for her development of Young People's Services in the Library.

them stiffly in their best clothes. There were only a few letters, and most of these were not jotted down spontaneously but composed with care after several drafts. Even the occasional memoirs or biographies that were written in those days made no effort to show the private, informal lives of their subjects. They usually had a moral purpose and are as stately as the portraits.

Even when a writer of Shakespeare's day was particularly anxious to tell the full and exact truth he was misled by his desire to look well in the eyes of posterity. For instance, an Englishman of the period named John Stow wrote a huge and detailed book about the city of London. Stow was intensely proud of the city and wanted everyone to know how wonderful it was. So he described London inch by inch, the streets, the buildings, the water supply, the parades, and everything else that he felt could possibly be of interest. Then he came to the theatres of London, those wonderful Elizabethan theatres whose existence gave birth to all Shakespeare's plays and which seem to us the chief glory of the whole city. But John Stow was ashamed of the theatres. He was a respectable man of business and the playhouses of London semed to him as tawdry and unimportant as the early Hollywood movies did to the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. So he dismisses the most important thing in London in a single sentence and then goes on with what seem to him much weightier matters.

This point of view was shared by so many of John Stow's contemporaries that it is very difficult to get enough information to piece together a clear picture of the London theatre. And for the same reason it is equally difficult to get a clear picture of Shakespeare himself. It seemed inconceivable to the people of Queen Elizabeth's day that any writer of plays could be important enough to merit the attention of posterity — a point of view that was shared by the playwrights themselves. They wrote plays merely to make a living, and apologized steadily for demeaning themselves in so lowly an occupation.

When Shakespeare was a young man he had a brief moment of wanting to pursue literary immortality. He wrote two narrative poems and they were much admired in his own day. Then he decided that he wished to write nothing but plays and the critics stopped noticing him. He was a successful commercial playright in their eyes, but not much more, and no one thought it worth while to write down anything about him for the benefit of future biographers.

Nor did Shakespeare himself show any interest in what future generations might think of him. Unlike his friend Ben Jonson, who was fiercely determined that posterity should remember him, Shakespeare made no effort to get any of his plays into print. It was the other members of his acting com-

pany who saved them, protected them, and finally published them in a single volume. Shakespeare apparently worked for the joy of working, not to be admired, and he did not consider himself important enough to worry about what his future reputation might be. He lived quietly, worked hard, and said little, and he is therefore a hard man for a biographer to trace. He did not even get sent to prison, which makes him rather an exception in a period when so many writers were arrested for debt or fighting in the streets or making incautious remarks about the government. No one can be glad over their misfortune but it unquestionably makes life easier for their biographers, since a great deal of valuable information comes from the court records.

Since relatively little is known about Shakespeare's life, and since he now ranks as England's greatest writer and the most important man of the Elizabethan age, the natural result has been the growth of legends to fill in the gaps. But most of the familiar stories about Shakespeare's life cannot be proved, and so a biographer cannot use them. Yet the gaps must be filled somehow, if a reliable and readable biography is to be written, and the solution of a problem like that is enough to keep a biographer occupied for some time, working at top speed and happily immune from the boredom that comes through too easy a job.

It was clear from the first that I could assume nothing about Shakespeare. I did not know what was true and what was untrue, what was important and what did not matter at all; and so the only thing to do was to read everything I could find that related to him and the world in which he moved. I read a great many modern books, of course, but chiefly I concentrated on what had been written down in his own lifetime. I read Elizabethan parish records, government reports, sermons, diaries, school books, medical treatises, court documents, and anything else I could find that would throw a light, however faint, on the man and his times.

I tried not to let anything pass me by, for I found that the information I wanted could turn up in the most unexpected places. For instance, I was unable for a long time to find out how the atrocity scenes in Shakespeare's plays were handled. It was clear from the records that the audiences liked a great deal of blood and the theatre producers were prepared to give it to them. The scenes in Shakespeare's plays in which eyes were gouged out and heads hacked off were presented with a high degree of realism, and it was hard to see how it could be achieved in broad daylight on a stage that jutted out into the audience. Then, one day, I read a book on witchcraft by a man named Reginald Scot. Scot was an unusual man for the period, since he did not be-

lieve in witches and wrote his book to explain why. In one section he wanted to show how easy it was to create an illusion and make the unreal appear real, and he settled down to a full, detailed description of how bloodshed could be faked by a clever performer. He described how dough could be kneaded with bullock's blood to look like dead flesh that, when pricked, would bleed. He described how an actor could fake a stabbing with a hidden vial of sheep's blood (in this case bullock's blood was too thick to use), how to arch himself as the knife struck home, with even a diagram of the kind of knife to use in certain cases. And so, in a book on witches, I found the information I needed for a paragraph on stagecraft.

This kind of wide-ranging reading takes a long time and a certain amount of patience. But, above all, it takes books — thousands of books. No one person could afford to buy all the books I needed for my biography of Shakespeare or would be able to find them for sale even if he had the money. But I had something better than that. I had The New York Public Library.

Anyone who spends all his time in the twentieth century finds it hard to realize just how wonderful The New York Public Library is. It does not seem remarkable to him that over three million books should be available to anyone that wants them, with no credentials demanded and everything as free as sunlight. But a scholar of Chaucer's day would have known the magnitude of such a gift, in a time when each single book was hoarded almost as carefully as gold and many of them could be owned only by sitting down and copying them out. Shakespeare's friend Ben Jonson would have known, buying books excitedly whenever he had enough money, selling them when he was poor, and then buying again as soon as he could. Jonson never had all the books he wanted, and a last letter of his, written in his old age, is a request to a friend that he might borrow a book, with a promise to return it that same night. Men like these knew what it was to struggle for books, and they knew how to value them.

I never go into The New York Public Library without a sense of excitement. There is an inscription in the main hall which proclaims it "a free library for the use of the people" and it fulfills that statement magnificently. For it ranks with the greatest research libraries in the world and yet anyone is free to enter and use it, without question and without restriction. I could never have written any of my biographies if The New York Public Library had not been there to burrow in, and I hope I shall never forget to be grateful.

I am not fond of research for its own sake, and the collection of facts as such has no interest for me. But it is enormously exciting, as the months and years go on, to see the facts begin to move together, almost of their own voli-

tion, and begin to form a coherent picture. When the picture is fully formed, and not until then, the time of research is ended and the time for writing the book begins.

The sense of excitement still remains, however, for the problem is only half solved. I know what I want to say in the book, but that is not the same thing at all as saying it. The problem is to communicate all this mass of material to the reader as easily and effortlessly as you might turn on a water faucet, knowing that a whole reservoir is available behind it but that you are getting only as much as you need. About ninety per cent of the research that has been done is never used; it merely forms the background against which the mind of the writer works. And the remaining ten per cent, in a book intended for the general reader, has to be presented to him so smoothly that he is hardly aware it is being presented at all.

The problem is almost one of carpentry, of fitting the pieces together smoothly with no joints showing and with no overlapping or rough edges. Everything must balance and be in proportion, and no part of the book can be overloaded. For instance, it was clear that a great deal of information about the theatre had to be included to give an adequate idea of the background of Shakespeare's life, but it was equally clear that all this could not be pushed at the reader in a single mass of factual detail. So I divided it up and presented it from three definite points of view. First I showed how it would seem to James Burbage, who built the first theatre, and under this heading I included all the problems that Burbage himself would have faced — the design of the playhouse, its financing, the type of audience he tried to attract, the trouble with the city government over censorship, and so on. Then, later on in the book, I returned to the subject and took it from the point of view of Shakespeare as a young actor, indicating the problems he would have faced in voice control, doubling, acrobatics, and so on. Then, in a still later chapter, I approached the subject from the angle of a theatre producer and described the way a play of Shakespeare's was presented — the licensing, the casting, the rehearsing, the costuming, and the advertising. After I had written this particular section it still lay dead on the page, as a piece of writing will unfortunately sometimes do. So to bring it to life I narrowed the point of view still further and described in detail a single production of *Romeo and Juliet*, from the time Shakespeare started on the script until the afternoon when the play was presented for the first time to a London audience.

All this fitting together and rewriting takes a long time, but it never ceases to be interesting because I can never relax and settle down. There is always some new problem to be solved and a delightful sense of achievement when

I have solved it. Then, one day, there are no more problems, and the book is finished. When that happens I try the manuscript out on my two sisters (who are professional writers) and my mother (who is easily bored and therefore invaluable as a critic). If they like it, I am content. All that remains is to do the index, and since I am not a born indexer I find this difficult also. When that is finished it is not so much a sense of final achievement I feel as a sudden loss of interest. All the difficult part is over, and it was that which kept me happy and occupied. But I am not long bereft. For by this time I have an idea for another book and I begin it the following morning.

All this is in one sense not very much to the point, since it really matters very little how I write my books. But the enjoyment I feel is perhaps worth describing because it applies even more to the other half of the partnership: the reader.

A book that is read reluctantly or from a sense of duty is usually read badly, for it is difficult to do anything well if you are unhappy doing it. Books are written for pleasure, for knowledge, for stimulus, never as a burden or as an unwilling duty, and the greatest kindness any reader can give to a writer is to enjoy himself. If he is happy he will be lively and alert and understand what he is reading, and it is such readers that every writer in the world hopes to find.

After the Freud Centenary:

The Development of Freud's Ideas

An Outline and a Guide to Reading

By ZYGMUNT PIOTROWSKI

IT is far more difficult to create a sound and comprehensive science of psychology than, say, of physics. The main difficulty delaying progress in psychology lies in the impossibility of isolating variables and of combining them at will. The physicist or chemist can study individual metals or chemicals, observing and measuring their attributes with relative ease and reliability, and combine them so as to investigate the attributes of these new entities, which frequently have characteristics that not only could not be deduced from the characteristics of their constituent parts but are sometimes the very opposite of them. For example, water extinguishes fire, but its components do not: oxygen intensifies fire while hydrogen is flammable. The psychologist cannot experiment with the elements of his science, and thus his task is more difficult and frustrating. He cannot study any psychological trait in isolation, be it interest, emotion, anxiety, work habits, or intelligence. He can observe directly only the interaction among them. Any isolating he does is mainly a matter of logical analysis.

One of the greatest scientific achievements of Freud's long and fruitful life (1856–1939) was to tackle this basic and forbidding problem of the psychological elements so successfully that the investigation and understanding of human personality have advanced far beyond anything known before him. Freud not only drew up a list of truly significant basic human traits or drives, he also provided new tools for the investigation of personality — the free association technique and the principle of transference and countertransference. Although Freud had a strong tendency to construct theoretical systems, he was also an excellent observer; indeed, so greatly did he respect the facts which he discovered, that he gave such facts priority over his theories whenever they contradicted a previously formulated theoretical principle. As Freud was a better discoverer than theorist, and as he lived long and observed keenly, the science of his creation, psychoanalysis, developed gradually and its basic concepts were revised a number of times. This evolutionary process continues even after Freud's death.

Original Concepts

Psychoanalysis grew out of a study of hypnosis, which was widely practiced and intensely discussed throughout the nineteenth century. In the eighteen eighties, a Viennese physician named Joseph Breuer treated a hysterical patient by means of hypnosis. He noticed that the patient's symptoms abated after she had expressed frankly painful and disturbing thoughts during a hypnotic trance. Working together with Freud, Breuer established the important principle that the physiological and neuromuscular symptoms of hysterics have a definite causal relation to mental acts and attitudes and are not, as was commonly believed, merely a manifestation of disintegration resulting from an alleged constitutional defect. On his return from Paris where he had studied hypnosis and hysteria under the famous J. M. Charcot, Freud resumed his work with Breuer with increased interest. Charcot believed that the hysterical dissociation, the split or fragmentation of consciousness observed in many hysterical states, was due to some shock or trauma, but he did not specify the nature of the trauma even though he noted that many of his discharged married patients returned to the hospital because of an apparent aversion to sex. Freud's resumed investigations with Breuer led to the publication of their monograph *On the Psychical Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena* in 1893.[1] In it they formulated the principle that hysterical symptoms are due to mental traumata, i. e., to experiences which evoke anxiety, pain, or shame; they also accepted the view that a constitutional predisposition facilitates the development of hysteria. Later Freud elaborated upon another significant principle, that of catharsis or relief through giving overt and full expression to the traumatizing experience and thereby becoming conscious of it. Thus the first basic psychoanalytic concepts (though the term psychoanalysis had not yet been coined by Freud) were: repression of unpleasant or painful mental processes (wishes, thoughts, desires) from the conscious to the unconscious; release from repression and symptoms through insight into the meaning (or intent) of the symptoms.

The next natural step for Freud was to investigate the mechanism of repression. To explain it Freud made use of the concept of mental conflict: repression occurs when a desire offends an individual's ethical or aesthetic standards to such a degree as to cause marked discomfort; repression of the conflict removes the discomfort. Much later, Freud discovered that a single act of

[1] *Über den psychischen Mechanismus hysterischer Phänomene: Vorläufige Mitteilung.* Available in English in *Collected Papers*, I, 24, and in *Standard Edition*, II. — See notes 7 and 8 below.

repression does not suffice but that an expenditure of considerable energy is required to keep the conflict in a state of repression. There is no perfect or complete repression. The repressed desire presses for outward manifestation all the time, and a permanent watch must be maintained to keep it repressed to save oneself from the dreaded feeling of anxiety and the feared clash with others in the event the desire should get out of control. This need for a perpetual repression is enervating and reduces the individual's capacity for handling successfully his real life problems. If energy is used up to keep a watch over oneself, that much less energy is left for tackling external reality. The successful and dramatic demonstration that man can frustrate himself and can tire himself out, fighting himself, is one of Freud's greatest contributions to psychotherapy. This idea is similar to Pasteur's novel conception of disease, viz., that disease is due to parasites, to keeping parasitic organisms alive at the expense of the sick person's health or life. Repressed conflicts or complexes can be described as mental parasites living at the expense of the individual's success, growth, and happiness. The introduction of the concept of the repressed conflict between the standards of the ego (the socialized and conscious part of personality) and the instinctual drives became the very foundation of psychoanalysis and paved the way for an explanation of all neurotic symptoms, of psychotic symptoms, and of a large number of mental phenomena in normal people ranging from night dreams to forgetting appointments. The concept of mental conflict, the attempts to define it precisely, to describe the nature and strength of the conflicting desires, to analyze the conditions under which it occurs — all this has been the motivating force behind many discoveries in the practice and many changes in the theory of psychoanalysis.

All neurotic difficulties now became the result of a traumatic conflict between incompatible tendencies, one of which was a self-centered instinctual desire and the other the desire to act in accordance with a social and moral code of conduct. This moral desire must be assumed to be strong because otherwise it would be impossible for it to challenge powerful instinctual tendencies and cause their repression. Hypnotic treatment frequently revealed traumata of such a mild degree that they could not be considered as causes of the neurosis. Besides, the effects of hypnotic treatment did not last and, furthermore, not everyone was hypnotizable. A firm believer on the one hand in determinism, including mental determinism, and on the other hand in the correctness of his concept of mental illness as due to a repressed conflict between incompatible tendencies, Freud held that these failures of treatment were caused by some active agent. He called it resist-

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ance. One of Freud's astonishing discoveries was that neurotics do not easily give up their debilitating habits and often struggle hard against insight and improvement. The resistance against gaining insight into the nature of the traumatic conflict and against getting better had to be overcome if one was to understand a patient and to help him. Freud cast around for a new technique and found it in free association. Free association assumed in Freud's hands the significance of the most fruitful method of investigating the conscious and unconscious drives and of treatment. Freud placed greater emphasis upon its contribution to scientific explorations than he did upon its therapeutic value.

In turn the concept of resistance led to the discovery of the various ways in which anxious individuals reduce their tension by disguising their disturbing desires so that the latter cease troubling their conscience and interfering with their contacts with others. Freud contributed to the science of universal symbols, warned against using these symbols uncritically, and showed how the meaning of the patient's symbolic words and acts can be ascertained with greater accuracy through an analysis of the patient's free, serial, and long associations. He pointed out the frequency of reaction formations which consist in an overdevelopment of a trait opposite to that which causes conflict and tension; e. g., developing a habit of exaggerated consideration for others to cover up and repress the tendency to attack and injure others. Sublimation is another repressive mechanism. Surgeons are said to be able to repress the destructive aspects of their sadism by doing good through their operative procedures. Psychoanalysts gratify their needs for close intimacy and for curiosity about other people's emotional lives and at the same time repress the undesirable aspects of those needs by helping others through psychotherapy. Denial of conflict, substitution of an ethically more acceptable goal, etc., are other repressive mechanisms.

It is generally agreed that the cornerstone of psychoanalysis is Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* published in 1900.[2] Freud made two basic statements about night dreams. They are indirect and partial gratifications of forbidden wishes; they are a compromise solution of the conflict between the forbidden wish and the moral censor trying to repress the wish. The great biological usefulness of this compromise solution lies in preserving sleep. If the conflict persisted without some solution, it might so disturb the sleeper that he would wake up. With his *Interpretation of Dreams* Freud filled the gap between the psychology of the normal and the psychology of the ab-

[2] *Die Traumdeutung*, Vienna, 1900. Available in English in *Standard Edition*, IV–V; also published by G. Allen & Unwin of London in 1932 and by Basic Books of New York in 1955.

normal. By making so many abnormal phenomena accessible to study and understanding, he applied the same procedures to the investigation of the irrationalities of the normal person. The new point was not that even normals are irrational but that much method and purpose (though unconscious) may be found in all irrationality. Later Freud subjected many other common phenomena — slips of the tongue, slips of the pen, forgetting names or dates, misplacing objects, etc. — to the same analysis, making psychoanalysis a household word. He elaborated on his system of symbols, the main function of which is to break through the disguises.

All these distortions of the incompletely repressed forbidden wishes take place on an unconscious level, and the individual is not aware of what is happening to his instinctual drives or motor impulses. The analysis of dreams led Freud to emphasize the great role of the moral censor; of a mental mechanism which does its work discreetly, outside the consciousness of the sleeper. Consciousness functions only as a sense organ which recognizes the threat presented by a forbidden or disturbing desire. The conscious or near-conscious recognition of such a threat alerts the moral censor. In his *Interpretation of Dreams* Freud proudly proclaims the unusualness of his theoretical achievement in psychology. He reduced the role of consciousness, "once so all-powerful and over-shadowing all else," to the role of a sense organ which perceives mental qualities. The most important tendencies and goals of the individual were determined by the struggle of unconscious forces. This was a revolutionary change in the theoretical outlook on the psychology of personality.

Revisions of Theory

There was one weakness in Freud's system. The strengths of the incompatible drives in the conflict underlying abnormal mental phenomena seemed incommensurate with each other in Freud's first conception of the mental conflict. A strong instinctual desire was opposed by conscious ethical and aesthetic standards. The latter appeared too weak successfully to repress the former. The problems of finding a sufficiently powerful counterdrive that would repress the undesirable instinctual wish and of explaining the mechanism of repression have recurred a number of times in the history of psychoanalysis. Freud helped himself out with a reference to the vague concept of congenital constitutional weakness which predisposes to neurosis and psychosis. To remedy this situation, which he acknowledged as serious, Freud introduced also his concept of infantile sexuality. The revised theory now stated that a recent experience might have a traumatic effect when it

was associated in the unconscious mind with a past sexual traumatic experience from childhood, which by means of this association threatened to break through into the consciousness. The repressed conflict concerning the infantile sex wish caused a fixation (stop in development, prolonged immaturity) of that sex wish which — though unconscious — nevertheless took advantage of every opportunity to be gratified in overt action. In this manner Freud made the two antagonists in the mental conflict more nearly equal. However, even today we do not have a satisfactory theoretical explanation of the mechanism of repression although there is abundant evidence that a large proportion of humanity suffers from the effects of a repressed conflict and yet is completely unaware of having a conflict; most people rationalize it away without knowing it, falsely convinced that they are telling the truth.

The concept of infantile sexuality is one of the most fundamental in psychoanalysis and was responsible for the numerous, long, and strong attacks on analysis. Freud himself is partly to be blamed for this because at first he did not make plain what he meant by that term. "Infantile sexual striving" is so broad a term as to be almost synonymous with a desire for love. But there is more to it than that. Any real and genuine feeling is associated with bodily processes. Freud stressed these bodily sources of pleasure. Moreover he developed the concept of infantile sexuality in an original way by adding to it other concepts: that of the developmental stages and that of the Oedipus complex. As the infant grows, different bodily needs become the source of the child's strongest pleasures and pains. The first stage in development is oral receptive; feeding provides the strongest pleasurable sensations. The next phase is described as oral aggressive; the strongest pleasurable sensations are associated with the demands for being nursed or fed, and the striving for nourishment may be more prominent than the consumption of it. In this phase the child begins to use his need for food as a means of control over his mother and others. Then follows the anal stage; the processes connected with (passive submission to) cleaning and (active) elimination become the source of pleasure. About the age of three or four, the genital zone begins to provide the greatest pleasurable sensations long before the child grows physically capable of intercourse and parenthood. Through improper handling, the normal development in every phase can be interfered with, fixations developed, and a mature psychosexual adjustment made impossible. The phases cannot be clearly differentiated. The difference is mainly one of emphasis. The different parts of the body retain their erotogenic qualities throughout life, but a mature individual derives the greatest satisfaction from his genital activity in a heterosexual relationship.

Some of the best evidence for the validity of Freud's view of infantile sexuality development is provided by a study of spontaneously produced symbols. Individuals who are "fixated" on an oral receptive level, i. e., who experienced so many conflicts and difficulties over being fed in their earliest infancy that they are troubled (in their unconscious) by a lot of unfinished business in connection with receiving food, produce images of birds waiting to be fed, of drinking glasses, of opened mouths, far more frequently than do others. Anal eroticism is characterized by a strong interest in elimination or retention, stinginess and collecting of money. Details still need to be worked out, but the theory seems rather substantiated. By making the sex drive and all its stages of development by far the most powerful instinctual drive, the fate of which (conflict-free gratification or all sorts of conflict-full frustrations and complications) determines the psychological fate of the total personality, Freud attained another scientific goal: he provided a common denominator for the repressed desires.

In time Freud made a disconcerting discovery. Some patients failed to improve despite the unraveling of traumatic experiences and conflicts sufficiently severe to explain the difficulties and symptoms. The repressed conflict became conscious and the patient seemed to have full insight into the causal relations between the uncovered unconscious material and his neurotic difficulties. The explanation was advanced by Freud that such patients fail to improve because they have gained only an intellectual insight and have not fully and emotionally relived the conflict. This discovery shifted the emphasis in treatment from what the patient repressed to his ability to repress and to his ways of repressing. The patient had to be provided with an opportunity for the necessary, emotionally meaningful, and appropriate reliving of the conflict. It is not enough to understand the conflict with the mind. One must "know" it with one's physiology and complete the "unfinished business" (left in suspense by the conflict and the conflict's repression) in the way in which it started: as a bodily and social as well as a conscious or intellectual process. Therefore the relations between patient and therapist were made into a means to help the patient acquire enough courage and to motivate him to relive the conflict deeply; this process is known as transference and counter-transference.

One of the tenets of psychoanalysis is that most of the basic personality traits are developed and usually set for life at the age of about four or five. Consequently all important human relationships which involve genuine and deeper emotions are viewed as shaped by the traits which developed in the first years of life. When the relationship between patient and therapist be-

comes close and intimate, the patient manifests in this relationship all his basic traits, the healthy ones as well as the neurotic and debilitating ones. The patient is said to have a positive transference to his therapist if he behaves toward him as toward a beloved, benevolent, and respected figure of his past. His transference is said to be negative if he demonstrates dislike and criticism of the therapist, arguing with him, and questioning his good will and wisdom. By appropriate handling of the transference the therapist has an excellent instrument for influencing the patient. His own countertransference, his unconscious attitude toward the patient, greatly affects the therapeutic relationship. For this reason, every psychoanalyst must know himself well and be aware of his attitudes toward each individual patient, for otherwise he may not be able to control treatment and may fail to help. By discussing the therapeutic relationship and the progress of therapy with other analysts, the therapist can deepen his insight into what is actually happening between himself and his patients. Analysis of the transference phenomena has disclosed how markedly neurotics cling to their dependency on others, to their infantile demands for love, for control over others, for the right to attack those who do not carry out their requests, etc.

A neurotic symptom (mental or physical), according to Freud's first definition, is essentially a substitute and partial sexual gratification in which the infantile or immature psychosexual needs play a decisive role. Later, in 1920, Freud assigned to aggressiveness the same motivating power, designating the aggressive and sexual drives as the two most fundamental and most powerful unconscious motivating forces in the human personality. As the potential danger inherent in the unhampered gratification of these powerful instinctual drives is frightening, secondary inner defenses against the two basic drives are set up to reduce the tension and the danger of an uncontrolled acting-out. Freud defines the concept of mental energy almost in the same way in which physicists speak of energy, the preservation of energy, the change of energy from one form into another, the utilization of the same energy for diverse purposes, and so forth. What Freud terms the instincts of sex and aggression are energies with a tendency to move the individual toward all manner of interpersonal and intrapersonal activities. The drive does not change in quality, but its goals and its forms undergo modifications. The mother is the most natural object of love, but some individuals, called narcissistic, direct their love upon themselves, experiencing very much the same feeling when preoccupied with their own persons and bodies as does a lover toward his beloved. People change the objects of their desires more easily and frequently than the desires themselves.

In the interval between 1905, during which appeared the *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*,[3] and 1920, the publication year of *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*,[4] Freud made no important changes in his theories. He was as busy as ever and kept on writing, but he wrote on the application of psychoanalysis to diverse problems and did not reformulate basic concepts or principles although he explained many of them more fully by means of examples taken from his practice or from history or literature. Throughout these years his increasing practical experience with patients led him to make new observations, as new discrepancies between clinical observations and theoretical formulations were noted and some weaknesses in the structure of the theory itself had become apparent. This prompted Freud, now in his middle sixties, to remodel his theory and to tighten it up. All these new modifications were to bring psychoanalysis in closer contact with other movements and theories in psychology, bridging the gulf which at one time separated psychoanalysts from other students of human personality. This rapprochement was mutual. In the 'twenties psychoanalysis began to influence ever-widening circles of scientists and writers. This process took place without Freud's having to retreat from what he himself had declared to be the fundamentals of psychoanalysis: the concepts of the unconscious mental processes (especially pursuit of goals of which the pursuer is unaware), of repression and resistance to becoming aware of one's unconscious motivation and conflicts, of the significance of infantile psychosexuality including the Oedipus complex, and of transference and counter-transference.

Id, Ego, Super-Ego

One of the issues which occupied Freud again in the last phase of his scientific life was the ever troublesome problem of explaining the mechanism of repression and particularly the origin and quality of the energy that keeps the rejected drives in a constant state of (partial, rather than complete) inhibition despite the pressure exercised by the inhibited drives upon the motor system. The conscious ego, eager to get along with others and to adapt to external, perceptible reality, upholding moral, intellectual, and aesthetic standards, was still the main inhibitor although it was believed aided by the anxiety caused by the inhibition, in early childhood, of some infantile sexual

[3] *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheory*, Vienna, 1905. Also known as *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. Available in English in *Standard Edition*, VII, 125; also published by Imago of London and Anglobooks of New York in 1949.

[4] *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, Vienna, 1920. Available in English in *Standard Edition*, XVIII, 7; also published by Hogarth Press of London in 1950 (International Psycho-analytical Library no. 4).

wishes. Freud felt the ego needed support to handle the instinctual drives which are so powerful because they are the sustenance of life itself. In his *Beyond the Pleasure Principle,* Freud strengthened the ego theoretically. He took from it aggressiveness, which he had until then considered to be an ego-instinct, and placed this aggressiveness or the destructive instinct in the unconscious (making an id-instinct of it) alongside the sex-instinct, which includes not only sexual desires but also the self-preservative tendencies. This was an attempt at explaining human motivation in terms of two basic instincts (and their "derivatives"), the life instinct which includes the desire for love, sexual gratification, reproductive behavior, personal and social preservation, and the death instinct which comprises the desire for destruction, hate, aggressiveness, sadism, personal and social disintegration. Freud pointed out that the forces of growth and decay are plain in biology and that it is highly probable that they constitute the foundation of human personality. The task of the assumed death instinct is "to lead organic matter back into the inorganic state." The life and death instincts were said to be capable of fusion and "defusion." When fused, they strengthen each other, as is apparent in the mixture of sadism with a sex urge, the sadism making the realization of the sex urge more probable. When they "defuse," the two instincts tend to interfere with each other because then the unqualified drive toward self-destruction or passivity interferes with the urge of the erotic drives for gratification. The incompatibilities of the two instincts then can relieve the pressure on the ego and directly aid the process of repression. Thus the task of keeping the rejected drives in a state of repression becomes less difficult for the ego.

This new scheme seemed to solve a number of difficulties in addition to providing a basic hypothesis, grand in its simplicity, and analogous to the concepts of growth and disintegration in biology, as well as to the principle of Newtonian physics that every action causes a reaction. When Freud had learned decades earlier that most of the early childhood sexual traumata which patients reported were imaginary, he had concluded that fantasies could be as traumatizing as real experiences. The death-instinct seemed to make the malign effect of such fantasies and the widespread masochism (an active tendency to place oneself in situations which cause suffering) more understandable. The undeniable fact of ambivalence, the frequently encountered repeated shifts from hate to love and vice versa, also appeared understandable as a result of the struggle between Eros and Death. The prominent passivity and need for dependency in the great majority of mental patients also seemed to be more easily understandable in terms of the death-

instinct and its derivatives. But the death-instinct theory has not been accepted, primarily because it was only a verbal and not a real solution of the problem of repression. The conscious ego was still, for Freud, the source of resistance to making the repressed material conscious. Whether the id impulses were of a sexual, or aggressive, or mixed nature, the problem remained of determining where the ego acquired the strength to curb the id instincts. Freud gave then another verbal solution. He reasoned that the essential antagonists in a mental conflict are not the conscious and the unconscious, but the organized ego and what is repressed and dissociated from the ego, adding that a good part of the ego itself was unconscious.

In *The Ego and the Id* (1923) [5] Freud attempted a new theoretical formulation, differentiating in the mind three "institutions," the ego, the id, and the super-ego. The unconscious ceased to be synonymous with the repressed and the conscious was no longer identical with the ego. Freud admitted that "this quality (of being conscious or unconscious) itself is ambiguous." Freud compared the id instincts to a horse and the ego to the rider. The ego differs from the rider in that it does not control the id impulses with its own but with borrowed forces. The assumption that "heaven knows how important a part" of the ego is unconscious seems hard to reconcile with the functions which Freud ascribes to the ego; if the ego is largely unconscious, it is irrational, asocial, selfcentered, lacking in a sense of proportion, and seeking either aggressive or sexual gratification. How can the partly unconscious ego help the individual to be prudent, self-controlled, considerate of others, realistic, logically discriminating, when the unconscious is dominated by an unrealistic pleasure principle? Freud stated plainly that the unconscious in the ego "behaves" like what is repressed in the unconscious: the individual is unaware of it but nevertheless it affects his conduct, and a special effort is required to probe into it and bring it to the surface of consciousness. If so, then Freud gave no new solution; he merely postponed it. The problem still remains: how did part of the ego happen to become unconscious, or, if the ego developed from the id, how did part of the id happen to become conscious?

The new and useful concept of the triad, the super-ego, is the most significant contribution of *The Ego and the Id.* This new mental "institution" stems, according to Freud, from internalized moral and other social and intellectual standards acquired in contact with one's parents. The manner in which the individual solves his Oedipus complex, the conflict with the parent of the

[5] *Das Ich and das Es,* Vienna, 1923. Available in English in *Standard Edition,* XIX; also published by Hogarth Press of London, 1927.

same sex over the affection of the parent of the opposite sex, and the associated feeling of guilt, materially influence the nature of the super-ego. Freud's ideas concerning the super-ego are of great significance for the understanding of individuals and have important implications for the education of children. They retain their value whether or not the relations between the ego, id, and super-ego can be straightened out and explained satisfactorily. The last publication in which there appeared radical changes in basic concepts was *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* (1926).[6] Originally Freud assumed that anxiety appeared when the sexual libidinal drives were inhibited: this repressed libido was believed to be transformed into anxiety. In the newer formulation, neurotic anxiety (as distinguished from objective anxiety) is anxiety about a danger unknown to the individual but which analytic experience has shown to be fear of an instinctual desire. Anxiety then became for Freud, in 1926, what it had been to other psychologists all along: a danger signal. This danger signal was now placed in the ego exclusively. Since anxiety is by far the most frequent symptom of neurosis and anxiety states have to be tackled and relieved in therapy if the patient is to improve, the analysis of anxiety has since 1926 become the most important task. By the same token, also important is the investigation of the individual's readiness for anxiety, the degrees of anxiety experienced, the conditions under which it occurs, and the individual's tolerance for anxiety (how much anxiety can he bear and under what circumstances). Therapeutic interest noticeably shifted toward the study of the ego, of the conscious functions of the individual, and of his defenses against debilitating anxiety. This development weakened interest in the unconscious.

Freud's Accomplishment; His Influence

The changes introduced by Freud since about 1920 have greatly decreased the differences between psychoanalysis and traditional psychology. The more the modern analysts emphasize the ego and its functions, the smaller becomes the difference between their own and traditional thinking, and the less attention is given to the unconscious. In a sense, Freud made a gesture of reconciliation. He modified the most untenable features of his theory but he did not yield ground and did not have to compromise on many of his basic ideas which — incorporated into general psychology, anthropology, sociol-

[6] *Hemmung, Symptom und Angst*, Vienna, 1926. Available in English in *Standard Edition*, xx; also published by Hogarth Press of London in 1936 (International Psycho-analytical Library no. 28), and by W. W. Norton of New York in 1936 under the title *The Problem of Anxiety*.

ogy, political science, and education — will make these sciences forever different from their pre-psychoanalytic condition.

The Freudian idea which seems to have exerted the greatest and widest influence is that about the lasting effect of the individual's early childhood relationship with his parents upon his entire life. Freud demonstrated the depth and power of this influence in a new and more detailed manner than had been done ever before. This radically changed our way of thinking about children and about the formation of their personalities. The validity and significance of this idea will continue to be high no matter what the ultimate explanation of the structure of the mind or of the unconscious will turn out to be. Some of the greatest developments in science have been due not to the invention of a new concept or a new principle but to the removal of an invalid and fruitless concept, and the rearranging of science after such a logical surgery. Freud rejected the concept that family relations, especially between children and parents, have an inherently different and specific character. He looked upon the family as upon any group of people living together under the same roof in a relation of intimacy. Studying a group of strangers, not related to one another by family ties, we would naturally look for differences in power, authority, for signs of mutual like and dislike, for manifestations of competition, and so forth. This was essentially what Freud did when he started looking critically at the family drama. He was keenly aware of the fact that children need affection and protection, and he was not surprised to discover all forms of sibling rivalry in addition to the competitive striving for the love of the favorite parent. The child's real need for protection, support, and affection makes him extremely sensitive to any signs that protection, support, or love may be withdrawn, and aggressive against the offending parent. Thus love alternates easily with hate or resentment. These alternations may end in a state of emotional ambivalence, of being torn between love and hate. The stronger the demand for love, the more readily can it be frustrated, causing resentment. The greater the fear of the pain of frustration, the more is the demand for love likely to be curbed, posing the problem of whether to desire love or inhibit the desire. Thus grows the tendency to ambivalence, a striking phenomenon, particularly in severe neuroses, which helps to explain previously baffling inconsistencies in the attitudes and conduct of many persons.

Among other leading lessons of Freud's psychoanalysis is that of mental determinism. There is more regularity and order in the development of human personality than had ever been suspected before Freud. For better or worse, certain experiences, particularly those connected with erotic needs

and with aggressiveness, leave upon the child an imprint which resists change. The high degree of motivation of which the acting individual is unaware is another important lesson. The idea that individuals pursue certain goals (the establishment of specific relationships with certain people) rather consistently and yet have no inkling of it was at first greeted with skepticism. Nevertheless the truth of this is proved abundantly by clinical studies. Although Freud made use of the principle of pleasure and pain to explain why certain tendencies were accepted (because of the pleasure which the pursuit of them gave) while others were repressed (because of the pain associated with attempts at their realization), he demonstrated pointedly that some people can pursue goals of self-destruction of varying degrees of intensity. His statement that many individuals cannot tolerate their success, and manage to become unsuccessful or sick so as not to enjoy success, ran counter to the pre-Freudian notion that the highest goal of man was enlightened (rational) self-interest.

Ernest Jones, Freud's close friend, collaborator, and admiring biographer, noted that all basic statements made by Freud had been made earlier by others with one exception: that men fear castration. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that castration was a form of legal punishment in all countries until relatively recently; it is still practiced as a punishment in some countries today. However, Freud set the ideas (many of which he undeniably rediscovered by himself) into a new pattern, and thus their effect is not only new but unexpected. The idea that seems to be his own is his kind of psychotherapy, which consists, in one essential part, of trying to reach the repressed desires indirectly through an analysis of free associations. Freud widened the meaning of memory. The past is remembered not only in words and images but also in behavior patterns, in non-verbal acts and attitudes. The past lives on also in the transference which the patient establishes with his psychotherapist.

One of the most striking changes brought about by Freud is in the subject matter of psychology. Very private and personal matters of everyday life, family quarrels, bedroom activities, anxiety, odd habits and peculiarities, became respectable topics for scientific investigations. Our habits have changed. We do not relate our dreams as used to be the case before psychoanalytic concepts were popularized. In recent years, the study of anxiety and of the diverse ways in which individuals alleviate their anxiety (defend themselves against it) has grown enormously, in remarkable contrast to the scarcity of references to anxiety in old-time psychology. The concept and investigation of mental illness have undergone such spectacular changes

that modern psychiatry hardly resembles its pre-Freudian predecessor. Freud was able to introduce the biological concept of compensation (the organism's attempts at restoration of health endangered by illness) into the analysis of mental disturbances, giving the concept a purely psychological and fruitful definition. Where previously there were innumerable detailed observations about mental patients with descriptions of incomprehensible and inconsistent changes in behavior and symptoms — without a way of subsuming the details under some meaningful generalizations — today the comprehension of the dynamics of mental disturbances makes possible many meaningful and valid generalizations and, at times, even successful prognoses. A large proportion of symptoms and other difficulties which used to be considered effects of organic deterioration or permanent congenital defects are now correctly interpreted as the result of injurious relationships with parents and other important figures in the patient's life. Of course we are far from a solution of the problem of mental illness, but thanks to Freud tremendous strides toward an eventual solution have been made. Freud's humanity was demonstrated, among other evidence, by his ability to listen to his patients attentively, by his willingness to learn from them, by his acceptance of them as they were, and by his teaching that it is hard to help mental patients if benevolent respect is not shown them.

Psychoanalysis keeps on changing. Since Freud's death in 1939, it has become quite diversified. Not all changes are improvements. Perhaps the most valuable development, from the social standpoint, in the last decade has been the great advance in the quality, intensity, and thoroughness of the training of psychotherapists. As the nation's wealth and leisure time increase, the desire for true happiness and for the removal of inner tensions grows; consequently, the demand for psychotherapy grows louder and more intense.

Reading Suggestions

According to Jones, there is no better way of getting thoroughly acquainted with psychoanalytic theories than to study Freud's work in chronological order. However, this would be a great undertaking. A limited reading list will suffice for the vast majority of readers.

There are several editions of Freud; his books and reprinted articles are found in nearly all public libraries. The Institute of Psycho-analysis and the Hogarth Press in London published the *Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud*[7] which have been the easiest source of Freud's writings until the appearance

[7] 1924–1950. 5 volumes.

of the *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* now in progress.[8]

An excellent and clear introduction is found in "The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis" which appeared in the *American Journal of Psychology,* XXI, (181–218) in 1910. It was reprinted elsewhere and is known also under the title, *On Psychoanalysis: Five Lectures.*[9] Freud delivered these lectures in September 1909 at Clark University, Worcester, Mass., at the invitation of the head of the Psychology Department, Stanley Hall. The next work to read seems to be the *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis,* published in 1933 by the Institute of Psycho-analysis and the Hogarth Press in London.[10] *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) [11] and *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1904) [12] contain numerous analyses of dreams, slips of the tongue and the pen, acts of forgetting, and similar weaknesses which are so common. Both books illustrate Freud's reasoning well and abundantly.

The reader who is interested in acquainting himself with Freud's introduction to the modern emphasis on anxiety and defenses against it, will wish to read *Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety* (1926) [13] and *Instincts and their Vicissitudes* (1915).[14] John Rickman edited a very good selection under the title *A General Selection from the Works of Sigmund Freud,* published by the Hogarth Press in 1937. It is a handy volume, not large (330 pages), with a valuable index and glossary. This glossary helps to reduce the confusion which may ensue from Freud's changing his ideas over the years. The Modern Library in New York published rather inexpensive editions of some of Freud's work as well as *An Outline of Psychoanalysis* (1924), edited by J. S. Van Teslaar, which contains the writings of Freud and fourteen other analysts.

Those who are interested in Freud himself as well as his work will appreciate highly Ernest Jones's *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud,* of which the first two volumes have appeared, published by Basic Books in New York. The first volume, *The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries, 1856–*

[8] To be complete in 24 volumes. Translated from the German under the general editorship of James Strachey, in collaboration with Anna Freud, assisted by Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson.

[9] *Über Psychoanalyse,* Vienna, 1910. Available in English in *Standard Edition,* XI.

[10] *Neue Folge der Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse,* Vienna, 1933. Available in English also in *Standard Edition,* XX; also published by Norton of New York in 1933.

[11] See note 2 above.

[12] *Zur Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens,* Berlin, 1904. Available in English in *Standard Edition,* VI. A translation of the 4th German edition was published by Macmillan of New York in 1915.

[13] See note 6 above.

[14] *Triebe und Triebschicksale.* Available in *Collected Papers,* IV, 60, and in *Standard Edition,* XIV.

1900 (1953), gives an unequaled portrait of Freud as a human being from childhood to maturity. The second volume, *Years of Maturity, 1901–1919* (1955), continues to be an excellent biography but it contains also an outline of the development of many of Freud's ideas. At times Jones gives new reasons for Freud's changes of mind never before offered. Freud did not always state all his reasons in his formal writings. Jones's large volumes may, in fact, be the best introduction to psychoanalysis for all readers who are willing to spend some time studying the subject. A natural companion to the large volumes and a unique supplement to them is Jones's *Sigmund Freud: Four Centenary Addresses,* delivered and published in 1956 (published by Basic Books). This small and attractively printed volume contains also a reprint of the eulogy which Jones wrote in 1939 upon Freud's death. Only a close and understanding friend could have had access to much of the information which Jones shares with us. As to Freud's work, it has revolutionized and deepened our understanding of man's greatest problem: man himself. Its influence can only increase with the passage of time.

Stephen Crane: Some New Stories

Edited by R. W. STALLMAN
University of Connecticut

III

OUR first group of new Stephen Crane sketches and stories, described and published in this *Bulletin* last September and October, consisted of manuscripts in the private collection of C. Waller Barrett and in the Berg Collection of The New York Public Library not hitherto noticed in print. We come now to a second group of manuscripts consisting of five sketches and stories heretofore only surmised to exist.[1] Of these, the two most intrinsically interesting, a Sullivan County sketch called "Across the Covered Pit" and a political satire called "A Foreign Policy, in Three Glimpses," are here printed in full. A third, of considerable extrinsic interest, awaits another kind of editorial presentation. It is a manuscript of "The Ghost," a play written by Crane and nine others and produced for the entertainment of Crane's house-guests during a three-day Christmas party.

I should also mention here "The Wreck of the New Era," Crane's earliest account of a shipwreck, which belonged in the present category until recently, when I published it in the *Connecticut Campus Fine Arts Magazine*, April 28, 1956, p. 1–2, 19–20. The manuscript, written perhaps in the summer of 1891 or in the previous year, is a typed copy in the Barrett Collection.

1

The Ghost

Typescript of 7 pages (Berg Collection). In the Columbia University Crane Collection are 5 pages of "The Ghost," of which pages 2 are typewritten and 3 in holograph by an unidentified hand. A page is also in the possession of Roger Frewen of Brede Place, Brede, England.

Called "a literary curiosity unrivalled," [2] the holiday play is unrivalled only in its authorship. Collaborators included Henry James, H. G. Wells, Joseph Conrad, and George Gissing. "The Ghost," written for a party held Decem-

[1] Crane's bibliographers, Ames Williams and Vincent Starrett, *Stephen Crane: A Bibliography* (Glendale, California, 1948), list 24 unpublished pieces, some of which probably never got beyond their titles. They describe a dozen titles as untraced, destroyed, or lost — among them the 5 now brought to print or described. Others have turned up in the Columbia University Crane Collection, recently on exhibit — see *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, LX (September 1956) 455 n.

[2] Carl Bohnenberger and N. M. Hill, *Bookman*, LXIX (1929) 372.

ber 28, 1899, is listed in the Williams-Starrett *Bibliography* as "Unpublished and manuscript probably lost." [3]

2

Greed Rampant

Typescript on the back of Press Despatch paper, measuring 8 by 10½ inches; title in Crane's handwriting; signed by Crane (Barrett Collection).[4]

"Greed Rampant" is a comic fantasy, a satiric drama with the following dramatis personae: Mr. John P. St. Peter, a crowd of Gentiles, and a mob of Jews. The scene — Paradise, New Jersey; time — the end of it. The mob of Jews makes "a furious rush" to squeeze through the turnstile guarded by Mr. St. Peter "at the Twoforty Gate, the main entrance to Paradise, N. J." "The Jews pour through in a torrent. The turnstile clicks like a crazy stem-winding watch. The metal grows hot from the friction. It seethes and throws off steam. Mr. Peter is compelled to dash a pail of water upon it. The Jews pour in like a run-away flood." They fight to get the front seats and the programmes. "They bleed from wounds; their clothing is in tatters; yet they madly hurl themselves upon each other like wild animals —— Many have fainted." The crowd of Gentiles click through the turnstile, marching "in an orderly and modest manner down the centre aisle." But finding all the best seats taken, they are compelled to sit in the rear. "They can't see anything. The Jews look back in scorn, and sneer at the unfortunate Gentiles. The air is full of the reflected rays of seventy-three diamonds." To outwit them, one of the Gentiles prints a sign upon a piece of cloth:

JOB LOTS. JOB LOTS.

DOWN IN SHEOL, CAPE MAY COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

Selling out at 2 percent of cost.

Exit the mob of Jews. They tumble out of the fire-exit as the Gentiles cheer them on. Mr. St. Peter dangles from an archway, then climbs down and "swoons on the floor. In the meantime, the Gentiles had moved up to the front seats."

"Greed Rampant" is evidently a very early writing; possibly it was written for some dramatic function at Syracuse University. Its artistic merit consists

[3] For a description and facsimile reproduction of the printed program of the play, with notes about the collaborators and an account of the plot based on a review notice, see John D. Gordan, "The Ghost at Brede Place," *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, LVI (1952) 591–595.

[4] Described in the *Bibliography* as "Unfinished. No information as to contents."

solely in the design by which the final incident has been prepared for. When the mob of Jews jammed the turnstile, a "wise Jew" cleared the way by hurling down the stairs behind the mob "a valuable dollar-and-a-half-ring" — *that* turns the mob to plunge in head-long pursuit. The wise Jew in this opening incident is paralleled by the wise Gentile in the final one. (The ironic twist is that the Gentiles may be better behaved but they are quite as greedy as the Jews — and more successful.) "Greed Rampant" is probably one of Crane's first attempts at fashioning a play.

3

Jack

A dog story extant in three unfinished drafts: *first draft* on 3 leaves of lined paper, 8 by 12½ inches; *second draft,* lacking title, on 7 handwritten pages of thin, yellowish paper 6⅜ by 10 inches; *third draft,* lacking title, on 9 similar pages (Barrett Collection).[5]

The only thing worth saying about this unfinished Sullivan County story is that Crane had a hard time writing it. In dog stories he succeeded in "The Black Dog: A Night of Spectral Terror," probably written in the summer of 1891 (published in the New York *Tribune,* July 24, 1892); in "A Dark Brown Dog," a New York tenement sketch not published until it appeared posthumously in *Cosmopolitan* (March 1901); and again in "Dogs of War," subtitled "A Fascinating Story of the Battlefield of Greece," published in the New York *Journal* for May 30, 1897.

The dog figuring in "Jack" was the black mastiff owned by Stephen's brother, Edmund. (Stephen's own dog, Solomon, was a Newfoundland retriever.) Edmund's children used to take Jack along with them to a summer camp on the Mongaup River in Sullivan County.

4

Across the Covered Pit

Holograph MS of 29 leaves of yellow paper 6⅜ by 10 inches; also two identical typed copies made by Crane, or for him, marked "From S. Seth / Acting for A. T. Vance / 1133 Broadway," evidence that Crane was seeking a publisher (Barrett Collection).[6]

[5] *Bibliography:* "Unpublished and incomplete. A dog story, the scene of which is laid in Mongaup Valley. A version of this story was rejected by *St. Nicholas* in 1891 because of a plethora of dog stories at the time."

[6] *Bibliography:* "Unpublished. Concerns a clergyman who liked to explore caves."

This Sullivan County sketch provides a companion-piece to Crane's cavern sketch, "Four Men in a Cave," which was first published in the New York *Tribune*, July 3, 1892. Seven Sullivan County sketches were published that year, five of them in the *Tribune*. *The Sullivan County Sketches of Stephen Crane*, edited by Melvin Schoberlin (Syracuse 1949), brought together ten previously published sketches, three of which had made their first appearance posthumously. "Across the Covered Pit" is reproduced here for the first time:

Across the Covered Pit

The Rev. C. H. Hoovey, D.C. of [Bridgeport *crossed out*] Connecticut, had the grave and reverent look which betokens his profession. To see the gentleman dressed in shining black in his pulpit on Sunday, one could never imagine that the devout preacher of the gospel was one of the most daring cave explorers in this country. Yet all the noted caverns of this country have been visited by him. No cavern looks so gloomy and forbidding but the doctor feels his boyish spirit of adventure seize him, and he longs to tread its dark mysteries and explore its unknown recesses. The unbroken region beyond the mouth of the Covered Pit in Manmoth Cave was a bug-bear to him. To any one's knowledge, the mass of tangled slippery slabs that was heaped over the mouth of the pit, had never been tread on. As authorities had forbidden any one to cross this dangerous place, its strength had never been tested. It might be strong enough to allow a train of cars to cross it, and again, the weight of a cat might cause the whole mass to tumble to the unknown depth. The doctor had been to the edge of the pit several times. He would look at the huge patches of darkness that showed between the slabs which seem to have been thrown loosely over the mouth of the whole by a giant hand, and then glance at the dim outline of a wide tunnel which led along from the other side of the pits.

A wistful look would come into his eyes, as he would wonder about that unknown land. He would speculate for a while on the length and number of caverns and passages contained and then return to his hotel and dream of a large interrogation point framed in the mouth of the dark tunnel. It finally became too much for the doctor, and he attempted to bribe the guides by offering sums which came little short of being fabulous. Not one of them, however, would go with him.

At last, William, the famous colored guide, showed signs of his love of money predominating over his love of life, and the doctor worried the poor darkey until he won his reluctant consent to accompany him. The two provided themselves with the necessary articles and, one day, made their way stealthily along the passages toward the Covered Pit.

The uniqueness of the doctor's scheme is apparent at once. As the authorities had forbidden it, they must steal into the cave without their knowledge and consequently their fate would be unknown. No one would ever know what became of Dr. Hoovey and William. The Covered Pit would withhold its story of the tragedy until the Resurrection Morn. A

few pleasant thoughts like these crowded into the doctor's brain as he made his way along the cavern. He was half constrained to turn back and, at least, leave a letter telling where he had gone. He was half minded to turn back, anyhow. But there was William trudging stolidly along ahead of him and the doctor settled his nerves and pushed on.

They arrived at the edge of the pit and stood together trying to pierce the gloom in the openings between the slabs.

"It will make a right big grave," said William contemplating the pit.

The doctor started but kept silent.

The two adventurers sat down on a boulder and made deliberate plans covering any casualty that might occur. It was also decided with no indecent haggling whatever, that William should go first.

The guide tightened everything about him, and placed his torch in his hat that he might have both hands free.

Getting down on his hands and knees, he commenced to make his way like a cat on very tender ice. It was a moment of supreme suspense to both. The guide's labored breathing was plainly audible as he slowly moved along. The doctor shut his eyes at times and waited with almost a desire, the tension was so terrible, for the sudden grinding noise; then, the awful roar that would announce to him that the covering had fallen. But William's light gleamed on the other side and he was safe. It was now the doctor's turn. William shouted a few directions about the bad places. Then the doctor started. On his hands and knees as the guide had been, the doctor would thrust one hand forward and finding a firm place, would bring the other one forward. Some of the slabs slanted frightfully and were damp and slippery. The doctor's life depended on the grip of his fingers.

When about half way across, the doctor's hand loosened a slab ahead of him which had no connection with the structure of the cover but simply lay on one of the others.

With an awful sound the stone slid off the lower slab and plunged down into the pit. The explorer gave himself up for lost. As the movement of the stone was communicated to the slab on which he crouched, he thought he was gone. A second later when the sounds ceased he could hardly believe that he was still on the cover.

The sensations of the poor guide can only be imagined. Let alone the depressing effects on one's spirits [th]at the horrible death of a companion in the bowels of the earth would have, the guide would be in a sorry plight, indeed. With the doctor and the cover at the bottom of the pit, he was alive in his tomb.

His bridge was burned behind him. His only known means of exit was across the covering to the pit and if the cover broke, William was in a bad way. The darkey's teeth chattered as he heard the sound of the falling slab.

But the torch still flickered out over the pit and began to come nearer and nearer. A few more minutes of suspense and the doctor of divinity and the ignorant guide clutched each others' hands in the most affectionate manner possible.

The explorers proceeded along the tunnel. They were then on ground trod by no man before and the doctor was in his glory. They spent two days in the new regions and had some startling adventures but returned safely across the Covered Pit. When the sunlight beamed on their delighted visions, they looked at each other for a moment without speaking. Then the doctor remarked that he guessed he wouldn't explore any more caves for awhile and William said he reckoned he needed a vacation, too.

5

A Foreign Policy, in Three Glimpses

Holograph MS of 17 leaves of heavy, unlined yellow paper measuring 7 by 9 inches (Barrett Collection).[7]

"A Foreign Policy" was written in 1891, at a period when feeling ran bitterly in America against Great Britain. "Our family," said Crane once, "has little cause to love the gentle Britisher." (The son of the first Stephen Crane had been killed by the British in New Jersey during the Revolutionary War.) Yet in a few years Crane made England his home. Nothing pleased him more than the critical praise his work received in the English press, and it was England rather than America that acclaimed him as artist, befriended him socially, and made Stephen and Cora feel at home. In 1891 he wrote this satire on the imperialistic foreign policy of Great Britain. By 1897, writing William his brother, his bitterness was all turned upon his homeland: "There seem so many of them in America who want to kill, bury and forget me purely out of unkindness and envy and — my unworthiness, if you choose." [8]

In March 1896 Crane was sent to Washington, D. C., by McClure to do a political study for McClure's magazine, but Washington politics was too much for him, and in two weeks he was back at Hartwood. "Washington pains me." For two weeks Crane was a Socialist — "for two weeks but when a couple of Socialists assured me I had no right to think differently from any other Socialist and then quarreled with each other about what Socialism meant, I ran away." [9] Crane has been called the sharpest social commentator of the Nineties. Yet he never thought to consider the economic application of his own fiction. He "never considered his age, so far as his fiction went, in economic terms — in fact, he once seriously told Gustavus Myers never to attack the upper crust." [10] Perhaps so, but he expressed himself on that

[7] *Bibliography* mistakenly gives title as "Foreign Policy in Two Glimpses"; the note reads: "Unpublished. An essay written while Crane was a student at Syracuse University."

[8] Letter to William, Oct. 29 [1897], in my *Stephen Crane: An Omnibus* (New York 1952, London 1954) 663.

[9] Quoted from Thomas Beer, *Hanna, Crane, and The Mauve Decade* (New York 1941) 360.

[10] John Chamberlain in his *Farewell to Reform* (New York 1932) 117.

score nevertheless. Five months after his political excursion to Washington he gave one of his friends a copy of *Maggie* and inscribed it with these words: [11]

"And the wealth of the few shall be
built upon the patience of the poor."
— Prophecy not made B. C. 1090

New York
Aug 29, 1896

STEPHEN CRANE

Thomas Beer, in his *Stephen Crane* (New York 1923) reports that Crane wrote an essay on Charities in the New York slums and an essay on social theory, and that Elbert Hubbard bought them for his *Philistine* and then lost the manuscript on a train.[12] Two classmates of Crane at Syracuse University, R. G. Vosburgh and Frank W. Noxon, mention in their articles on Crane another "lost" manuscript, a political piece. Crane read this essay one night at the Delta Upsilon Chapter House in chapter meeting; it was an essay "on some serious political subject relating to Russia." [13] "A Foreign Policy, in Three Glimpses" was written at this same time, while Crane was a student at Syracuse University. Part II of "A Foreign Policy," as we shall see, also deals with Russia. In May 1891 his first published story, "The King's Favor," appeared in the *Syracuse University Herald*, XIX, 128–131.[14] The story has its setting in Africa. In February 1890 the *Vidette* of Claverack College and Hudson River Institute published, while Crane was a student there, an article on Henry M. Stanley in Africa, signed S. Crane. This article, apparently the earliest known signed publication by Crane,[15] and the lost essay of a political discussion on Russia, and the unpublished "Foreign Policy" constitute Crane's earliest writings dealing with politics or non-literary affairs.

[11] This inscribed presentation copy of the 1893 paper-bound edition is in the Stephan Crane Collection of Clifton Waller Barrett. The inscription is reproduced in *Stephen Crane: An Exhibition* (Columbia University Libraries, 1956) Plate II.

[12] Beer, *Hanna, Crane*, 291. One of Crane's poems in *The Black Riders*, No. XVI (*Collected Poems*, 1930, 18), is fashioned on the same topic as the lost essay on Charities:

Charity, thou art a lie,
A toy of women,
A pleasure of certain men.
In the presence of justice,
Lo, the walls of the temple
Are visible
Through thy form of sudden shaddows.

[13] Frank W. Noxon, "The Real Stephen Crane," Chicago *Step Ladder*, XIV (Jan. 1928) 4–9.

[14] Reprinted in the *Argot* (a literary journal at Syracuse University) III (March 1935) 1, 8.

[15] See L. U. Pratt, "The Formal Education of Stephen Crane," *American Literature*, X (Jan. 1939) 463 n. The Stanley article is reproduced in L. U. Pratt, "An Addition to the Canon of Stephen Crane," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, VII (March 1939) 55–58.

"A Foreign Policy: First Glimpse" has to do with the acquisition of the Fiji Isle ("Lonely Isle") by Great Britain; "A Foreign Policy: Second Glimpse" takes place ten years later, in 1884 when Great Britain and Russia were at diplomatic odds; "A Foreign Policy: Third Glimpse" looks forward to 1892 in anticipation of what the British newspapers will denounce, namely the browbeating Chile received at the "liberty-loving" hands of America. This sketch is reproduced here for the first time.[16]

A Foreign Policy, in Three Glimpses:

First Glimpse

I

Lonely Isle, white sands, and green palms glimmer in the rays of a tropical sun. From the countless flowers, a heavy perfume, incense burned upon the altar of the earth, rises toward Heaven. Brown-bodied natives swarm in and out of the cone-shaped huts. In the shady dells, merry maidens toss blossoms to and fro; in the surf, young men, gaily laugh as they breast the white-crested waves; upon the beach, fat little boys play games and settle infantile disputes. A sail, a dead black upon its shady and visible side, rears slowly above the horizon and seems to peer at the island. The natives perceive the sail and gather upon the beach to discuss it. It grows larger and larger until a small schooner comes to an anchor outside where the waves roar upon the reef. A boat puts off toward the crowd of wondering natives. It finally bumps upon the beach and men with white faces step out. The innocent, guileless natives give a cordial welcome. The strangers offer valuable glass-beads and calico remnants for the products of Lonely Isle. The natives accept with alacrity, amazed at the sight of so much wealth and the simplicity of the white strangers. The traders laugh in their beards and gleefully swindle the natives. They camp upon the beach, awaiting the time when their vessel shall be filled, like a voracious animal, with spoil from the island.

All goes well for a few days. Then a shriek rings over the white sands and up to the blue sky above Lonely Isle. It is a woman's voice. A white hand grasps her throat and as she attempts to repeat her cry, her mouth is stuffed with a pocket-handkerchief. The male natives gather around the traders and their chief says quietly: "You must give up the girl, white men." The only audible reply is: "Lookut 'is bloomin' chieflets. Hi say, where did you git them pants, now."

The sturdy natives gaze darkly upon the strangers. There is a discussion which ends in an altercation. There are blows exchanged. The girl

[16] The original Crane material quoted in this essay is here published with the kind permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Also, I wish to thank Prof. Daniel G. Hoffman for reading this essay while in manuscript.

kills herself with a dirk from a trader's girdle and the white men retreat leaving their leader dead upon the sand. The ship becomes a black speck and topples off the horizon.

II

Two black-hulled British gun-boats are at anchor off Lonely Isle. A crowd of natives watch them curiously from the shore. Suddenly, a signal is run up to the mast-head of the foremost gun-boat, a streak of fire flashed from her bow, there is a thundering roar and a shell shrieks as it falls among the cone-shaped huts of the island. The natives die around in the grass as flash upon flash leaps from the sides of the man-of-war. After a couple of score are killed in this manner, the marines land and kill a few more with the bayonet. While they are thus employed, a group of chiefs advance from the shelter of the woods, holding up their hands in token of peace. The captain of the marines who, while smoking a short brier-wood, is engaged in thoughtfully prodding a writhing native, with a sword, looks casually up and observes them. The native seizes the opportunity to crawl behind a bunch of grass and die.

"Most noble king," says the principal chief to the captain. "We have come to ask why all this wanton slaughter for a brute who had committed an indignity upon one of our maidens and thus deserved his fate. Two score of our people lie cold in death." "Why, my friend," replies the captain, "British interests must be protected — oh, I say, now where's my native? This won't do, you know. He wriggled his legs great." The captain looks about for his writhing victim but, as mentioned, the native had quietly died behind the bunch of grass. "This won't do, you know. I've been regularly jewed out of some fun. I shall report this matter to my commanding officer."

"Most noble and powerful chieftain," continues the chief, "You hold our poor lives in your cannon's mouth but we would crave, noble sir, that you produce for our inspection those British interests, you mention."

"Oh, that's all right, old ten-pin, British interests must be protected you know."

Slightly exasperated, the venerable chief says: "You confounded insolent, insignificant little prig, I'd like to bat you one with my war-club. What we want to know is, why in Heaven's name don't you go away? Ain't you satisfied, dern you? You have killed forty of us for a bloody-handed villian who reeked of no law but might. And, now why don't you get out? We don't want you! See? Get out, that's all we ask. Hear?"

To this the captain calmly replies as he borrows a match from his first-sergeant and scratches it on the head of a dead native: "My friend, I think I have already informed you that British interests must be protected."

"But," frenziedly cries the chief, "Where in the devil's name, are the British interests? And, if so, where are our interests?

"British interests, b'gad, must be protected if we die for it," cry the sturdy soldiery as they go into permanent camp.

III

It has been flashed to London that, "owing to the murder of Europeans it has been found necessary to occupy Lonely Isle with a British force, powerful enough to cope with the natives and afford adequate protection to foreign residents." In less than four hours after the receipt of this dispatch, there are thirteen companies organized for carrying on commerce with Lonely Isle. The representatives of these companies swoop down on the doomed native, they improve him, they rescue him, they enlighten him, they dicker with him and they beat him out of his senses, they rob him, they convert him and when they get through with him, he has been manipulated out of everything but his blackened conscience and his toenails. He gets uproariously drunk on the worst rum England can produce and through the storm doors of his clouded mind he has an impression that he will strike for liberty about twice a month.

He does so. There's a howl from Lonely Isle. "Oh I say now this won't do, you know. British interests predominate here and we must have protection you know."

Gun-boats arrive again and kill all natives in sight. After which the British government puzzles over the Lonely Isle question. "How can we afford sufficient protection to our interests in Lonely Isle without annexing it? Why it can't de done! Of course, it can't: the only way to advance civilization and protect British interests is to annex Lonely Isle." But what is to become of the poor native? He owns it, you know. I don't see what right—" "Oh, dam the native! British interests must be protected, you know."

A Foreign Policy in Three Glimpses:

Second Glimpse

The Czar of Russia to the British Lion in 1884: "By Jim, I have ideaovitch to cutski your throatovitch."

The Lion: "What's that? Oh, I say, Mr. Czar you didn't mean me, did you?"

The Czar: "Damnovitch, if I didn'ski, by Jim!"

The Lion: "Oh, I say now, I am really sorry, you know. I didn't mean it, you know."

The Czar: "Anyway, I believeovitch I'll breakski your faceovitch, you damnovitch cusski."

The Lion: "Oh, my dear, dear sir, you are mistaken, indeed, indeed you are. You have no idea how I hate to fight when my opponent is as big as you are. I am the most peaceable animal on earth in a case like this.

I will not fight unless you insist on it and knock me down three times. Forgive me this once and I'll never do so no more, s'elp me Gawd."

A Foreign Policy in Three Glimpses:

Third Glimpse

Chorus from British Newspapers in 1892: "The attitude of the United States in the trouble with Chili is disgusting to all mankind. Never in history did a nation of the world give such an exhibition of the brutal coward and bully as is now afforded us by the ignorant, petty, and vain-glorious government at Washington. America's policy all along has been that of a stupid, big, fat and conceited republic which attempts to browbeat and coerce a little but liberty-loving truthful and virtuous rival. America would never dare to assume such an attitude toward a nation of any importance, but her silly, vain president seeks a little insignificant country to bluster to and strut before. Language fails us — God save the queen, b'gad."

Crossing the Line

Tales of the Ceremony during Four Centuries

Gathered by HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG

PART XVI

1864

The Tropic of Cancer was passed with festivities for the amusement of the sailors, — a custom which is usually observed only at the crossing of the equator. Sailors disguised as Neptune, Amphitrite, and other sea gods and goddesses, appeared in triumphal cars upon the deck, made orations to the Emperor and officers, and promised their blessing to the *unbaptized*, whereupon the signal was given for a general showering and sprinkling, from which the ladies only were entirely exempt. The water ran in streams over the lower deck; at the close, the sailors danced merrily to the sound of music, performed by a well-trained band, which afforded us a very pleasant recreation every day.

(Countess Paula Kollonitz. The court of Mexico. By the Countess Paula Kollonitz, lady-in-waiting to the Empress Charlotte. Translated by J. E. Ollivant, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford. 2nd ed. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co., 1868. p. 59.)

Crossing must have been in May, 1864 as they sailed from Trieste on April 14, 1864. Preface is dated August, 1866; preface to second edition, Vienna, May 30, 1867; preface by translator, Llandaff, September 25, 1867.

1866

On the 4th of August, 1866, crossed the Equator in about Longitude 1° 27′ 21″ west, but were not favored with a visit from Neptune, who would have had ample work from the number of green hands on board. As the days of offerings to the Monarch of the Sea are over, he might be excused for a display of ill-temper, but in case our escaping the penalty of weather is due to disagreement between him and the clerk of the weather, we are perfectly willing, from our knowledge of the "Ashuelot's" seagoing qualities, that the difficulty may continue.

(Manuscript diary of William A. H. Allen, assistant engineer, U. S. Navy, in Library of Congress.)

Note how in 1834 Dana says that "this ancient custom is now seldom allowed, unless there are passengers on board," but leaves uncertain whether he is talking of merchant ships alone or of the common custom on merchant or naval ships. In 1844 the tradition is faithfully observed, even to the shaving and baptising of "the Reverend Clergy" in person of Father DeSmet and his clerical assistants on their way to Oregon (DeSmet enough of a good fellow at the end to thank "them for the entertainment they had afforded.") In 1845 Chaplain Colton of our navy reports that "this ceremony was found such an infraction of discipline, that it has been discontinued on board our national ships. Our sailors were allowed to splice the main-brace as a substitute." Seven years later than this 1866 note, we shall see Allen telling of the

visit without further comment than that Neptune "came on board and received about a hundred green ones as an addition to his kingdom," on the U.S.S. *Richmond*.

Dana and DeSmet, to be sure, sailed on merchant ships — not on a national. Naval regulations as to liquor are noted under Colton, 1845.

1869

. . . . C'était le soir, à minuit; l'équipage entier respirait le frais au gaillard d'arrière, lorsqu'une grêle de haricots tomba de la mâture.

— C'est le baptême qui commence, dit des haubans une voix de rogomme, gare là-dessous, voici le père la Ligne qui s'avance!

C'était le père la Ligne en effet qui, sous la figure du deuxième harponneur, descendait du grand mât.

Ceux qui n'avaient pas encore payé leur tribut à l'Equateur, se sauvèrent aussitôt, qui dans les chambres, qui dans la cale; le chirurgien épouvanté se cacha dans une barrique.

Le père la Ligne descendit de la mâture, affublé d'une sorte de costume moyen âge en toile à voile; une longue perruque et une barbe en étoupe blanche garnissaient en partie sa tête, de façon à lui donner un air vénérable, car le père la Ligne, comme Mathusalem, ne compte plus ses années.

Le troisième harponneur, pompeusement paré d'un costume de Neptune, se laissa glisser au pied du mât de misaine; il tenait d'une main un harpon en guise de trident.

La déesse Cérès descendit à son tour du mât d'artimon; c'était le plus grassouillet et le moins barbu de tous les matelots: il portait, on ne peut mieux, sa robe olympique, la relevant d'une main comme une lady et portant de l'autre en éventail les attributs de son personnage.

A peine ces trois grotesques eurent-ils touché le pont, qu'une beuglement formidable retentit au bout du grand foc et que le maître tonnelier apparut déguisé en Pluton.

Le quatuor, s'étant réuni, fit trois ou quatre fois le tour du navire, jetant des poignées de haricots au nez de ceux qui les regardaient de trop près, s'arrêta autour du grand mât et tint conseil.

A trois heures du matin, il commanda ceux déjà baptisés pour dresser la tente du suprême aréopage.

Cette tente fut établie à tribord sur le grand panneau.

On y plaça des sièges en gradins, et devant ces sièges, le tonneau à bascule, la peinture, le goudron, la farine, le suif, l'huile, le duvet de poule, etc.

A six heures du matin, on pavoisa le navire.

A sept heures, tout était prêt.

Cependant, avant de commencer, il fallut precéder à la bénédiction du mât d'artimon, ainsi que cela se pratique ordinairement.

On commanda tout le monde sur le pont, on pria le capitaine de s'avancer, et quand il se trouva au milieu du cercle, le maître charpentier, la hache levée, lui dit qu'il allait à l'instant couper le mât, s'il ne consentait à le faire *border*, ce qui veut dire arroser le gosier de l'équipage.

Le capitaine versa lui-même un quart de cognac à chaque homme et remit pour toute la journée son autorité aux mains de père la Ligne avec lequel il trinqua.

Les officiers burent aussi à la santé de Cérès, de Pluton et de Neptune.

Ces préliminaires terminés, on enferma dans les chambres tous les hommes devant être baptisés, on tira bon gré mal gré le petit chirurgien de sa barrique, on le verrouilla soigneusement dans une cabine, malgré ses lamentations, puis ceux qui devaient faire partie du cortège allèrent s'habiller, chacun suivant son personnage.

A neuf heures tout le monde étant prêt, le carillon de la cloche du bord annonça le défilé.

Voici l'ordre dans lequel il marchait:

Le suisse et sa hallebarde.

Le prêtre chantant dans son bréviaire une macaronée appropriée à la circonstance.

Un enfant de choeur, c'était un novice breton, le plus petit; à ses côtés trottait le bedeau, le plus rond de l'équipage.

Le père la Ligne et sa vénérable moitié, appuyés l'un sur l'autre.

Neptune et son trident.

Pluton et sa famille.

Le barbier et son garçon.

Puis deux gendarmes traînant, la corde au cou, le malheureux dont le supplice s'apprêtait.

La procession s'arrêta sous le tente.

Le père la Ligne et sa femme prirent place sur les fauteuils de la présidence, les autres dignitaires s'assirent à leurs postes respectifs, et l'on reconduisit les néophytes dans les chambres, à l'exception du chirurgien par lequel on devait commencer.

Le pauvre petit homme criait grâce avec un accent capable d'émouvoîr les coeurs les plus endurcis; mais le père la Ligne est d'une orthodoxie féroce; il a horreur des anabaptistes; il les poursuit, les châtie, les baptise, quoi qu'ils fassent et pour franchir l'Equateur sans encombre à l'avenir, il faut absolument passer sous les fourches de sa religion.

Au fond, la pensée du dieu est charitable; it veut, en imposant ce premier sacrifice aux matelots, les soustraire aux flammes éternelles, s'ils meurent pendant la traversée.

Le chirurgien était donc resté devant le terrible tribunal; on lui avait lié les pieds et les mains, puis on lui avait bandé les yeux.

Sur un signe du chef, le prêtre entonna un psaume insensé, et le barbier s'approcha pour faire la toilette du patient, auquel il coupa d'abord les cheveux du côté gauche et la moustache du coté droit. Il lui savonna ensuite la tête et la figure avec un mélange de goudron, de peinture, de coaltar, et le fit mettre à genoux sur le plancher bascule, recouvrant la cuve qui servait de fonds baptismaux.

Cette cuve contenait douze barriques d'eau; elle était pleine jusqu'aux bords.

Le chirurgien voulut crier, on lui imposa silence en lui appliquant sur la bouche un porte-voix dans lequel il devait prêter le serment solennel de ne jamais séduire la femme d'un marin.

A peine eut-il ouvert la bouche pour répéter les paroles du prêtre que Neptune introduisit brusquement dans le portevoix un seau d'eau salée, en même temps que l'enfant de choeur en glissait sournoisement une pinte sur le bras levé du patient, entre la peau et la manche de l'habit.

— Je suis mort, s'écria le chirurgien à moitié asphyxié et toussant de façon à rendre l'âme, tout en cherchant à essuyer l'eau qui lui glissait le long des reins.

— Confessez-vous, mon fils, dit alors le prêtre d'un ton sépulcral, votre dernière heure est arrivée.

— Ma dernière heure?

— Silence! hurla l'enfant de choeur en enfonçant jusqu'au manche, dans la bouche ouverte du chirurgien, un pinceau de goudron qui lui servait de goupillon.

— Hélas! prenez pitié de moi, sainte Vierge.

— Il ne s'agit pas ici de la sainte Vierge, mais du père La Ligne, riposta rudement le prêtre. Allons, pas d'embardées, confessez-vous, si vous ne voulez mourir en état de péché.

Le bedeau lut alors à haute voix une liste des crimes auprès desquels ceux des Sodomites et des Gomorrhéens ne sont que simples peccadilles, et tandis que l'enfant de choeur secouait en guise d'eau bénite son pinceau de goudron, sur le visage du pénitent, le prêtre apprêta l'hostie de l'absolution.

Cette hostie consistait en un morceau de pomme de terre crue, enduit de coaltar et de sciure de bois.

— Ouvrez le panneau (la bouche), cria le suisse.

Le chirurgien obéit comme un automate, le prêtre lui posa délicatement l'amère pastille au fond du palais, Neptune fit jouer la bascule et le néophyte reçut enfin le baptême dans l'eau salée de la cuve.

Quand on le remit sur le pont, il était complètement ahuri; on le délia, on lui rendit la vue, et il reçut pour finir la bénédiction du père La Ligne qui permit d'embrasser son épouse en temoignage de sa haute satisfaction.

Cette dernière humiliation subie, on lui présenta le bidon des offrandes et on lui permit d'aller se débarbouiller.

Ficel devait suivre immédiatement le chirurgien; mais comme il paraissait se prêter de bonne grâce au jeu, le baptême allait être réduit pour lui à sa plus simple expression, c'est-à-dire qu'après lui avoir versé deux ou trois seaux d'eau sur le chef et lui avoir fait faire un plongeon dans la cuve, le père La Ligne le renverrait des fins de la plainte.

Mais cela ne faisait pas l'affaire du sous-lieutenant, qui ne l'aimait pas.

Dès que ce dernier vit le tribunal disposé en faveur du sculpteur, il insinua que Ficel avait paru braver le père Equateur et qu'il était bon de

doubler les épreuves au lieu de les diminuer. Il proposa, en conséquence, de bander les yeux à Ficel, de l'attacher par une drisse en dehors du navire et de lui faire prendre un bain dans la mer . . . L'idée ne fut pas goûtée par l'équipage . . .

Deux heures après le baptême était terminé.

Cependant, comme plusieurs novices demandaient à voir la ligne, Lussan apporta sa longue vue, sur le verre de laquelle il avait collé un cheveu qui simulait assez bien une ligne au soleil.

— Un instant, fit alors le petit chirurgien en s'avançant vivement; j'ai été baptisé le premier, je veux être le premier à voir la ligne, il m'en a coûté assez pour passer dessous.

— Soit, dit avec un grand sérieux le bonhome Equateur; regardez.

— Je regarde, repartit le chirurgien posant son oeil sur l'optique, bien convaincu que la ligne allait lui apparaître.

— Voyez-vous?

— Oui, oui, oui, je vois, dit-il, émerveillé, contemplant le cheveu placé à l'opposé du verre oculaire.

— Hisse! fit alors le père Equateur à Neptune, qui versa un baquet d'eau sur la tête du naif chirurgien.

— Ah! exclama celui-ci en se sauvant; c'est une indignité, je n'en joue plus; le baptême est fini.

— Oui, repartit Cérès; mais on ne prend pas gratis la hauteur du soleil.

Et la déesse administra sur le ventre du petit bonhomme une tape qui le fit ployer en deux.

— J'en appellerai au gouvernement, repartit le chirurgien indigné.

— Le gouvernement, c'est moi, repartit le père la Ligne en se renversant.

— Hourra! hourra! crièrent en choeur les matelots, tandis que Neptune braillait:

— Qui veut voir la ligne?

Bientôt, le père Equateur, son épouse et toute sa famille furent assaillis par une grêle de projectiles; l'eau, la farine, le noir de fumée, les haricots jaillirent d'un bout à l'autre du trois-mâts, au milieu de la gaieté générale. Lussan même ne put se soustraire à cette avalanche, et Cérès étant montée dans la mâture, lui versa sur la tête une seille d'eau qu'elle y avait halée à cet effet.

Seule, la cloche du diner mit fin à la mêlée.

Pour cette solennité, le menu se composait de tout ce qu'il y avait de mieux dans les provisions du navire.

Le repas se prolongea fort avant dans la nuit . . . .

(A. Dubarry. Le roman d'un baleinier. Paris, 1869. apud Mélusine, v. 2, 1884–5, columns 276–279.)

Another story laid on a whaler.

(To be continued)

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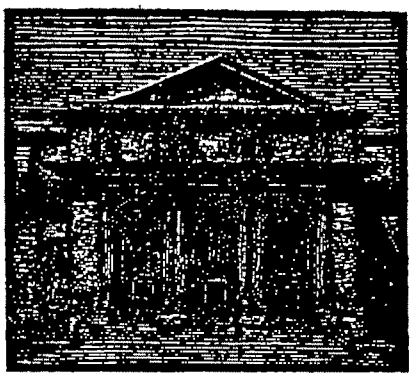

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form p5 [11-11-57 1975]

Front Matter

"WORLDS of fine thinking lie buried in that vast abyss, never to be disentombed or restored to human admiration," said De Quincey. "Like the sea, it has swallowed treasures without end, that no diving-bell will bring up again."

This extravagant bit of pessimism sometimes comes to mind when we have engaged the diving apparatus of a large library to seek out treasures in the stacks. We are always impressed and cheered when the sought fragments of buried worlds of thought *are* brought up from the stacks' deep well for our admiration.

De Quincey was alluding to the abyss of ephemerally published newspapers, not to book stacks. Yet any library *is* an abyss entombing worlds of thinking, fine and gross. And the apparatus of the library is but a social and partial endeavor to contain and chart the abyss. In a heroic containing operation our Book Delivery Division has now begun shelving new volumes in *fixed order location*, with each book in its relatively permanent place according to size, rather than in categories that shift as the sands.

With stacks long since too crowded, and stack aisles too busy, for reader access, this simplifies the divers' work and only makes more plain the fact that in this main region of our abyss the only guide must be the catalog — to which, in turn, the guide of every reader must be his own flair, aided by the published products of "bibliography," i. e. "lists of sources of information on given subjects."

GIVEN the subject of George Washington, what treasures have we, quite aside from those to be dredged up from the main collection? The present *Bulletin* displays samples from our Music and Art collections and adds a handy compendium of all our notable holdings of Washingtoniana.

Then follows the editor's own diving-bell recovery of some of the very treasures the Opium Eater had in mind. "But nowhere," De Quincey had continued, pitching his absolutes ever higher, yet punning as he went, "throughout its [the press's] shoreless magazines of wealth, does there lie such a bed of pearls confounded with the rubbish and 'purgamenta' of ages, as in the political papers of Coleridge. No more *appreciable* monument could be raised to the memory of Coleridge than a republication of his essays in the *Morning Post*, and afterwards in the *Courier*." Monuments and funerals pervade this issue!

WE have a problem with our new cover. Much of the brilliance of Haynes's wood engraving fades in the process of reproduction. The solid blacks turn gray, also the clear marble areas. Some think the color of the paper to blame, and we are trying our text paper though it may prove too absorbent. We are also experimenting with inks and hope by March to have the block recut and adapted to our inking conditions.

COMING: *Walt Whitman's Correspondence: a Checklist*, 170 pages, published as a separate pamphlet. Late February.

USE AND ADDITIONS January 1957: Visitors entering the Central Building 265,180; readers in the Reference Department 92,607; volumes consulted 251,826. Volumes issued by the Circulation Department for home use 1,060,174.

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Maps	___	289	292
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Misc.	41	___	41

The *Dead March* from Carr's *Dead March & Monody*

Americana Collection, Music Division

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BULLETIN OF THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
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FEBRUARY 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 2

Two Funeral Compositions in Memory of George Washington

By JOHN EDMUNDS
Americana Collection, Music Division

COMPOSERS were not so plentiful in America at the turn of the eighteenth century as poets, and musical elegies are vastly outnumbered by the memorial verses that appeared steadily in journals and newspapers for more than a year after Washington's death. But among the notable musical compositions which achieved print there are a curious piece called *The River Patowmac; an Epicedium on the Death of George Washington,* two funeral dirges, a *Dead March & Monody,* and what is the most impressive and maturely musical composition the occasion was to call forth: *A Funeral Elegy on the death of General George Washington. Adapted to the 22d of February. By Abraham Wood. Printed at Boston by Thomas & Andrews. Jan. 1800.* This composition is a setting for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass, of the first twenty lines of a poem probably written by Peter Whitney, since it was soon reprinted at the end of Whitney's sermon, *Weeping and Mourning at the death of eminent persons a national duty.* The sermon was delivered at Northborough, February 22, 1800, and printed in Brookfield, Massachusetts in April with this inscription: "An Elegy on the death of General Washington. Set to music by Capt. Abraham Wood, of Northborough, which being printed, was sung on the 22d of February, 1800, at Northborough, and many other places." The poem begins on a lugubrious and somewhat halting note, but as it progresses a dignity and ease become apparent, and the passage beginning at the thirteenth line echoes gracefully

the accents, though not the sentiments, of the moving epitaph at the end of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard:*

Know ye not that a great man hath fallen today?
Yea, we know it, yea, we know it, yea, we know it.
Hold thou thy peace.
Mourn, mourn, mourn, mourn, O Americans for Washington's no more.

Rest his dear sword beneath his head;
Round him his faithful Arms shall stand;
Fix his bright Ensigns on his bed,
The guards and honors of our land.

Fair Liberty, in Sables drest,
Write his lov'd name upon his Urn,
Washington! The scourge of Tyrants past,
And awe of Princes yet unborn.

Glory with all her lamps shall burn,
And watch the warrior's sleeping clay,
'Till the last trumpet rouse his urn,
To aid the triumphs of the day.

Great Soul, we leave thee to thy rest;
Enjoy thy Jesus and thy God,
'Till we, from bonds of clay released,
Spring out and climb the shining road.

At this point Wood breaks the poem off and substitutes for Whitney's amorphous eighteen-line conclusion a tightly knit passage from Hart's Hymns, and thus provides a welcome change in pace.

Earthly cavern, to thy keeping
We commit our brother's dust,
Keep it safely, softly sleeping
'Till the Lord demand thy trust.

Sweetly sleep, dear saint, in Jesus,
Thou with us shalt wake from death.
Hold he cannot, tho' he seize us:
We his pow'r defy by Faith.

Wood's skill in dealing with the awkward opening lines is a pleasure to follow, and his firm handling of the lines he has substituted at the conclusion lend the whole work a substance that makes it one of the finest musical works produced in our early history. Forty years after it was written it was adapted for use during the obsequies for Benjamin Harrison. Certainly it is deserving of performance today, since it shows a distinguished American composer of sacred music writing at his best on a great historic occasion.

Abraham Wood represents music in its most serious and elevated form at the end of the eighteenth century in America. Benjamin Carr, part of whose *Dead March & Monody* is here reproduced, makes as sharp a contrast with Wood as can well be imagined. Where Wood is a thoroughgoing conservative, Carr is an experimentalist; where Wood is reserved, Carr is vehement or merely conventional; where Wood sustains his ideas with cogent logic and easy assurance, Carr hops from idea to idea with the liveliness of a magpie. There would be no point in looking for sources of Wood's *Elegy* in the music of his predecessors since his is not a music of striking ideas; rather is it part and parcel of the common practice of his age. But with Carr the case is very different. Here sources are of real interest, since more than any of his contemporaries he seemed to have an alertness to novelty, a nose for musical news, and to have reflected these interests in his compositions, of which the present pair of works is probably the most significant. They were published together on a single sheet and are headed:

> Dead March & Monody. Performed in the Lutheran Church Philadelphia on Thursday the 26th December 1799 being Part of the Music Selected for Funeral Honours to our late illustrious Cheif [sic] General George Washington. Composed for the occasion and respectfully dedicated to the Senate of the United States, by their Obet. humble Servt. B. Carr

The interest here is in the remarkable mirroring in small of the battle that was then raging in the European musical world between Romanticism and Classicism, or to take it in its humblest form, between the emphatic and the polite manner. Doubtless Carr had no idea of this opposition as such, but the ideas were in the air, and as a man necessarily aware of the music of his time (since his avowed purpose in founding his *Musical Journal* in 1800 was to draw on a "regular supply of new music from Europe and the assistance of Men of Genius in the Country") he was responsive to both modes of expression.

The model for Carr's *Dead March* was in part the august "Dead March" from Handel's *Saul* which would have been the most familiar work of the kind, and incidentally one that is quoted in Carr's important musical *pot-pourri*, "The History of England from the close of the Saxon Heptarchy to the Declaration of American Independence," virtually an index to the most popular music in the country at the turn of the century. It is also this compilation which provides the clue to another piece of music, Franz Kotzwara's *Battle of Prague* which is clearly the primary source of Carr's inspiration. *The Battle of Prague* had been introduced to America by Carr himself and had

taken the young nation by storm.[1] The second section of the *Battle* is headed: "Word of Command" and it has precisely the same characteristics as Carr's *Dead March:* the pregnant scene-setting manner, the three-note motive followed by the peremptory chords, and most significant, the radical changes in dynamics from measure to measure, by which the ultimate in emphasis is achieved. One remembers that this was the moment when the harpsichord was being displaced by the pianoforte or "forte-piano," an instrument that, unlike the harpsichord, is responsive to the degree of force used in striking its keys, and in this respect an irresistable challenge to all who crave vehemence in musical expression.

Carr's *Dead March* is not lacking in vehemence. As for its structure it verges on the bizarre, being eight measures of portentous introduction which are then repeated, followed by a short prelude in the bass that prepares the way for two tiny phrases, the second of which fades back into the introductory material and abruptly ends.

The *Monody* is a very different matter. It is in the sadly ordinary idiom of William Shield. The text runs:

Sad are the tidings rumuour tells;
A grateful people mourn his end
Amidst the brave and just he dwells,
A Nation's father and its friend.

With honor crown'd, mature in age
He fell, the wonder of mankind,
Laden with laurels left the stage,
Nor leaves, alas! his like behind.

Seated in bliss supreme on high,
O spirit dear, attend our pray'r;
Our guardian angel still be nigh!
Make thy lov'd land thy heav'nly care.

But for all its conventionality the musical setting has genuineness and simplicity in common with the words. One is conscious in the *Dead March & Monody* of a largeness of purpose, a directness that lend them a noble dignity. Something of the reverence that Washington inspired, something of the overwhelming and abiding grief felt throughout America at his death has been captured here, and makes us recall the stature of the man, and respect Benjamin Carr for the unmistakable sincerity of his tribute.

[1] The New York Public Library's Musical Americana Collection has no less than thirteen different editions of this sensational effusion published before 1830.

A Provenance Controversy

Did Washington present a Stuart portrait to Alexander Hamilton?

By NEAL RICHMOND
Art and Architecture Division

SUBJECT of a spirited if well-mannered dispute between two prominent New York families during the 1870's and 1880's was the half-length portrait of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart which now hangs in The New York Public Library.[1] The Pierreponts claimed that this painting had been a gift from their ancestor, William Constable, to Alexander Hamilton. But the Hamiltons insisted that it had been given directly to *their* ancestor by Washington himself.

Correspondence which passed between Henry Pierrepont and the second Alexander Hamilton, grandson of Washington's friend, with other correspondence and manuscript material bearing on the picture's history has come into the files of the Library. On careful and impartial examination it yields a fairly definite resolution of the controversial question.

One can sympathize with the later Hamilton's concern. As a gift from Constable rather than from Washington the heirloom would of course lose "much of its interest and value." As he protested in a letter of February 23, 1880, to Pierrepont: "The chief interest in our Portrait was not for me or any member of my Father's family based upon the fact that it was a Stuart as that it was Washingtons gift to Hamilton" (the entire letter is quoted below). Contradictory evidence only disturbed without convincing him, and eight years later Henry Pierrepont, at the end of an intervening series of argumentative letters, was still writing to Hamilton: "I much desire to have this matter of difference put at rest, and if you desire to submit it to an arbitration I am willing to submit it." [2]

Hamilton died in 1889, bequeathing the portrait to the Astor Library, subject to the death of his widow, which occurred in 1896. The dispute never did come to arbitration, nor was Hamilton's claim ever officially presented as it was to have been in the second edition of George Mason's *Life and Works of*

[1] This portrait is No. 20 in Room 318. Reproduced in V. H. Paltsits, ed., *Washington's Farewell Address* (New York Public Library 1935: see below, p. 75); also in Mantle Fielding, *Gilbert Stuart's Portraits of George Washington* (Philadelphia 1923) opp. p. 164, described on p. 147 (Fielding's No. 29).

[2] Letter of March 6, 1888. All letters cited in this article are autograph MSS in The New York Public Library.

Gilbert Stuart, which never appeared. Mantle Fielding in his *Gilbert Stuart's Portraits of George Washington* (p. 147) merely notes noncommittally that "this picture, soon after it was painted, came into the possession of General Alexander Hamilton. The tradition in the Hamilton family is that it was a gift from Washington. Another claim is that it was presented by Mr. William Constable, a merchant of New York, in support of which there exists a receipt from the artist, dated Philadelphia, July 13, 1797, for the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars for painting a half-length portrait . . . for Mr. Constable."

The letters quoted below present both sides of the dispute. Mason had planned to present the cases as they are described in these letters in the second edition of his book and leave the reader to decide for himself where the truth lay. The publication of some of these letters here will perhaps assuage the ghost of the later Alexander Hamilton and elaborate Fielding's simple statement. They also, it seems to me, make it quite clear that Constable was the original donor of the portrait.

Since Gilbert Stuart himself left almost no papers from which a biography and catalogue of his works could be constructed, his daughter, Jane, when she wished to have her father's biography written, had to advertize for information. She turned over to George Mason the material which came to her, as she realized she could not manage the projected biography herself. Among those answering Miss Stuart's advertisement was Henry Pierrepont, who owned the full-length Lansdowne-type portrait now in the Brooklyn Museum.[3] Mason acknowledged the receipt of his papers:

Newport, R.I., Dec. 10, '78

Dear Mr. Pierrepont,

In the papers you have sent me I note that it is stated a half-length portrait of Washington was presented to Gen. Hamilton by Mr. Constable.

A few days ago Mr. Alex. Hamilton, 17 Washington Sq. N.Y. learning no doubt that this biography is to appear, wrote to Miss Stuart as follows:

> "I have in my possession (a portrait of W.), given by Washington to Gen Hamilton, in whose possession it remained until his death, then passed into his widow's, my grandmother, from her to my father & recently, upon his death into mine.
>
> "It is life size, seated, with the sea in the background, & one or two vessels, &c &c"

I have met with similar difficulties in my research. Can you help me through in this case? I should like to know, if the particulars are known to you, whether the above description answers to the picture given by Mr. C to Mr. H, if not, then the question arises, what became of the latter picture?

[3] No. 18 in Fielding's catalogue, p. 134.

Knowing that you are interested in the matter I do not hesitate to call your attention to it.

Ever truly yours,

GEO. C. MASON

Two days later Pierrepont wrote to Hamilton asking him to explain more fully his statement that Washington presented his portrait to Alexander Hamilton personally. He received this reply:

17 Washington Square
Dec. 13, 1878

My dear Pierrepont:

I received your note of the 12th this morning.

I have already written to Miss Stuart to say that I had a portrait of the "Immortal George" by her Father, as I had seen in the papers a letter from her requesting information from those who had them.

The portrait I have and which hangs in my Dining room belonged to Gen'l. Hamilton and tho' I know little about Stuart's portraits, save what one reads in the lives of Washington, the family tradition has been, so far as I know, that this portrait was the gift of Washington himself, with a wine-cooler, also presented by him.

My Father, who was 16 when his Father died, always spoke of it as Washington's gift, and left it to me by his will describing it as such.

I should be very glad to examine it with you, and as the light at night is bad come and lunch with me on Wednesday next at one, and we will compare notes....

My sister Angelica met Mrs. Lewis — g-daughter of Mrs. Washington — in the City of Washington at my grandmother's house. Mrs. Lewis ldoking at the picture, then hanging in the room, said to my sister that she remembered her uncle, — as she called him, — sitting for the portrait for Genl. Hamilton at Mount Vernon.

Unless Genl. Hamilton had two portraits, which is not likely and which I never heard of, it is not easy to reconcile these accounts.

Yours very truly,

A. HAMILTON

Before continuing with this correspondence, we should take note of an entry in the diary of Constable's daughter, mother of Henry Pierrepont. For March 28, 1834, she had written: "Mrs. General Hamilton here, remembered Washington [*i.e.*, the full-length Lansdowne type owned by the Pierreponts] was an original of Stewarts, and that my father made Stewart copy from it a half length for General Hamilton." She also wrote, in "Memorandums &

recollections in relation to the full length picture of Washington painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1796 for my Father Wm. Constable," dated 1849:

> After our return from England, 1795, my Father went to Philadelphia & by the request of his Mother engaged "Stuart" to take his likeness for his family [4]. . . . Gilbert Stuart was at the time of my Father's visit, painting a full length portrait of Washington for Mr. Bingham (who presented it to the Marquis of Lansdown.) My Father was so much pleased with it, that he engaged Stuart to paint one for him at the same time, as the Gen'l. was giving him sittings. . . . My father went twice to Philadelphia in his chariot & four, taking Mr. McC[ormick] with him to watch the progress of the painting; and to encourage the procrastinating artist, they had him invited to many dinner parties among friends, & by great perseverance obtained their wishes and before the picture was sent to NYC. Stuart painted a half length from it, which my Father presented to his friend General Hamilton. . . .

Henry Pierrepont's visit to 17 Washington Square was reported to Mason a few days later:

> No. 1 Pierrepont Place
>
> Brooklyn 18th Dec. 1878
>
> Mr. George C. Mason
>
> Dear Sir
>
> Mr. Alex. Hamilton showed me, today, the half length portrait of Washington which he has claimed, by tradition, was presented to his grandfather Gen'l H. by Gen'l. Washington.
>
> The memorandum made by my mother of her knowledge of the portrait having been painted for her father, and presented by him to Gen'l. H. was read, and and [sic] the bill for it shown, and the size, as given up by Stuart — (which latter in Europe is considered the proof of an original.)
>
> Mr. H. was surprized at these facts, and from finding the size of the portrait agreed with Stuart's bill. He said he would ask his uncle Mr. John C. Hamilton, what he remembered about the portrait.
>
> . . . I think that Mr. Hamilton will admit that his family have been in error as to its history. . . .
>
> Very truly yours,
>
> HENRY E. PIERREPONT

But Hamilton would not admit being in error. A short time after this, Mason's *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart* appeared; it made no mention of Hamilton's claims in its reference to the portrait but stated categorically

[4] *Cf.* Lawrence Park, *Gilbert Stuart, an Illustrated Descriptive List of His Work* (New York 1926) I, 231–232; III, pl. 179.

that it had been Constable's gift to Hamilton. Hamilton at once sat down and wrote:

Nevis
Irvington P.O.
Westchester Co.
Feb. 23, 1880.

My dear Pierrepont,

It is only within a few days that I have looked over the Life and Works of Stuart by Mr. Mason and was surprised and grieved to find that your theory about our Washington Portrait viz. that it was the gift of your Grandfather to Gen'l. Hamilton was twice stated as an established and unchallenged fact.

From the circumstance that this is mentioned in connection with Stuarts original receipt you shewed me, and your claim, of which I never heard until last year from you, I infer that you furnished or authorized the statement made by Mr. Mason. This of course is a matter within your own knowledge and you can inform me whether it be so or not.

About two years since when I saw Miss Stuarts card in the papers asking for information about the Washington Portraits I hesitated some time whether to write or not but thinking it would be churlish to refuse information I wrote to her giving the story of the Picture as the gift of Washington to General Hamilton according to the unvaried tradition in the family for more than eighty years: as this was the information sought for, I presume the letter was handed to Mr. Mason. I don't know whether you have seen it or not.

When you breakfasted with me last spring knowing that these Stuart Pictures were a hobby with you, I did not treat your theory very seriously partly because you were my guest and in part because I had given my account of my Portrait to Miss Stuart and could not suppose for a moment that the owners statement would be set aside as unfounded in the Book to be published and another account by a stranger to the Picture accepted as an undisputed fact. You will remember however that when we met afterwards in Wall Street I gave you distinct warning that I considered your theory without foundation.

If you had not been so much interested about the pictures, a little reflection would have shewn you what a position you placed yourself in, assuming always that the statement originally came in substance from you. The chief interest in our Portrait was not for me or any member of my Father's family based upon the fact that it was a Stuart as that it was Washingtons gift to Hamilton, as well as the 'Wine-Cooler' he gave him: this was stated to me by my Grandmother, was always the account given by my Father — who was between 16 and 17 years of age when his Father died, — in his lifetime, and in a clause of his will made many years ago when his faculties and memory were clear he bequeathed to me this Portrait and the Wine Cooler, as presented to his Father by Gen'l. Washington.

Against all this the only fact to sustain the statement in the Book — twice repeated, — is that W. Constable according to a receipt of Stuart

ordered and paid for a half length of Washington in July, 1797; — there is nothing to shew that Wm. Constable gave it to Gen'l. Hamilton, but as a friend and admirer of the General it is inferred he did so and the Book states as an established fact from this inference that Mr. Constable did so bestow it. In other words upon a mere conjecture it contradicts flatly my written statement, contradicts my Father's life-long assertion placed many years ago in his will, and the family tradition for eighty years. Artists will tell you that long continued family tradition can only be overcome by strong evidence, and this would be the conclusion of common sense.

I have always had a great respect and veneration for Mr. Constable, but of course the Portrait loses for our family much of its interest and value as *his* gift in comparison with its being the gift of Washington and this would also be the opinion of the Public. Generally in those days Stuart's pictures could be bought by those who had the means to do so, but I am not aware, tho it may be so, that there is another Portrait of Washington given by himself in his life-time to any other person.[5]

Within two or three days however I have done what I never did before from my entire confidence in the family story of the Portrait, and have made a careful examination of it, having had it taken from the frame and placed on the floor. In this examination keener eyes than mine called my attention to a Date, placed on the white part of the paper Washington holds in his hands. The letters and figures are at right angles to the writing painted on the paper signed "G. Washington," and are invisible at a short distance tho' very distinct when your attention is called to them and the picture inspected closely.[6] The date is December (abbreviated) without the day of the month and the figures 1797: they seem to me plainly the work of an artist and placed there, as is very generally done, to indicate the time when the Portrait was finished. This date seems to dispose absolutely of the statement that Mr. Constable's half length is this Portrait, since by your receipt it appears that his half length was finished July 4 and paid for July 13, 1797. I suppose Mr. Constable received his pictures soon after they were paid for, but whether he did or not it seems certain that this date of December 1797 would not be found on a Picture completed early in July '97 five or six months before.

Mr. Mason is liable to me in damages and unless this positive statement is publicly contradicted, I shall bring an action against him. He is also morally liable if he has seen my letter to Miss Stuart, and therefore has entirely disregarded my assertions.

I have taken the trouble to write this long letter from an old friendship and acquaintance, and if I am right in my impression that you are the author — substantially — of the statement endorsed by Mr. Mason, to ask

[5] "It is said that Washington ordered replicas of his portraits from Stuart for presentation to friends, and it may be that this is true." W. T. Whitley, *Gilbert Stuart* (Harvard University Press 1932) 114.

[6] This date cannot be detected by the present writer (nor by the editor).

you whether you do not owe it to me, to Genl. Hamilton's family, but above all to yourself to make known to Mr. Mason that your theory has scarcely any foundation.

Yours truly,

A. HAMILTON

Pierrepont replied to this letter four days later. He also wrote to Mason what is substantially the same letter he sent to Hamilton on the same day:

27 Feb. 1880
Brooklyn, No. 1 Pierrepont Place

My dear Sir,

Mr. Alexander Hamilton claims under his father's will, from whom he inherited a half length portrait of Washington, that it was the gift of Genl. W. himself, and asks me whether I am your authority for the statement twice repeated in L & W. of Stuart, that it was the gift of Mr. Constable.

He wished me to contradict this report, and intends, he says, to require you to do so.

I wrote him that I furnished you my mothers acct. of the portraits from her personal knowledge, from which you made up your statement, believing the proofs sufficient.

I had never showed him any other proof of my opinion, gathered from my grand-parents, and my parents, except the receipt by Stuart. I now wrote him in detail the basis of my belief.

First The memorandums and old diaries of my mother, and the History she wrote of the pictures herself.

Second The statement made by Mrs. H. to her in 1834, and recorded in her diary "that she knew Mr. Constable presented the half length to her husband."

Third The bill and dimensions given up by Stuart of the dimensions of the half-length, which I measured and found the same as the picture in his possession.

Fourth That you had rec'd. accounts of 600 portraits by Stuart, and of no such half length, except his. That the dimensions given up by artists would be deemed conclusive, and that unless another half length should be found with the same dimensions, the claim that his was that presented by Mr. Constable must be admitted.

Fifth That his uncle Mr. John C. Hamilton wrote me his belief that the portrait was given by Mr. Constable as his mother never mentioned to him Washington had presented it, & the relations of Genl. Hamilton & Washington were among her topics of interest.

Mr. Hamilton says he has discovered across the end of the paper Was'n. held in his hand the Date Dec. 1797 — and that this is conclusive the portrait is not the same painted for Mr. Constable 4" July and paid for Jly 13".

I wrote him Mr. Constables agents letters show that the half length was painted in the winter of 1796.97 & that this is probably the origin of the date he has discovered & that I do not know the date of its delivery.

Mr. H is naturally distressed at finding the tradition that the gift was by Wash'n. as stated in his father's will controverted, as he says the chief value of the portrait is that it was Washington's gift. I hope this statement will convince Mr. H. though against his will of the correctness of my family story and its proofs.

My grandfather in his letters speaks of his obligations to his counsel Genl. H. for his valuable legal services. Probably this was what prompted the gift of the picture, and also of the valuable french books by his will. This fact also was doubted by Mr. H. till I gave him a copy of the clause in the will mentioning it.

I think it was delicate not to have [published?] the tradition and claims of Mr. H. as it would not have appeared creditable, after the proofs given in my mother's memorandum which I submitted to you.

I submitted my paper to you before I heard Mr. H. had written Miss Stuart and made his statement.

I hope you may not have trouble out of this controversy. Your book is highly thought of. I shall make memorandums to aid you [you *canceled*] if a new edition is to be printed.

Truly yrs,

H E P

Hamilton replied on March 2 at some length. Pierrepont's arguments did not impress him. The mysterious Dec. 1797 date is still his chief refuge: it proves that his half-length is not the one which Constable had commissioned. "But as you brush away this very clear evidence so lightly," he concludes, "it is plain to me that you are in the state described by the Frenchman — if the facts don't agree with the theory 'tant pis pour les faits.' "

For eight years after this letter there was no more correspondence between the two men. Then the February 1888 number of the *Magazine of American History*, devoted to Washington, repeated Mason's statement that Constable had given Hamilton the portrait. The dispute was resumed in Hamilton's letter of February 25:

Nevis
Irvington
Westchester Co., N.Y.
Feb. 25 1888.

My dear Mr. Pierrepont,

As old friends connected by many ties I have regretted very much the publications supposed to be made or authorized by you in regard to my Portrait of Washington, viz. that it was the same picture — half length,

— bought by your grandfather Mr. Constable from Stuart in 1796 and 1797, and a copy of a picture owned by you. . . .

When the statement was first made in the Life of Stuart in a conversation with you I called your attention to the unpleasant position you might be thought to have taken in attacking and injuring a portrait possessed by General Hamilton's family for 90 years without any belief in such a claim as you made either by my Grandmother, or any member of the family. I certainly never heard of it until within a few years — not long before the appearance of the Life of Stuart — when you wished to see the Picture and breakfasted with me in Washington Square with a tape line to measure it in your pocket, and the bill of Stuart for Mr. Constable's pictures which you then shewed me for 1796 and 1797.

My Portrait coming to me by descent from Genl. Hamilton, was in my Father's possession for about 30 years. He shewed it to his neighbors during that time and always as Washington's gift. He made the same statement more solemnly in all his wills giving it to me. It is my duty to his memory to defend and maintain that statement, if, as I believe, he was correct in making it, especially, as he was old enough at his Father's death to have known the truth.

The recent publication of the same statement in Mrs. Lambs Magazine of American History a periodical of large circulation (Washington number) compels me to take action in the matter, though I never voluntarily bring my personal matters before the public, and shall only do so now in self defence.

I write therefore first to ask whether I am correct in supposing that the statement contained in the Life of Stuart to which I have referred, see pages 98 and 100 of Stuarts life were furnished by you to the Editor, or whether the statement, above referred to recently published by Mrs. Lamb was furnished by you.

If such be the case it seems to me that I have no course open, but to ask you to substantiate and prove the statements, which not only destroy a large part of the Historical value of this Picture, but practically pronounce it a copy.

Of course with our past and present relations a legal proceeding to this end is not a pleasant recourse, but if it be necessary it need be accompanied by no warmth or feeling.

Yours sincerely

A. HAMILTON

Pierrepont's answer to this was, in part, that "If I could conscientiously disregard the documentary and traditional grounds of my belief in this true history of this portrait, I would most gladly do so, for I agree with you that if the portrait had been the gift of Genl Washington instead of from a private citizen it would add to its pecuniary value very greatly — great as it now is, for it is an admirable portrait. . . . Legal proceedings which you intimate, would not remove doubts, and would be discreditable and to be regretted between old family friends."

Hamilton stated his views formally in the *Magazine of American History* for March 1888 (p. 253–4):

> . . . Stuart's bill to Mr. Constable, the original of which I have seen, is as follows:
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | W[m]. Constable Esq | to g. Stuart | D[r] |
> | 1796 Nov[r] to one portrait of said W. | D[r] | 100 |
> | 1797 July 4. one of the late President of the United States at full length | | 500 |
> | 1797 July 4. one do half length | | 250 |
> | | D[r] | 850 Dollars |
>
> Philadelphia, July 13, 1797
> Receipt in full on the Bill signed
> G. STUART
>
> This bill shows that all Mr. Constable's pictures, and there seem to have been three, were finished and paid for and no doubt delivered — as Mr. Constable's impatience to have them is clearly shown by his two visits to Philadelphia in his chariot and four to watch their progress — six months before the portrait in my possession was completed.
>
> What became of Mr. Constable's two other portraits of Washington I have no means of knowing, but the dates and the bill show clearly that none of them can be confounded with the one in my possession. . . .

Hamilton died about a year after the publication of this notice, convinced that his evidence was incontrovertible. But his case must be finally reduced to that of a fondly cherished family tradition. The first item in Stuart's bill, which he quotes, is not "one portrait of said W," as Mason also quotes it, but "one portrait of said W. C.," that is, William Constable, who, of course, sat to Stuart. This means that the disputed half-length is the only other portrait of Washington to be accounted for. Pierrepont's mother's diary seems to account fully for that. Hamilton has only family word-of-mouth to contradict it. The date "Dec. 1797," which Hamilton claims to have discovered on his portrait, is not visible now. Perhaps he saw what he wanted so very much to see in order to bolster what he wanted so very much to believe. The "keener eyes than mine" that first detected the date remain mysteriously anonymous. Pierrepont's story accounts for all the facts; there seems very little reason not to accept it.

Washingtoniana in The New York Public Library

By Robert W. Hill, *Keeper of Manuscripts*
and Lewis M. Stark, *Chief of Reserve Division*

Manuscripts and Letters

THE resources of the Manuscript Division for the study of our country's first President are extensive and notable, but their importance derives more from the significance of certain individual pieces than from the numerical extent of the Division's holdings. Nevertheless, an alphabetical card catalog in Room 319 reveals approximately 553 cards for pieces by or about George Washington and his wife Martha. A closer examination of the collections locates 120 items written or signed by him, two famous holograph documents of considerable length, a series of 236 letter-press copies of letters from his later civilian life, and twenty-three items in collections placed in the Library's custody.

The Library's earliest Washington holograph is a land survey, dated November 20, 1750 (Emmet 13405). This is followed closely by another of the same type, from the next April, surveying lands of one Owen Thomas; here one sees the beginning of the characteristic signature familiar to us of two centuries later. The latest item which may have been touched by his pen is a letter-press copy of December 10, 1799, bearing his endorsement, made only four days before his death. Many citizens will feel a bond of companionship with the "Father of his country" as portrayed by this letter: Washington states that he is not in a position to lend money, since his receipts for some years have fallen far short of his expenditures.

The two volumes containing the letter-press copies were purchased by the Lenox Library in 1895. An account of their creation and calendar descriptions of the entire collection of 236 items covering 1792–1799 can be found in this Library's *Bulletin* for June 1898; selected items are printed completely in several issues prior to that date.

The largest group of Washington source materials forms part of a series of "Presidential Papers." Here one finds five manuscript containers, along with the volumes of letter-press copies. The first two boxes contain forty-six George Washington originals, plus many more photostat copies which generous owners of originals have permitted the Library to make. Another box contains originals and related miscellany of Martha Washington and other branches of the Washington and Custis families. Two containers are filled

with clippings, facsimiles from auction catalogs and dealers' lists, and ephemera of all types recording letters, documents and memorabilia.

The additional Washington holographs appear in collections assembled by Americans of generations subsequent to the early decades of our independence. The Emmet Collection is the strongest, including forty-four Washington holographs. The Theodorus Bailey Myers Collection contains twenty and is followed in descending order by the Mary Stillman Harkness bequest, the Jedidiah Morse papers, the Morrell and the Liebman collections. Among collections deposited here which have not yet become the property of the Library, the greatest addition of Washingtoniana is found in the Lee Kohns Memorial Collection — nine pieces.

In the Arents Tobacco Collection there are two holograph business letters from Washington to Robert Cary & Co., London, regarding shipments of tobacco, one dated from Mount Vernon, September 11, 1762, and the other from Williamsburg, November 20, 1772. This collection also includes two receipts for tobacco and three documents signed by Washington as President: a customs clearance paper and two ship's papers.

The Berg Collection has four holograph Washington letters and a leaf of notes in his hand. The two most significant letters were written during the days of the Revolution: one to his brother John Augustine Washington, from the Camp at White Marsh, near Philadelphia, November 26, 1777; and the other to Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence, from the general's Headquarters at Middlebrook, May 5, 1779.

It seems entirely proper in such a survey as this to call attention to certain other association materials, which, despite their secondary nature, possess distinction. In two instances they revolve around another star in the American firmament, hardly less brilliant than that first star, yet named after him.

Washington Irving's last major work was a biography of the great patriot. Among the Library's distinguished Irving collections there are the author's original manuscripts of four complete chapters and some pages of two additional ones, of the *Life of Washington*. There are also just over two hundred leaves of notes and memoranda gathered in preparation for the biography, in the hurried, jotted hand of Irving, principally in two note-books in the Seligman Collection.

A work by so famous an author about so revered a personage inevitably produced the second instance we have in mind: an example of a collector practice much in favor in the last century but virtually out of fashion in our own time. The extra-illustrated set was made by enlargement of some standard work through adding or inserting manuscript letters and documents,

views, portraits, or select ephemera at pertinent points in the text. Thomas Addis Emmet, one of the great figures in American collecting, chose to extra-illustrate the five-volume quarto edition of Irving's *Life of Washington*, issued in 1857. Each of the five volumes was expanded to two. The completed ten volumes were enriched by 1,069 inserted pieces. Among these additions were about ninety-three letters and documents, one hundred seventy-five views, several hundred portraits, half a dozen broadsides, and a number of other special items in some way bearing on Washington's career and contemporaries. Dr. Emmet's knowledge and the financial means he applied to collecting give assurance of the significance of these materials.

To insert a section about spurious Washingtoniana in this account of sources may cause elevated eyebrows. But the inexperienced collector or student needs to be aware of their existence and of at least one notorious practitioner in this field. The career of Robert Spring as a manufacturer of "Washingtons" on salvaged documents coming from the later years of Washington's life is known in some detail. The Manuscript Division has a copy of Spring's trade circular, in search of material for his stock, and at least nine fairly lengthy holograph letters by him illustrating his method of seeking customers among the wealthy and prominent; these are genuine. The examples of his forgeries number a dozen or so; add to these five or six examples produced by a twentieth century disciple of Spring and it is clear that the Library has a substantial file of documents illustrating things which Washington never actually said or did.

Farewell Address and 1757 Notebook

The most important piece of Washingtoniana, ranking high among the Library's "treasures," is the final holograph manuscript of his Farewell Address, used by the printer David C. Claypoole, of Philadelphia, for its first publication in his newspaper, the *American Daily Advertiser*, on September 19, 1796. When Claypoole expressed an interest in owning the manuscript Washington presented it to him. After Claypoole's death the manuscript, with other effects from his estate, was sold at auction on February 12, 1850. It was acquired by James Lenox for $2,300. In 1885, five years after Mr. Lenox's death, the manuscript was transferred to the Lenox Library, where it remained until removed to the present building in 1911.

This great state paper and an extensive series of related contemporary letters by other founding fathers of the nation form the bases for one of the Library's finest publications: *Washington's Farewell Address in Facsimile, with Transliterations of All the Drafts of Washington, Madison & Hamilton,*

Together with Their Correspondence and Other Supporting Documents. Edited . . . by Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York, 1935.[1] This volume includes a detailed bibliography of the separate editions of the Farewell Address printed in 1796 only, and of the newspaper reprints published during the two and a half months following its first printing. Of the fifty-four separate 1796 editions listed by Dr. Paltsits, this Library's collection contains twenty-eight.

Another noted manuscript is the notebook kept by Washington while a colonel of Virginia troops in 1757. The identification of this volume, acquired by the Library solely as a contemporary military roster, was established by the late Keeper of Manuscripts, Victor Hugo Paltsits (*Bulletin,* August 1920). In subsequent years it has received publicity because it contains a recipe for small beer seemingly brewed on Washington's plantation.

Journal

The Library has extensive holdings of contemporary and later printed editions of Washington's writings, official and non-official, as well as an enormous collection of biographical and historical material relating to the life and career of the first President. Among the works printed during his lifetime, the earliest and rarest is a *Journal* which he kept during a trip to the Ohio country in the fall of 1753 as the emissary of Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, who had sent the twenty-one year old Washington to deliver a protest against the French encroachment into territory claimed by the British. Upon his return to Williamsburg early in 1754 Washington's report was printed. At the present time only eight copies of the future President's first publication are recorded. The Library's copy was formerly in George Brinley's famous collection of Americana, dispersed at auction between 1878 and 1893.

Portraits

The Library owns six portraits of Washington, painted by James Peale, Rembrandt Peale, and Gilbert Stuart. Four are at present hanging in Room 318: a half-length painting by James Peale, purchased by James Lenox at the Claypoole sale in Philadelphia in February 1850 (at which Mr. Lenox also acquired the final manuscript of the Farewell Address); a copy by Rembrandt Peale of Gilbert Stuart's first portrait of Washington (1795), bought by Mr. Lenox at the Rembrandt Peale sale in Philadelphia, Novem-

[1] This publication is still in print and can be purchased at the Library for $12.50, about a third of what it would cost to print today. (Ed.)

ber 1862; a full-length portrait painted by Gilbert Stuart for Peter Jay Munro and purchased from his family by James Lenox in 1845; and a half-length portrait painted by Stuart for William Constable of New York, 1796–97, which soon afterwards passed into the possession of Alexander Hamilton and was acquired by the Astor Library in 1896, to which it had been bequeathed by Hamilton's grandson.[2]

Two other portraits by Rembrandt Peale and a drawing by Samuel Lawrence are in storage. The Library also owns two marble busts of Washington, one by Raimondo Trentanove, and one by Thomas Crawford.

The Prints Division houses collections of engraved portraits of Washington totaling well over 2,000 pieces. The majority of these prints are in the Charles Williston McAlpin Collection, bequeathed to the Library by the former Secretary of Princeton University in 1942. Its richness and extent can be judged by the fact that it contains over 1,700 engraved portraits alone — mainly after the paintings of Stuart, Peale, Trumbull, and Savage, but with one of the latest after a contemporary oil by an unknown painter. Many others are classed as "fictitious" Washington prints, since they were largely the result of the engraver's imagination, apparently based on no known painting or likeness. Early famous engravers represented in the collection include Paul Revere and Amos Doolittle.

In addition to the engravings, the collection contains lithographs and also textile, embroidered, and glass transfer portraits. Chronologically it extends from about 1783 to about 1900. In size, the smallest engraved medallion is less than three-sixteenths of an inch wide, the largest a four-foot copperplate. Supplementing this material in the Division are six large scrapbooks of related engravings, reproductions, clippings and ephemera, constituting an invaluable record of Washington iconography.

Besides the Library's paintings and engraved portraits, the Reserve Division has a collection of eighty-eight different Washington medals and medallic portraits (some in more than one example). Seventy-two are described in William S. Baker's *Medallic Portraits of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1885). Of the remaining sixteen, seven are not recorded by Baker; the other nine were issued after 1885.

Eulogies

The Library's notable collection of the many eulogies delivered after Washington's death formed in large part the basis for Margaret B. Stillwell's *Washington Eulogies*, published by the Library in 1916. This checklist

[2] This portrait is the subject of the article by Neal Richmond in the present *Bulletin*, p. 63. It is reproduced in color as frontispiece to the Paltsits volume.

records 440 titles of addresses and tributes written in honor of Washington between his death on December 14, 1799, and the anniversary of his birth, February 22, 1800, the date set apart as the national day of mourning. At the time of publication of Miss Stillwell's list the Library owned 271 titles (including one photostat). Since 1916 twenty-two originals and one photostat have been added, as well as a photostat of an oration by Elijah Brown, Troy [1800], not recorded by Miss Stillwell. These bring the total of the Library's present holdings to 295 titles or editions.

The most interesting of the Library's eulogies, from the collector's point of view, are contained in a set of three volumes which belonged to Martha Washington. These volumes comprise thirty-three eulogies, most of which were presented to the President's widow by their authors; one of them bears her own autograph. The volumes are in contemporary bindings of full calf. Two, octavo in size, came from the Livermore sale of November 23, 1894; the third, a quarto, was obtained from William Evarts Benjamin.

In some instances the Martha Washington collection duplicates eulogies previously owned by the Library, but one, delivered by François Adriaan van der Kemp at Oldenbarneveld, now Barneveld, New York, February 22, 1800, is an autograph manuscript. It was printed in 1916 for the first time in the original English version as a preface to Miss Stillwell's checklist. Its only contemporary publication was in a Dutch translation, which appeared at Amsterdam in 1800.

Books from Washington's Library

Of all association books there are few which are of greater interest to the American collector and librarian than those from the library of George Washington. As is well known, the majority of Washington's collection was purchased for the Boston Athenæum in 1848 from Henry Stevens, who had secured the books from the Washington heirs. In 1876, 282 volumes not in the Stevens purchase were sold at auction in Philadelphia by M. Thomas & Sons. The largest buyer at this sale was John R. Baker of Philadelphia, whose library was dispersed in February 1891. Since that time numerous other sales of Washington books have taken place.

Twenty-one volumes which had belonged to Washington were received by the Library in June 1950 by bequest of the late Edward S. Harkness. These volumes constitute one of the most remarkable accessions of Washingtoniana ever to come to the Library. Mr. Harkness evidently acquired the entire group from Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, as they are all mentioned by title on page 209 of his *Books and Bidders* (1927). All but two of the volumes have

Washington's bold signature in the usual upper right corner of the title page. The two exceptions are presentation copies from their respective authors. One of these, perhaps the most interesting of the whole group, is the first edition of *The Poems of Philip Freneau. Written Chiefly During the Late War,* Philadelphia, 1786. The volume is in a charming presentation binding of mottled calf, gilt, the back strip of red morocco stamped in gilt in a floral design, with a green morocco label lettered in gilt. On the half-title Freneau has written: "General Washington will do the author the honour to accept a copy of his poems, as a small testimony of the disinterested veneration he entertains for his character — Philip Freneau." Seventeen pages of the text have manuscript corrections in the author's hand.

Two other works presented by their authors are in the collection: Arthur Browne's *A Compendious View of the Civil Law . . . Vol. I.,* Dublin, 1797, and Elhanan Winchester's *A Course of Lectures, on the Prophecies that Remain to be Fulfilled,* London, 1789–90 (4 vols.). The remaining books, in chronological order, include Eliza Haywood's *Epistles for the Ladies . . . Vol. II,* London, 1750; the Dublin, 1777 edition of William Robertson's *The History of America;* a pamphlet volume containing James Brindley's *The History of Inland Navigations. . . . The Third Edition, with Additions,* London, 1779, and five other English pamphlets; a three-volume set of *A Collection of All the Treaties of Peace, Alliance and Commerce, Between Great-Britain and Other Powers,* London, 1785; and *The Political State of Europe, for the Year M,DCC,XCII [–M,DCC,XCIV],* London, 1792–95 (8 vols.). A detailed description of these books is included in an account of the Harkness collection in the Library's *Bulletin* for December 1950. Mention was also made there of a book once owned by Martha Washington: John Smith's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyll,* Edinburgh, 1798, in which was tipped a holograph letter from Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Frances Washington, widow of the President's nephew George Augustine Washington. This letter is printed in full in the *Bulletin* article. One other original letter by Martha Washington, a short note written to Patty Dandridge from Mount Vernon, February 12, 1801, is in the Emmet Collection (no. 14158).

Previous to the receipt of the Harkness collection, the Library had owned five other books from Washington's Library: *An Exact Abridgement of All the Public Acts of Assembly of Virginia, in Force and Use . . . By John Mercer,* Glasgow, 1759; a Dublin, 1770, edition of *Letters, from M. de Voltaire. To Several of His Friends;* John William Fletcher's *An Appeal to Matter of Fact and Common Sense,* London [1780?]; a presentation copy of William Richardson Davie's *Instructions . . . for the Formations and Movements of the*

Cavalry, Halifax, N. C., 1799; and a pamphlet volume containing eight items. This volume, from the Wilberforce Eames Indian Collection, includes such scarce titles as Carington Bowles' *The Artists Assistant in Drawing . . . The Sixth Edition Improved,* Philadelphia, 1794; a presentation copy of Alexander C. Hanson's *Remarks on the Proposed Plan of a Federal Government,* Annapolis [1788]; Abiel Leonard's *A Prayer, Composed for the Benefit of the Soldiery, in the American Army,* Cambridge, 1775; and the anonymous *Political Opinions, Particularly Respecting the Seat of Federal Empire,* [n. p.] 1789. The latter may well have been sent to Washington by its unknown author, since the title page carries the printed dedication: "Most humbly inscribed to His Excellency the President, by a citizen of America."

One volume from Washington's library is in the Arents Collection: *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences: To the End of the Year M,DCC,LXXXIII. Volume I,* Boston, 1785. Washington's customary signature is inscribed on the title page and his name is included in the list of members of the Academy.

Music

Since the Sonneck-Upton *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music [18th century]* (1945) covers the musical Washingtoniana in the Library, including the important Elliot Shapiro Collection acquired in 1956, there is no need here for detailed listing. But two outstanding publications elicited by Washington's death may be pointed out as meriting special study. There is a setting by an anonymous composer of "Angels ever bright and fair," a text used by Handel in his oratorio *Theodora.* The music, though unlike Handel's great aria, is of some funereal amplitude, but the lyric is modified only in the gender of one pronoun, not a sufficient change to adapt the young Theodora's robes of "virgin white" to the august warrior. And there is one of the only two copies cited by Sonneck-Upton of the rare second issue of Oliver Holden's *Sacred Dirges and Hymns.* To the nine pieces in Holden's first issue a tenth was added in this issue, a composition of some length and substance entitled "A Dirge or Sepulchral Service."

Many musical works celebrating various events in Washington's life are included in the Library's holdings. Most have been extensively discussed elsewhere, notably in the writings of O. G. T. Sonneck and of John Tasker Howard, who until his recent retirement was curator of the Musical Americana Collection.

Coleridge on George Washington

Newly Discovered Essays of 1800

By DAVID V. ERDMAN

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE as a poet and as a lover of freedom was passionately interested in America — its alligators, mosquitos, and savanna cranes; its "government *of* the people, and *for* the people"; its Wild Indians; and especially the freedom of some "cottag'd dell" on the banks of the Susquehanna where he and his friends might form an equalitarian society of intellectual farmers, "Pantisocrats," far from "the shame and anguish" of Britain at war with republican France. In 1794, when he proposed a tavern toast to George Washington, he was at the height of whiggish enthusiasm and indiscretion. In 1809, fifteen years later, in an article on Spanish resistance to Napoleon, he defended the idea of a popular Junta by pointing out that Washington could not have united the insurgent Americans without the support of a Congress. In the years between, he wrote a great body of political verse and prose; yet in all his published work there is surprisingly little mention of the United States or of its leaders.

A rare exception is his reply to an apologist for Napoleon, who was arguing that no *new* government could afford to permit freedom of the press: "Did the writer never hear of the United States of America?" From the meagerness of such allusions in his own writings, Coleridge's own readers are at times tempted to ask him the same question. Even the name Washington occurs in the indexes of the largest studies of Coleridge only once or twice or not at all. Nevertheless some sort of treatise could be assembled of Coleridge's thoughts about Americans. And no one has supposed that Coleridge if called upon would have been unable to elaborate his declaration in an article on Napoleon in the London *Morning Post,* April 21, 1800: "If his virtues be as great as his genius, he may do for the old world what Washington has done for the new." Conjecture, however, is not text.

It is exciting, then, suddenly to discover a previously unnoticed group of essays on Washington, two of them unmistakably by Coleridge and full of his familiar concepts and mannerisms. Beginning three months earlier than the Napoleon article, they appear in the same newspaper, the *Morning Post,* during the period when Coleridge was its chief writer of political essays.[1]

[1] Coleridge will always and rightly be more famous as a poet and critic than as an editorial writer, but he gave many of his best years to journalism, and historians have credited him with raising the moral tone and literary quality of editorial writing at the dawn of the modern era. His

The first of the newfound essays, published on January 27, is a brief but penetrating character study and eulogy of Washington called forth by the news of his death in December. It presents him as the unostentatious president of a republic but at the same time a "commanding genius." Two slight editorial paragraphs follow on ensuing days. Then a second long essay appears March 25, inspired by the publication of Washington's Last Will and Testament. Both of the longer essays meet our expectation of what Coleridge *would* say in praise of the first President of the land of "Peace and mild Equality," the land of "wizard Passions" coexisting beside "Virtue calm" (to quote from his Pantisocracy poems). And in theme they lead logically to the April comparison of Washington to Napoleon, for both prepare the thesis that Washington had virtues as great as his genius and in more stable combination than Napoleon. Together they constitute a portrait of Washington which matches (and supplies points of contrast to) the well-known portrait on March 19 of William Pitt, war minister of Britain cordially loathed by Coleridge and the *Morning Post*, and the preliminary portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte which lies scattered in editorial paragraphs of March 11, March 13, and April 21.

The sketch of Napoleon was at least meant to be only preliminary, for Coleridge's most famous political essay was the one "Of Bonaparte — Tomorrow," which he never wrote. Nevertheless, the discovery of a companion piece on George Washington is presumably more valuable, if less sensational, than would be the discovery of a finished essay on Napoleon. At least it affords more new and interesting material than could be obtained even if Coleridge's ghost were to return and write the promised "Bonaparte." He had actually written a good deal about Bonaparte and was probably inhibited from writing a set piece by the realization that he would be unable to produce anything sufficiently novel to fulfill the world's expectations.

The first Washington essay, though only now recovered, did not go unnoticed at the time, for as late as the following September people were hearing about it and writing to the editor, who could only reply that it was out of print: *Morning Post*, September 20, 1800: "TO CORRESPONDENTS: The Eulogy on General Washington appeared in this Paper some months ago."

daughter Sara published in 1850 a three-volume edition of his periodical *Essays on His Own Times*. She relied chiefly on a bundle of clippings which her father had kept, but since she knew "it would have been very unlike my father to have kept *all* the pieces that he wrote," she looked into some old issues of the *Morning Post* and the *Courier* and found several more. Today, with the aid of microfilm, photostat, typewriter, and inter-library cooperation, it is possible to make a systematic search through all the issues of these newspapers in the years when Coleridge was writing for them. The results of this search, for the period up to 1804, which I have undertaken with the assistance of Mrs. David Glickfield, are to be published as *Coleridge in The Morning Post*.

One wonders why the Eulogy did not survive in the Coleridgean clipping file to be placed where it belonged in Sara Coleridge's edition of her father's *Essays on His Own Times.* The answer may lie in another discovery. Eleven years after its first printing in the *Morning Post* I find that an almost identical reprint of the Eulogy appeared in the London *Courier,* August 16, 1811. Now in that very year Coleridge had committed himself, in May, to a weekly supply of articles to the *Courier,* and by autumn he had begun to fall back on old material. An "Allegoric Vision" that he had written in 1795 was used on August 31. Part of an essay on the price of grain, first printed in the *Morning Post* of October 8, 1800, was used on September 19. The reappearance of the Washington obituary in the *Courier* this August is additional evidence that Coleridge wrote the original essay. A line in the *Courier* identifying it as a reprint from the "*Morning Post June* 27, 1800" — a mistake for January 27 — means probably that Coleridge handed in a clipping on which the date had been scrawled not quite legibly.

The circumstantial evidence for Coleridge's authorship of the two essays of 1800 is therefore splendid. What clinches the attribution is the internal evidence — not only the style, the nuances of political and psychological outlook, but also the intimate and intricate connections between these unknown essays and several of the known essays of Coleridge's written in the same early months of 1800.

In the first essay on Washington, January 27, Coleridge speaks of the difficulty of "analysing the character of a commanding genius" and then proceeds to surmount that difficulty. In the first essay on Bonaparte, March 11, he calls the French ruler "a man of various talent, of commanding genius, of splendid exploit" "seated on the throne of the Republic," though seated by foul means. Finally, in his portrayal of Pitt, March 19, he makes the devastating discovery that in *him* there is "no one proof or symptom of a commanding genius." In this and other respects the analyses of Pitt, Bonaparte, and Washington are complementary and contrastive; it is impossible to read them all together and doubt they are by the same hand.[2] I speak now of the

[2] Coleridge's development of an extreme loathing for Napoleon in later years led him to cast out the term "commanding genius" along with the whole cult-of-personality idea. In 1816 in *The Statesman's Manual* (Appendix C, p. x) Coleridge scolds "even men of honest intentions" (such as himself in 1800) and even "whole nations" for failure to regard with proper "wonder and abhorrence" the potential evil of the commanding genius who exerts the power of his will in "uttermost abstraction" from human purposes: "Hope in which there is no Chearfulness; Stedfastness within and immovable Resolve, with outward Restlessness and whirling Activity; Violence with Guile; Temerity with Cunning; and as a result of all Interminableness of Object with perfect Indifference of Means; these are the qualities that have constituted the COMMANDING GENIUS! These are the Marks, that have characterized the Masters of Mischief, the Liberticides, the might Hunters of Mankind, from NIMROD to NAPOLEON. And from inattention to the possibility of such a character as well as from ignorance of its elements, even men of honest intentions too frequently become fascinated. . . ."

two larger Washington pieces; the two shorter ones are almost too brief to make any assertion about, though since it was Coleridge's practice to undertake "all" the articles on the topics he was assigned (Peace, the French Constitution, Ireland), we may suppose that once George Washington became his assignment he had at least a supervisory hand in all the paragraphs about him. It will be instructive, in any case, to follow the whole sequence in chronological order from the desk-view of an eighteenth-century editor.

The first adjustment we must make is to the absence of cable or radio communication:

December 14, 1799. George Washington dies at Mount Vernon.

January 23, 1800. The first rumor reaches London, too late for the newspapers. At the coffee-houses, their sources of "intelligence," all is confusion.

January 24. Some papers print obituaries, but the liberal *Morning Post* is unwilling to believe unwelcome rumors: "It was very currently reported in the city yesterday, that intelligence had been received of the death of General Washington on the 15th ult. after a short illness of thirty hours. Advice was yesterday received of the arrival of several vessels from America, and the intelligence was given as certain . . . but . . . we could not trace the report to its source, and we do not feel warranted in stating as a fact so great a loss to the cause of liberty, at a moment when it stands in need of every assistance." The editor and proprietor, Daniel Stuart, is probably also scurrying around for something to print to do the occasion justice. He could not prod Coleridge to an immediate response; in fact Stuart would later complain, with some exaggeration, that the hardest thing to get out of Coleridge was a swift response to a sudden occasion. Note that when Coleridge does respond on the 27th he begins with a sigh at his own indolence in this respect. It would be easy to spin meaningless rhetorical remarks, he says, but a genuine eulogy is not easy, a true analysis of the commanding genius is not to be managed by any hack.

The evening *Courier* of January 24 carries a pithy seven-paragraph character study of Washington, drawn largely but without acknowledgment from the recently published *Travels through the states of North America during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797,* by Isaac Weld (see the third edition, London 1800, I, 104–107).[3]

[3] I have not seen this day's *Courier;* indeed there may be no extant copy. But a reprint entitled "Character of Washington, taken from 'The Courier' a London Paper — of the 24th January, 1800" is found in *Memory of Washington [with] a Collection of Eulogies and Orations* (Newport, R. I., 1800, p. 220–226). The same essay, identified by date and as "from a London paper" but without the paper's name, appears in *The Washingtoniana . . . with a Collection of . . . Eulogies* (Lancaster, 1802, p. 307 ff.). I find it also reprinted, without any indication of source, in a Dublin newspaper, *The Constitution; or, Anti-Union Evening Post* (Feb. 1, 1800, p. 4) (University of Chicago Library).

January 25, Saturday. "The melancholy account was brought by a vessel from Baltimore, which is arrived off Dover." [4] The *Morning Post* is "sorry to confirm the intelligence" — and probably sorry to have nothing to go with it but two paragraphs silently lifted from the *Courier* of the previous day.[5] The *Times* honestly publishes an extract from Isaac Weld. Other papers including the *Sun* and the *General Evening Post* draw upon Weld or upon the Weldian character study without acknowledgment. The *Morning Chronicle* manages an apparently independent essay.

January 27, Monday. Coleridge, over the week-end, has constructed his own obituary panegyric, making some use of what the other newspapers have done, but also going back to Weld for something the others have all seen fit to leave out concerning a native but submerged violence in Washington's personality.

Coleridge had read "Isaac Weld's Travels" when they first came out; "I find them interesting," he told Southey in a letter of September 25, 1799,"— he makes the American appear a most degraded & vile nation."[6] That impression was never altogether erased, and now, while endorsing no such sweeping disparagement of the American nation, his interest was partly in the question how, in the character of their great leader, the Americans so transcended their potential wildness if not vileness. The original passage in Weld is worth quoting:

> Few persons find themselves for the first time in the presence of General Washington . . . without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor do these emotions subside on a closer acquaintance; on the contrary, his person and deportment are such as rather tend to augment them. There is something very austere in his countenance, and in his manners he is uncommonly reserved. . . .
>
> The height of his person is about five feet eleven [six feet three actually]; his chest is full; and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped and muscular. His head is small, in which respect he resembles the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes are of a light grey colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his nose is long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait painter, told me, that there are features in his face totally different from what he ever observed in that of any other human being; the sockets of the eyes, for instance, are larger than what he ever

[4] This sentence the *Post* lifted verbatim from the *Courier;* it constitutes the news paragraph preceding the obituary essay cited in the previous footnote (it appears in *The Washingtoniana* but not in *Memory of Washington*).

[5] I.e., two paragraphs of the seven-paragraph essay. Daniel Stuart, owner of the *Morning Post,* had purchased the evening *Courier* in 1799. He did not become actively concerned in its editing until 1803, but the two papers rather freely drew upon each other; they were probably printed in the same shop.

[6] *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,* ed. E. L. Griggs (Oxford 1956) I, 530.

> met with before, and the upper part of the nose broader. All his features, he observed, were indicative of the strongest and most ungovernable passions, and had he been born in the forests, it was his opinion that he would have been the fiercest man amongst the savage tribes. In this Mr. Stewart has given a proof of his great discernment and intimate knowledge of the human countenance; for although General Washington has been extolled for his great moderation and calmness, during the very trying situations in which he has so often been placed, yet those who have been acquainted with him the longest and most intimately, say, that he is by nature a man of a fierce and irritable disposition, but that, like Socrates, his judgment and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast in the eyes of the world. He speaks with great diffidence, and sometimes hesitates for a word, but it is always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language is manly and expressive....

The obituary writers seized upon the comparison to Socrates while deleting altogether the speculation about the potentially fierce Washington born amongst savage tribes. The essayist for the *Morning Chronicle* defined Washington's character as "a majestic pile" utterly lacking in any "wildness" or "eccentricity." Even the author of the character-study in the *Courier* toned down Weld's "strongest and most ungovernable passions" to "strongest passions" and then omitted everything until he came to the phrase "like Socrates." For Coleridge, on the other hand, the suggestion of a polarity of passions and calmness was a most valuable clue. His editorial stock in trade was the exhibition of motives and the induction of psychological "principles." So he knew how to make rich use of the conception that "self-command" was the secret of the commanding genius. The most striking evidence of Coleridge's authorship of this Washington obituary, indeed, is the preciseness with which it fits, in concept and nuance, alongside the other "commanding genius" essays which we have always known as his, the portraits of Napoleon and Pitt.

The other writers described Washington as a man above his age, aloof from his time: but this was surely a mistaken view of the paragon of Democracy, of the man whose head resembled "the make of a great number of his countrymen." Coleridge swept the idea aside, and made the gesture of sweeping it aside serve for his own concluding theme, in this and subsequent essays. On the lookout for that which "fraternises man" *(Religious Musings)* he discerned sincerity, not hypocrisy, in Washington's "humanness" and "complete union of himself with the mass of his fellow-citizens" (I quote the March essay). But the core of the Coleridge essays is a product of psychological omniscience that seems to owe little to the factual sources but rather to come naturally from a poet and literary philosopher who made great use of a

theory of the imagination as a shaping power. In a flash of genial revelation he saw that Washington had been a man of great imagination "capable of bodying forth lofty undertakings." (On March 19 he would define Pitt, on the other hand, as a leader *lacking* "the imagination to body forth" "one *single image*" of real value for his nation.) [7] Washington also must have "possessed from his earliest years" a "prophetic consciousness of his future being" and "a deep sense of internal power." (The extreme contrast here is that Pitt "was cast, rather than grew" so that *his* sense of power was *not* internally derived, since he had been brought up in the mould of his father's ambition with "a conscious predestination" from without that "compelled" him "into that which he *was to be.*")

On the whole the portrait of George Washington imagined by Coleridge comes out looking rather like his friend William Wordsworth, who felt himself a "dedicated Spirit" to whom "the unity of all," and the means of bodying forth lofty imaginings, had been revealed. A first impression, at any rate, is that Coleridge makes Washington seem more like Wordsworth than a cautious reading of the historical evidence would warrant. At least he sees the patriot General as a genius who achieves his successes in the way that a creative poet does; a full gloss on the Coleridgean analysis of Washington's genius would take us through the gamut of Coleridge's pronouncements on the esemplastic power.

Here is the first Washington essay, printed as the leading Monday editorial, deftly attached to a fresh item of Sunday news:

THE MORNING POST

LONDON. Monday, January 27.

The officers and sailors of the American ships in the port of London, yesterday paid a just respect to the memory of their deceased friend General Washington, by attending at St. John's Church, Wapping, in naval mourning. We dare not record his death without attempting to pronounce his panegyric. This mournful office is both our duty and our inclination; but we confess, that we feel our powers oppressed into sluggishness by the sense of its difficulty. To build up goodly phrases into rhetorical periods, and attach to the name of Washington all splendid generalities of praise, were indeed an easy task. But such vague declamation, at all times an unworthy offering to the memory of the departed, is peculiarly unappropriate to the sober and definite greatness of *his* character. Tranquil and firm he moved with one pace in one path, and

[7] *Morning Post*, March 19, 1800, reprinted in *Essays on His Own Times*, II, 327.

neither vaulted [nor] [8] tottered.[9] He possessed from his earliest years that prophetic consciousness of his future being, which both makes and marks the few great men of the world, who combine a deep sense of internal power, with imaginations capable of bodying forth lofty undertakings. His feelings, constitutionally profound and vehement (and which, if uncounteracted by the majesty of his views, would have been wild and ferocious), gave him a perpetual energy; while the necessity of counteracting and curbing these feelings gradually disciplined his soul to that austere self-command, which informed and moulded the whole man, his actions, his countenance, his every gesture. Thus, sympathising inwardly with man, as an ideal, not with men as companions, he perfected in himself that character which all are compelled to feel, though few are capable of analysing, the character of a commanding genius. His successes, therefore,[10] great in themselves, and sublime in the effects which followed them, were still greater, still more sublime, from the means, by which they were attained. It may be affirmed, with truth, that if fortune and felicity of accident were to resume from his successes all which *they* had contributed, more would remain to him than perhaps to any man equally celebrated: his successes were but the outward and visible language of that which had pre-existed in his mind. But this character and these praises others have approached or attained, who, great in the detail of their conduct for the purposes of personal ambition, had subdued and fettered their feebler passions, only to become more entirely the slaves of a darker and more pernicious influence. — In Washington this principle and habit of self-subjugation never degenerated into a *mere* instrument; it possessed itself of his whole nature; he ripened his intellectual into moral greatness, intensely energetic yet perseveringly innocent, his hope, the happiness of mankind; and God, and his own conscience, his end! Hence among a people eminently querulous and already impregnated with the germs of discordant parties, he directed the executive power firmly and unostentatiously. He had no vain conceit of being himself all; and did those things only which he only could do. And finally, he retired, his Country half reluctant, yet proud in the testimony which her Constitution and liberty received from his retirement. He became entirely [11] the husband and the master of his family: and the lines which Santeuil composed for the statue of the great Condé in the Gardens of Chantilly were yet more applicable to the Father and Hero of the American Republic.

> Quem modo pallebant [12] fugitivis fluctibus amnes
> Terribilem bello, nunc docta per otia princeps
> *Pacis amans*, laetos dat in hortis ludere fontes.[13]

[8] *Morning Post* reads "or," corrected to "nor" in *Courier* reprint of August 16, 1811.

[9] On the human "propensity of moving in one path," see Coleridge's *Philosophical Lectures*, ed. Kathleen Coburn (London 1949) 339, 341; also his letter of October 14, 1797 (*Collected Letters*, I, 350); and his play *Osorio*, V.i. 8–9.

[10] *Courier* text omits "therefore."

[11] *Courier* omits "entirely."

[12] *Courier* reads "paliebant."

[13] *Courier* reads "fonte."

> Washington thought, felt, and acted in and for his age and Country; the same temperance presided over his opinions as his actions. He sympathised with the moral and religious feelings of the great mass of his fellow-citizens, and was that sincerely, which others assuming politically have betrayed hypocrisy, when they meant to have exhibited condescending greatness. He neither rushed before his age and Country, nor yet attempted to under-act himself; his actions, from the least to the greatest, he inspired with one high and sacred charm, by being always in earnest! Posterity will adjudge to him the title of GREAT with more sound and heart-felt suffrage, because he appeared no greater! [14]

A characteristic mark of Coleridge's authorship is the imaginative control of a common metaphor, first fixing the image ("firm he moved with one pace in one path"), then making precise use of it ("neither vaulted nor tottered") and then keeping it to govern the final paragraph ("neither rushed before his age and country, nor . . ."). Also characteristic is the advertisement of his ability to treat a theme of "sober and definite greatness" in appropriately sober and definite style. If we are to be "compelled to feel" the greatness of both theme and treatment, we must sense that both are capable of being analysed as more imaginatively organic than the mere building up of "goodly phrases into rhetorical periods" of "vague declamation." In the March essay on Pitt we will be told that the essence of Pitt's *lack* of genius, political and otherwise, is his being "elemented in words and generalities," "specious generalities" and "general and abstract phrases," which build up a "super-structure" but prevent the man from being conversant with "realities" and "images of realities" (a phrase garbled in the 1850 reprinting).[15]

The lines from Jean De Santeul, Latin poet of the Renaissance, may have been gathered when Coleridge was preparing a volume of translations of modern Latin poetry. The great Condé, in retirement at Chantilly after a brilliant military career, decrees pleasant fountains as if in Xanadu.[16] If there is an element of the "august & innocent" Wordsworth in this portrait,[17] there is also an element of Coleridge as he wished to be, perseveringly innocent yet as intensely energetic as Napoleon. There is also something of his later conception of Luther, "at the head of an army of the faithful" and "so possessed by his own genius that he acted poems not wrote them." [18]

[14] *Courier* attaches the mistaken dateline: "— *Morning Post June* 27, 1800." In punctuation and capitalization the *Courier* text is a slight improvement on that of the *Morning Post;* I have followed it in most instances.

[15] See *Essays,* II, 328.

[16] Rough translation: "He at whose aspect, terrible in war, the very streams with their fugitive floods recently turned pale, now, a peace-loving leader, in cultivated leisure, decrees merry fountains to play in gardens." The text Coleridge used (there are numerous variants) is to be found in *Poetarum Hujus Seculi Principis Opera Poëtica* (Paris 1695) 292.

[17] See *Collected Letters,* II, 1033–34.

[18] *Philosophical Lectures,* 309.

The picture of the "querulous" American people and their "discordant parties," presided over by a genius whose own "temperance" came from the fact that the "majesty of his views" presided inwardly over his own "profound and vehement" feelings, elucidates the paradox in Coleridge's characterization of the Americans in an editorial of September 25, 1802:

> The Americans are neither very amiable nor very enlightened, as a people; yet what Government on earth has presented such continued proofs of wisdom, moderation, and love of Peace? Nothing can be conceived more violent than the contentions of the Candidates, nothing more calm, dignified, and incurable *[sic]* than the conduct of the same men as Legislators and Magistrates.[19]

For the next two months the *Morning Post* keeps an eye out for Washingtoniana. On February 5, in an editorial paragraph that may have had Coleridge's attention but bears no particular marks of his style, belated news of the December mourning of "the various classes of Americans" leads to the observation that friends of freedom and virtue everywhere had been often "refreshed and soothed" by the sight of "Washington's virtuous and honest policy." On February 8 the *Post* reports the effort of a stubborn democrat named Félix Faulcon to make a speech of mourning for Washington in the new "Legislative Body" of France which is empowered only to vote without speaking; the *Post* does not report the various official demonstrations of mourning decreed by Napoleon. On March 6 a page is given to a Funeral Oration on Washington "by MAJOR GENERAL LEE, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM VIRGINIA."

Coleridge, meanwhile, has undertaken to dramatize the issues of the time in a pair of analytical portraits of the opposed national leaders, Pitt and Bonaparte. When the *Morning Post* of January 24 spoke of Washington's death as "so great a loss to the cause of liberty, at a moment when it stands in need of every assistance," the moment meant was the critical pause in the war between England and France following Napoleon's rise to political supremacy as Chief Consul. The most anxious question in the editorial essays written by Coleridge at the rate of two or three a week from early December to mid-April is whether Bonaparte will display virtues commensurate with his genius or will prove to be one of those who, with Washington's "principle and habit of self-subjugation" but without his "moral greatness" or his hope for the happiness of mankind, have "subdued and fettered their feebler passions, only to become more entirely the slaves of a darker and more pernicious influence" (to quote the essay of January 27).

[19] *Morning Post*, Sept. 25, 1802; cf. *Essays*, II, 498.

The first essay on Washington alludes thus to Bonaparte without naming him. In the final essay on Bonaparte, April 21, Coleridge still expresses a hope that the French commanding genius "may do for the old world what Washington has done for the new." But the dark hints have grown darker week by week, and the particular poignancy of the nostalgic eulogies of Washington derives from the sense of romantic irony, the feeling that the more clearly we see "*his* virtues" the more vainly we seek them in the great men now living. Pitt, the great man of Britain, is seen as a mere factotum mouthing specious and abstract phrases. The promised series of essays on "Pitt and Bonaparte" begins with "Pitt" March 19 — and ends there, except for the unheralded and somewhat incidental discussion in April. What does follow Pitt is Washington again — a happier subject than that "dwarf" of France. Unfortunately for Coleridge's reputation up to the present, it has never been known that he wrote anything more in this period, and the failure to fulfill his promise, "To-morrow of Bonaparte," has become a classic instance of his authorial "sluggishness."

As a matter of record we can watch, in the daily notices above the masthead, the *intention* to write of Bonaparte being defeated by the *necessity* to write of Washington.

March 21, Friday. "The CHARACTER of BONAPARTE, and many valuable favours, are omitted for want of room," and the room is given (three columns or about half the day's free space) to a transcript of "THE WILL OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON," concluded the following Monday.[20] A brief introduction is printed as the day's leading editorial, and it is probably to be attributed to Coleridge since he had undertaken, as we shall see, to follow the publication of the Will with a special essay on it.

[20] Coleridge wrote several editorials dealing with Napoleon — March 4, 11, 13, 14, 15 — but he intended a special article. On March 10 the editor began promising some "admirable Remarks on BONAPARTE" which should "positively appear to-morrow." On March 17 it was to be a pair: "PITT and BONAPARTE to-morrow." On the 18th it was again promised "to-morrow," and on the 19th "PITT" appeared, concluding with the assertion, "TO-MORROW OF BONAPARTE." Then came Washington's Will, March 21, 22, 24, and Coleridge's remarks on it, March 25. Two days later the editor announced with new confidence: "Of PITT and BONAPARTE To-morrow," printing meanwhile a review by the same author: "The Admirers of this Article should read the Review of Mr. *Young's* Pamphlet, in our Paper This Day, to prepare them for To-morrow." On the morrow, March 28, Stuart subsided to the faint hope, "Bonaparte — Sappho — Parisian Fashions, to-morrow." Silence ensued, though Coleridge did discuss Bonaparte and Washington in the leading paragraph of April 21.

Years later, when Stuart was editor of the *Courier*, he was once more inveigled into making public announcement: "The character of Bonaparte on Tuesday" (*Courier*, Sat., Oct. 5, 1811; entry not hitherto recorded).

Leading editorial, possibly by Coleridge:

> Yesterday we received sets of American papers, and from one of the 13th ult. we have extracted the first part of the Will of General Washington. The second part, which we shall give to-morrow, disposes of his most valuable property among his relations, and is less of a public or interesting nature. The first duty which General Washington felt appears to have been that of giving freedom to his Slaves, who, on account of intermarriages, could not, however, be set at liberty till the death of his wife. It is reported, that Mrs. Washington has since freed them all. The will next shews the General's anxiety for the education of the American youth; imputing much of the immorality and political feuds to the sending of the young men abroad to foreign Universities for their instruction, General Washington proposes to create an University in America, and bequeathes the property given him by the State as a reward for his services (a gift he never accepted) to found the institution. —— It is deeply interesting to read of the disposition of the Earl of Buchan's box, of the pistols of La Fayette, &c. — but above all of the swords left to General Washington's nephews, not to be unsheathed but in self-defence, or in defence of their country.[21]

March 25, Tuesday. After the printing of the second part of the Will on Monday, all these deeply interesting matters, from liberated and unliberated slaves to sheathed swords, are discussed on Tuesday in another and longer essay which is constructed as an extension and variation upon the themes of the original eulogy of January 27.

Now Coleridge finds all Washington's virtues expressed in the outward form of his Will and Testament, "all arising naturally and unostentatiously" and giving proof that the wisdom of a commanding genius can be united in one person with the "humanness" of a citizen among fellow-citizens. Once again it is Coleridge the literary critic and moral philosopher who finds in the style an organic "manifestation" of the man; who sees in this "last deliberate act of a life so beneficial to the human race" a "composition" of the sort to be expected from the genius whose "successes were but the outward and visible language of that which had pre-existed in his own mind."

The organic relations between this and the first essay, the similarities of sentiment and image, scarcely need pointing out; nor is there reason to elaborate further the many consistencies in thought and style between these essays and the authenticated works of Coleridge.

[21] A *Courier* editorial of the same date is based on this but clarifies and expands it slightly.

Feature editorial, certainly by Coleridge:

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

We would fain believe that the whole of General Washington's Will has been perused by no man without some portion of that calm and pleasureable elevation which uniformly leaves us better and wiser beings. It would have been deeply interesting, considered only as the last deliberate act of a life so beneficial to the human race; but independently of this sublime association, it is in itself an affecting and most instructive composition. Like all the former manifestations of his character, it gives proof that a true and solid greatness may exist, and make itself felt, without any admixture of wildness, without any obtrusive appeals to the imagination: it gives proof, consolatory and inspiriting proof, how many virtues, too often deemed incompatible with each other, a thinking and upright mind may unite in itself. It were scarcely too much to affirm of this Will, that all the main elements of public and private morals, of civil and domestic wisdom, are conveyed in it either directly or by implication. It is, indeed, no less than an abstract of his opinions and feelings, as a PATRIOT, FRIEND, and RELATION; and all arising naturally and unostentatiously out of the final disposal of a fortune not more honourably earned than beneficently employed. Appertaining to his character, as the American PATRIOT, more exclusively than the other pages of his Will, is the plan and endowment of a CENTRAL UNIVERSITY. The motives which impelled the General to this bequest, he has stated with such beauty and precision, as scarcely leave any thing for the philosopher or the eulogist to add. We can only subjoin to the advantages so ably enumerated, that such an institution must be eminently serviceable to America, as having a direct tendency to soften and liberalise the too great commercial spirit of that country, in as far as it will connect the pleasures and ambition of its wealthier citizens, in the most impressible period of life, with objects abstract and unworldly; and that while by friendships and literary emulations it may remove local jealousies, it will tend to decorate the American character with an ornament hitherto wanting in it, viz. genuine local attachments, unconnected with pecuniary interests.[22]

[22] It distressed Coleridge's friend John Thelwall, and probably Coleridge himself, to think that America, the ideal country for utopian plans of retirement, was developing such "avidity for commercial aggrandisement" as to make one "tremble at the consequences . . . upon posterity" (*Monthly Magazine*, Sept. 1799, p. 618).

Washington's declaration was: "That as it has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education . . . contracting too frequently not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to Republican Governm't and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind . . . it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systamatic ideas through all parts of this rising Empire, thereby to do away local attachments and State prejudices as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils — . . . my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than the establishment of a University in a central part of the United States to which the youth of fortune and talents from all parts thereof might be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite literature in arts and sciences — in acquiring knowledge in the principles of Politics and good Government — and . . . by associating with each other and forming friendships in Juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper

Of a mixed nature, partly belonging to the patriot, and partly to the master of a family, is the humane, earnest, and solemn wish concerning the emancipation of the slaves on his estate. It explains, with infinite delicacy and manly sensibility, the true cause of his not having emancipated them in his life time; and should operate as a caution against those petty libellers, who interpret the whole of a character by a part, instead of interpreting a part by the whole. We feel ourselves at a loss which most to admire in this interesting paragraph, the deep and weighty feeling of the general principle of universal liberty; or the wise veneration of those fixed laws in society, without which that universal liberty must for ever remain impossible, and which, therefore, must be obeyed even in those cases, where they *suspend* the action of that general principle; or, lastly, the affectionate attention to the particular feelings of the slaves themselves, with the ample provision for the aged and infirm. Washington was no "architect of ruin!" [23]

In the bequests to his friends, the composition evidences the peculiar delicacy and correctness of his mind. The high value which he attached to his old friend, Dr. Franklin's legacy of the gold-headed cane, by bequeathing it, and it alone, to his brother, Charles Washington; the spy-glasses, left, with the modest parenthesis, "because they will be useful to them where they live;" yet not without stamping the value on those precious relicts, as having been useful to himself in the deliverance of his country; the wisdom of remitting the box to Lord Buchan, with the gentle implication of the impracticability and impropriety of performing the conditions, with which the box had been originally accompanied; that reverence for the primary designation of a gift, implied in the words "agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmiths' Company of Edinburgh," and which words were besides necessary, in order to prevent the interpretation, that he had remitted it from inability to find any man in

degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which . . . are . . . pregnant of mischieveous consequences to this country."

Coleridge's later assertion that Americans are not an amiable people may draw some of its evidence from the words of Washington himself.

[23] Washington's need for "infinite delicacy" in the matter of the emancipation of the slaves on his estate is clearly indicated in the details of his testament: "Upon the decease of wife it is my will and desire, that all the slaves which I hold in *my own right* shall receive their freedom — To emancipate them during her life, would tho earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the Dower negroes [i.e. those constituting his wife's dowery] as to excite the most painful sensations . . . it not being in my power under the tenure by which the dower Negroes are held to manumit them — And whereas among those who will receive freedom . . . there may be some who from old age, or bodily infirmities & others who on account of their infancy, that will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire that [the aged and infirm] shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs . . . and that [the children who] have no parents living [or able] to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court until . . . the age of twenty-five years . . . — The negroes thus bound are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write and to be brought up to some useful occupation agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia . . . ."

These laws, as it happened, expressly prohibited schools for the instruction of Negroes; so what Coleridge speaks of somewhat obsequiously for a "freeman" as the "fixed laws in society" did indeed "*suspend* the action" of Washington's express will and desire. The dowery Negroes were, however, freed by Martha Washington (as reported March 21) at the time of the publication of the Will.

his own country equally deserving of it with the Earl; the bequest of the bible, and of the swords, the first without annotation, the last with the solemnity of a christian hero; all and each of these we have dwelt upon, as evidences of a mind strong and healthful, yet with a fineness and rapidity of the associating power, seldom found even in those who derive sensibility from nervous disease. The gratitude, the deep and immortal gratitude, displayed in the declaration of the motives of his bequest to his nephew, Bushrod Washington, is of a still higher class of excellence; and the virtue is individualised, and has a new interest given it, by his attention to the very letter of an old promise, no longer in force. The accuracy with which the estates are marked out will aid the distant posterity of the present Americans, in their reverential pilgrimages to the seat of their great PATER PATRIAE. The attachment which he has shewn to all his relations; the provisions he has made for them all; and the attention to honourable causes of local preferment in these provisions; are circumstances highly noticeable. Highly noticeable too is the disjunction of this family attachment from that desire of the aggrandisement of some one branch of the family, so commonly adherent to it. He has weakened by evidence the best and almost the only argument for primogeniture, *in new countries*.[24] One fact strikes us particularly in the perusal of this Will. — Of all Washington's numerous relations, not one appears as a placeman or beneficiary of the government — not one appears to have received any thing from their kinsman as President and Influencer of the United States, yet all have evidences of the zeal and affection of the President, as their kinsman. *It is not so every where.* There is something in the arrangement of the will, beyond any example, which we recollect, instructive and judicious. He commences with a positive or perfect duty, the payment of duties; then goes immediately to the most respectful and affectionate attention to his wife, which becomes more intellectual, more moral, from the circumstance, which he after notices, of his having remained without issue; he proceeds to his concerns as master of his family, and provides for the emancipation of his slaves; and having finished his most immediate and *most* sacred offices, viz. the domestic duties, he rises, *then*, and *not till then*, into the PATRIOT; and founds a central Uni-

[24] I take the "evidence" to be Washington's amicable and equable parcelling of his estate among his and his wife's relations in such a way that they could be expected to constitute a harmonious community, holding on to their fairly equal and contiguous plots of land without jealous passions.

Coleridge shared the theory we know as "Jeffersonian" — though the name Jefferson does not appear, I believe, in his works. Quite recently in the *Morning Post* of December 7, 1799, he had formulated his view of the relation between property and suffrage, equality in one being necessary for democracy in the other: "For the present race of men Governments must be founded on property; that Government is good in which property is secure and circulates; that Government the best, which, in the exactest ratio, makes each man's power proportionate to his property. In America, where the great mass of the people possess property, and where, by the exertion of industry, any man may possess it in its most permanent form, this principle may, perhaps, coexist with universal suffrage. . . ." In "old and populous countries" universal suffrage was impermissable; even for America he had a qualifying "perhaps." And the more Coleridge came to recognize the inequalities of property in his own country (from which he never escaped to try the experiment of Pantisocracy) the more patrician a bias he developed, simplifying his maxim to: "That Government is good in which property is *secure*."

> versity.[25] After his own family comes his country, and then his relations by consanguinity not of his own family — after these his friends; and all those whom fellowship in arms, or old acquaintance had endeared to him; and last of all, he proceeds to the circumstantial disposal of his estate. Throughout the whole, there reigns a *humanness* of feeling, a complete union of himself with the mass of his fellow-citizens, so as even to avoid references to any public characters in that country; and above all, an ardent wish for improvement, combined with reverential observance, and affectionate awe for present and existing customs and feelings. But Washington was too great a man to court singularity. The dwarf, that steps aside from the crowd, and walks by himself, may gain the whole crowd to turn and stare at him — Washington could attract their admiration, while he moved on with them, and in the midst of them.

In this peroration every note that is taken over from the first essay is pitched a dramatic range higher. The common sympathy becomes "a *humanness* of feeling, a complete union of himself with the mass of his fellow-citizens." The moving with one pace and neither rushing before nor under-acting becomes, still at the same pace, an attractive moving "on with them, and in the midst," while the retrograde motion, previously only suggested in "neither vaulted nor tottered" "neither rushed before," is now bodied forth in the dwarf that steps aside, walks by himself, and gets stared at — an image lingering in the author's mind when, two years later, he compares the "new Caesar" of France (about whom his hopeful doubts have fled) to the ancient "Caligulas, Claudiuses, Neros" with their trembling underlings (the crowd turned slaves) and sees no hope but in a new deluge of "men and freemen" that will "sweep away slaves and dwarfs." [26] Still later Coleridge recurs to the piety of Washington in retirement and the contrast between Washington's virtues and Napoleon's now manifestly iniquitous ambition:

> If when a Washington, having purchased the *independence* of his country by far-sighted patience and enduring courage as a warrior, and then established and watched over her *freedom* with the wisdom of parental love, unmoved by the entreaties of his fellow-citizens, lest by yielding to them he should form a precedent injurious to their posterity, retires

[25] Where is now the Central University of these United States? The project was to have been financed by fifty shares in the Potomac River development Company and perhaps given "a fostering hand" by the General Government. But unfortunately the General Government withheld its hand, being, in the matter of federal aid to federal education, somewhat behind the crowd rather than with them or in the midst of them. And the *idea* or image of reality temporarily embodied in the Potomac development company, while it was a favorite image of Washington's and a very fertile one when realised in the Erie canal, departed from the body of the Potomac Company in 1828, leaving the stock worthless and the University unendowed. So there was no direct flow into outward and visible realisation either of instruction in reading and writing for the bound Negroes or of education in polite literature for the youth of fortune and talents.

[26] *Morning Post*, Sept. 21, 1802; see *Essays*, II, 481–482.

> to the unambitious duties of private life, and disclaiming all titles but those given by domestic love and reverence, bows at length his dear and venerable head to the emancipating angel, and restores his spirit to that great Being, whose goodness he had both adored and imitated — if for such a man we collect all terms of honour and affection, and fondly involve his name in phrases expressive of his virtues [here Coleridge is virtually describing his own editorial eulogies], must we remain mute, and stifle the feelings which the *contrast* to all this must needs awaken in us? and even though this contrast should furnish a humiliating proof, that the slaves of iniquitous ambition can carry guilt to a height which dwarfs the best virtues of the best and most heroic of men in the comparison? [27]

This synoptic interminable sentence is related in several ways to the earlier essays. "Slaves" and "dwarfs" appear once more, functioning differently as words, but still in association with the contrast of Washington and Napoleon. And in many details of implication and connection which it would be tedious to demonstrate, this recapitulation of the qualities of the patient warrior retiring to unambitious domesticity is so tightly connected with the first eulogy and the essay on Washington's Will as to constitute an unconscious signature of their common authorship. Should any further testimony seem necessary, a more voluminous demonstration could easily be made of the idiosyncratic Coleridgean themes in the essay on the Will: the importance of interpreting "the whole of a character by a part, instead of interpreting a part by the whole"; the wisdom of venerating fixed laws "even in those cases, where they *suspend* the action" of "the general principle of universal liberty"; the dubeity of the "only argument for primogeniture, *in new countries*"; the evidence in Washington's strong mind of "a fineness and rapidity of the associating power, seldom found even in those who derive sensibility from nervous disease"; and, apropos of the plan of a central University, the good Wordsworthian as well as Coleridgean argument that campus life would soften the querulous if not incurable Americans by attaching their youthful impressions to "objects abstract and unworldly" rather than "pecuniary."

In these and other reaches of their common path, there was manifestly a great meeting of minds when the editorial writer for the London *Morning Post*, though he had privately fed on honey-dew and drunk the milk of Paradise, perused with calm and pleasurable elevation the "last deliberate act," the "affecting and most instructive composition," of the great *Pater Patriae*. It left him not a sadder but a "better and wiser" man.

[27] *Courier*, Dec. 21, 1809; see *Essays*, II, 644–645.

Crossing the Line

Tales of the Ceremony during Four Centuries

Gathered by HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG

PART XVII

1870

May 11. From 4 to 6 p. m. At 4.30 called all hands to muster & commenced to read the Articles of War, when the ship was hailed, the engines stopped and the ship boarded by his Oceanic Majesty, King Neptune; when certificates were given to all those who had crossed the line, and tribute exacted from the remainder. Steamed ahead again at 4.40. Weather warm & clear.

(Log of U.S.S. Flagship *Colorado*, 1st Rate, 47 guns. Captain George H. Cooper, U. S. Navy. At sea making passage to China.)

Ten minutes were long enough this time according to the ship's log. At least the engines were stopped that long.

The *Colorado* was commanded by Rear Admiral John Rodgers and bore Frederick Ferdinand Low, our Minister to China, on a mission to negotiate a treaty with Korea.

Thanks to Rear Admiral John B. Heffernan, U.S.N. (Ret.), now Director of Naval Records and Naval History (OP–29), we can quote the text of the certificate from King Neptune, Sovereign of the Seas, Prince of Blowers, thus:

Know ye all by these presents

That R. Adm. John Rodgers A SEA WARRIOR in the service of my beloved daughter-in-law COLUMBIA, having this day (or previously) paid the tribute required by me from all crossing the Equinoctial Line, is now FOREVER EXEMPT from any and all tolls, fines, or taxes that may be levied by me or by my successors; and should he enter our element, by accident or otherwise, I abjure all Sharks, Devil Fish, and Sea Serpents to respect his person UNLESS VERY HUNGRY: Provided he never ceased to uphold the honor of the Flag, which, next to my own, I hold most sacred.

Done on Board COLUMBIA'S War Chariot, the COLORADO, near the Equator on this 15th day of May, 1870.

This voyage brought forth another record of the crossing, *Forecastle Echoes; or, Yarns in verse; treating of noteworthy events in the cruise of the U.S. Frigate Colorado, flagship of the Asiatic fleet, 1870–71.* By Geo. R. Willis. Printed at the *Japan Gazette* office, 87 Main Street, Yokahama. 27 pages. 12mo. Pages 10–12 give us the tale of the crossing:

Bipeds, advance, who ne'er before
Have passed the Mystic Zone;
Bow to your Sovereign and proffer
A tribute to the Throne!

"Ha there's 'fresh fish,' — I plainly mark
The guilt betraying blush;
I here proclaim them, one and all,
Fit subjects for the brush."

The Royal Barber grinned in glee,
The Shark stretched forth his fin,
And in his slimy clutches dragged
The struggling victims in.

Right valiantly they kicked, and fought;
Resistance proved in vain,
Old Neptune claimed the beards of all
New-comers on the main.

And in return he promised us
Fair winds, and pleasant seas;
(To verify his words, just then
Up sprung a pleasant breeze.)

On which the monarch donned his robes
And bade the fish avast.
"Pray, harness up the Royal Car,
Behold! the day wanes fast."

And in those grand, and wave-like tones
No mortal can assume,
He blessed our ship, from truck to keel
And vanished in the gloom.

. . .

Cynics may sneer, and skeptics laugh,
And call our King a myth;
Yet we who sail his broad domain
Are loyal to the pith.

The Sons of Freedom own his sway,
And happiest thought of all —
Our King stands firm while earthly thrones
In angry strife shall fall.

And so we shout, Long live the King!
By all good tars adored,
And wish the doubters had been there,
When Neptune came aboard.

At Sea, May 20th, 1870.

1873

On the 19th [of June 1873] we sighted the only steamer we have seen, — standing to the southward. In the evening were hailed by Neptune to ascertain if any of his subjects who had not yet crossed the Line were on board. Receiving an answer, he promised to board us the following day. On the 20th, he came on board and received about a hundred green ones as an addition to his kingdom.

(Manuscript diary in Library of Congress. Kept by William A. H. Allen, assistant engineer, U. S. Navy, on board U.S.S. *Richmond*, crossing about 4 a. m. in longitude 28° 57′ 45″ west.)

This time, in contrast to Allen's crossing in 1866, nothing is said about the ceremony as anything but the accepted rule of faith and practice. Splicing the mainbrace seems to have lasted until the days of Josephus Daniels as Secretary of the Navy.

1875

Einige gute Tage brachten uns schnell vorwärts. Dann kamen wieder einige schlechte Tage. Der grosse Bär und der Polarstern tauchten immer tiefer hinab, und vor uns stieg das südliche Kreuz in die Höhe.

1875, continued

Der südliche Sternenhimmel ist öde im Vergleich mit dem unsrigen, und um sich für die Schönheit des südlichen Kreuzes begeistern zu können, muss man entweder ein kritikloser Mucker oder ein noch kritikloserer Reiseenthusiast ein, den schon der Gedanke an die grosse Entfernung von zu Hause in Ekstase zu setzen vermag. Viel interessanter und merkwürdiger als jene vier unbedeutenden im Trapezoid gestellten Sterne war mir das schwarze Loch neben ihnen, welches die Seeleute den Kohlensack nennen.

Am 20. Dezember [1875] feierten wir das Fest des Passirens der Linie in der altherkömmlichen Weise mit Neptun, Barbiererei und Taufe. Wir hatten zwar seit drei Tagen wieder keine Observation gehabt und wussten nicht bestimmt, ob wir schon so weit waren. Den Himmel bedeckten dunkle Wolken, echt tropische Regengüsse stürzten zuweilen herab, bleiern und todesstill lag der Ozean rings umher, kaum ein Lüftchen regte sich, und wir trieben, hilflos, ohne Steuer, die Spitze des Schiffes rückwärts nach Norden gewendet. Als wir zwei Tage später endlich die Sonne und damit Observation bekamen, stellte sich heraus, dass wir zu früh gefeiert und dass wir noch nicht den Aequator überschritten hatten. Erst nach weiteren vier Tagen gelangten wir am 27. Dezember wirklich und zweifellos auf die südliche Hemisphäre, und zwar ziemlich genau unter dem 29. Grad westlicher Länge von Greenwich. Aber kein Mensch ausser dem Kapitän, dem Steuermann und mir erfuhr unseren Irrthum, vielleicht auch das offizielle Journal nicht.

Schon seit einer Woche waren die Matrosen eifrig daran, die Maskerade für den Neptunszug, einen Dreizack aus Blech und Bärte aus Flachs für ihn und sein Gefolge, einen Fischschwanz aus Pappe und Locken aus Hobelspänen für seine Gemahlin, ein grosses meterlanges Rasirmesser aus Holz für den Barbier und andere derlei Geräthe vorzubereiten.

Einige englische Kolonien haben den äquatorialen Mummenschanz, bei dem es erfahrungsgemäss fast nie ohne Rohheiten und Zänkereien zwischen Mannschaft und Passagieren abgeht, auf ihren Emigrantenschiffen verboten. Neuseeland war damals noch nicht so rigoros, und obwohl ich keinen sonderlichen Werth auf jenes Ueberbleibsel der sogenannten guten alten Zeit legte, so liess ich dasselbe doch seinen Lauf nehmen, aus keinem vernünftigern Grunde, als um einen rothen Strich mehr in den Bädecker meiner Erlebnisse machen zu dürfen.

Da wir eben trieben, und nichts zu thun war, konnte die ganze Mannschaft an dem Scherz sich betheiligen. Der Aufzug verlief, wie er schon oft beschrieben worden ist. Die phantastisch geschmückte Schaar verfügte sich nach dem Vorderdeck und kletterte vorne am Bugspriet über Bord, um scheinbar aus dem Wasser heraufzukommen. Hinten über der Kajüte stunden der Kapitän und die Offiziere. "Schip ahoi!" rief vorne Neptun durch das Sprachrohr, und der Bootsmann wurde abgesandt, ihn zum Besuch einzuladen. Neptun und sein Gefolge bewegten sich langsam und gravitätisch heran, zu beiden Seiten das dichte Gewühl der neugierig sich drängenden Zwischendecker. Eine zackige Krone aus Goldpapier schmückte das Haupt des drei-

zackbewaffneten Fluthenbeherrschers, von dem eine mächtige flachserne Mähne herabwallte. An seiner Seite trippelte züchtiglich die holde Amphitrite, unser ältester Schiffsjunge, der nicht ohne Geschmack zu einem zinnobergeschminkten, hochbusigen und hobelspähnelockigen Frauenzimmer mit langer Schleppe von Sackleinwand herausstaffirt war. Voran schritt als Herold der Barbier, ein seemännischer Anachronismus, mit riesiger Brille und Vatermördern, das gewaltige bretterne Rasirmesser auf der Schulter. Hinterdrein marschirten die Schergen der maritimen Polizei, mehr oder minder gelungen phantastisch geputzt, hölzerne Säbel in den Händen schwingend.

Neptun hielt nun seine Anrede an den Kapitän, und das übliche Frage- und Antwortspiel, wie das Schiff heisse, woher es käme und wohin es gehe, entwickelte sich. Nach diesen Präliminarien, die sehr ledern waren und sowohl dem Neptun nebst Gefolge als auch dem Kapitän so vorkommen mochten, da sie ziemlich verlegene Gesichter schnitten, nahm ersterer auf einem improvisirten Throne hinter dem Grossmast Platz und schickte seine Schergen aus, um die Opfer, diejenigen an Bord, die zum ersten mal die Linie passirten, vorführen zu lassen. Von den Passagieren durften nur solche ergriffen werden, die sich freiwillig dazu erboten, und um mit gutem Beispiel voranzugehen, unterzog ich mich selbst der peinlichen Prozedur der Aequatortaufe.

Ein grosser Bottich mit Wasser stund vor Neptun, ein darüber gelegtes Brett war der Sitz für den Täufling. Ein Gehilfe des Barbiers frug nach Namen und Alter, registrirte solches in ein dickes Buch, profaner Weise eine alte Bibel, dann kam der Barbier, schmierte aus einem Kübel mit vollen Händen Seifenschaum über das ganze Gesicht und kratzte ihn wieder ab mit seiner Rasirkeule. Der ätzende Seifenschaum verbot die Augen zu öffnen, ein plötzlicher Ruck, das Brett wurde weggezogen, man plumpste rücklings in das Wasser des Bottichs, die Taufe war vollzogen.

Ich hatte mir ausgebeten, nur mit der besten und reinlichsten Seife bedient zu werden und als erster zu leiden. Nicht so glimpflich wie ich wurden diejenigen behandelt, die nach mir kamen. Zunächst Mister Ross und etwa zwanzig andere junge Männer von den Zwischendeckspassagieren, zuletzt die Neulinge unter der Mannschaft, unser Ganymed Hannes, der in der Nordsee so Schreckliches erduldet, mittlerweile jedoch mit dem Meere vertrauter geworden war, jener Decksjunge, der sich damals versteckt hatte, und ein Matrose. Diese drei letzteren wurden auf die alte qualvolle Weise barbiert und getauft. Für sie gab es eine eigens präparirte Seife zweiter Qualität, die stark mit Theer versetzt war und noch etliche Tage Mund und Augen verklebte. Beim Rasiren kam es auf einige Stückchen Haut nicht an, und das Taufen wurde ihnen so gründlich zu Theil, dass sie halberstickt, heftig spuckend und hustend, dem Bottich entstiegen. Auch auf die frommen Missionäre hatten es die Matrosen abgeschen und wolten sie vor Neptuns Thron schleppen, aber sie schrieen so kläglich um Hilfe, dass der Kapitän sie zu retten eilte. Raketen und Bluelights und eine Ration Schnaps für die Matrosen verherrlichten den Abend dieses denkwürdigen Tages.

(Max Buchner. Reise durch den Stillen Ozean. Breslau, 1878. p. 46–49.)

1885 .

[April 23] At 7.30 P. M., the startling cry of "ship ahoy!" was heard fore and aft; there's Neptune! there's Neptune! said all who heard the hail. "Halloo!" was answered from the bridge by the Officer of the Deck; and the questions of the interrogator, of what ship, where bound, etc., were answered by the Officer. . . . Who are you? in a commanding tone . . . : Neptune, King of the Seas, was answered, followed by a request to heave to . . . . In obedience to the request the Officer of the Deck rang two bells, at the same time informing the Admiral and Captain through their orderlies that his Majesty was along side and desired to see them. Call all hands to muster, was now the order from the Officer of the Deck; the Boatswain's mates sounded their calls, and passed the order in a loud tone of voice, the ship's company immediately assembled on the port side, the Admiral, Captain and Officers at their customary stations on the starboard side, of the quarterdeck. Neptune, accompanied by his wife, had by this time reached the quarter-deck; they boarded the ship over the starboard bow, instead of coming aboard by the more convenient way of the sealadder at the starboard gangway, which he was requested to use, if not for his own convenience, at least out of respect for his consort. . . .

[Here Neptune addressed the Admiral and Captain in 24 lines of rimes "composed by John Bezanson, Quarter Gunner," paying respects to Admiral English, Captain Potter, and his "fine ship" with "big guns," recommending that the "good crew" be made better by shaving, introducing "my wife, Amphitrite, the Queen," and promising to be "ready with my razor and lotion" tomorrow at nine when "you'll be crossing my line."]

After finishing his address Neptune engaged the Admiral in conversation for a few moments, in which old times were referred to. Receiving his promise of returning on the following morning, he handed to the Admiral a package containing telegrams from the Equatorial Submarine Telegraph Company (Limited), and a mail bag containing letters for the officers and some of the crew, as well as certificates for all of the officers and crew whom he recognized as subjects; and similar ones, with the name and date blank, which were to be filled out and delivered to all who should on the following day undergo the process necessary to make them children of the sea.

Good night all hands! and he was gone. [All received their mail from the Master-at-Arms — a "Fac-simile of King Neptune's Certificates, (one quarter size.)" is printed on page 3 — and thought of the morrow.]

At 9.00 A. M. on the morning of the 24th, everything was in readiness for the day's sport, all hands were called to muster, and . . . assembled on the quarter-deck . . . . [Neptune] before presenting himself to the Admiral and Captain . . . ordered his police, headed by their chief, to form in two ranks in the starboard gangway. As soon as they were in marching order the band, which was stationed on the forecastle, struck up the Policeman's Song. They

stepped out, marched down the starboard gangway to the mainmast, halted, faced to the front and sang: —

When constabulary duties are to be done,
You will generally find us basking in the sun.
Taking one consideration with another,
Neptune's force is a bully one, bully one.
When we are sent for any one,
You bet your life they come . . . .

They emphasized the last word of each line by bringing down their clubs together on deck with a whang; when finished singing, they faced to the right, marched forward, and formed on both sides of Neptune's Chariot, he now being ready to be presented to the Admiral and Captain. . . .

The Chariot, on which he and his wife were seated, was made by lashing two halliard racks together; the motive power, eight of his followers, manned a drag rope secured to it; with his long grey beard of teazed manilla, tin crown on his head, and trident in right hand, he looked every inch a King. His better half, with long blonde hair of the same material as his whiskers, a richly colored calico dress, formerly the property of the ship's minstrel troupe, and stockingless and shoeless pedal extremities, she looked very little the Queen . . . . The Doctor, evidently a renegade from this mundane sphere, under his Majesty's protection, [brought] a grip sack well filled with . . . medicines . . . . The police, "rigged up" in what Neptune's better half had left of the minstrel's property, suppl[ied] deficiencies with gunny sacks, pieces of canvas, and the liberal use of paint . . . .

(To be continued)

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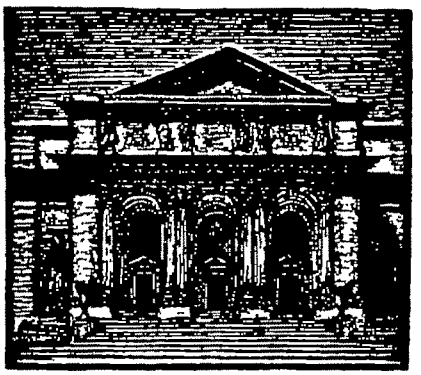

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form p5 [111-11-57 19c]

The Cat and the Cock, woodcut by Joseph Low *Print Room*

Front Matter

OUR front picture, not of a March lion but of a cat behaving like one, has been seized from the Print Room exhibit which opens March 15: "Birds and Beasts in Prints," a show of various choice prints including a Dürer rhinoceros, a Bewick elephant, and a Picasso ostrich. (For other current exhibits in the Central Building see back cover.)

ON to other libraries has gone the visiting exhibition, which was daily swarmed by visitors, of "The German Book, 1948–1956," an array of some 2,700 publications, from *Atlas und Axis* to the latest *Wer ist Wer?*

Shaw's Way in New York

"Not only is the Shavian drama one of the leading attractions on Broadway, but the New York public is being offered an admirable exhibition of Shavian material at The New York Public Library." Thus began a column-length story, the first news item of the day, in a January weekday number of the London *Times*. New York papers, perhaps on the theory that a word and the show itself were sufficient, allotted meager inches of notice. Even the American *Shaw Bulletin* said all in three sentences, though the *New Yorker* found room for a pageful of our Shaviana.

The word did suffice to send several thousand New Yorkers and numerous stray British and Irish to view the 160 items which (to continue quoting London) have been "so well chosen as to give even a casual visitor an idea of Shaw's way of working." One scholar from England, here to study medieval material in the Music Collection, has spent ten minutes a day for several weeks methodically tracing Shaw's way before resuming his pursuit of the medieval.

The Shaw show will continue through May. Dr. John D. Gordan's *Catalogue* begins in the present *Bulletin* and will also continue through May. (As a separate pamphlet, with index, it is available from the Library at $1.)

Books in Parts: The New Arents Collection

Visitors to the Arents Tobacco Collection in Room 324 have been for some months aware of carpenters and masons at work behind a temporary partition at the east end of the room. A marble fireplace was being moved and a storeroom was being transformed into another treasure room to house a new Arents Collection — of Books in Parts.

The partition is now down, revealing a paneled Roman archway opening into the (artificially) sunny new alcove and its glass-cased collection, officially welcomed into the Library on the 13th of February. Most of the thousand rare fascicles (installments of books published in parts) sit in trim leather boxes. Spread open for inspection are a number of selected oddities and rarities, including original manuscripts and drawings. Filling the room with color, in oversize shelves at the top of the north wall and on each side of the fireplace in the east wall, are great color plates of lilies, wild turkeys, golden pheasants, and a rosy tantalus.

The collection, chiefly of works printed in England and America in the 19th century, ranges from Surtees and Trollope to the early equivalents of horror comics; from a pirated Shelley to the largest ornithological and botanical issues. Booklovers will find many variously interesting boxfuls. Scholars of

publishing and literary history will find an array of rare serial editions as well as some unlisted manuscripts and uncollected letters. All visitors will have a comfortable room to work or browse in, beneath the benignly encouraging portrait on the mantel of George Arents, donor of the room and collector of the fascicles.

For an early issue of the *Bulletin* we have asked Dr. Sarah A. Dickson, now Chief of both Arents Collections, to give us a detailed account of the new treasures.

New Names

Latest addition to the list of Library donors carved in the marble pylons of the lobby are the names of Mortimer and Anna Neinken, whose collection of 14,000 antique seals (described in the April 1954 *Bulletin*) has now been completely transfered to the Library.

New Accessions

GRAY GIFT. Mr. J. S. Gray, of Hove, Sussex, England, has presented a collection of 258 original photographs of New York City taken by Harold Philip Clunn while on visit from 1909 to 1914, showing many buildings and their surroundings and many street scenes of the period.

ERNST GIFT. Mr. Morris L. Ernst, of the law firm of Greenbaum, Wolff and Ernst, has presented original phono-records (20 parts on 10 discs) of the "Reports on the Robert Vogeler Trial" in Budapest, Hungary, February 27, 1950. Recorded by the International Broadcasting Division of the United States Department of State, in English and Hungarian, these phono-records were the personal property of Mr. Ernst, who represented Mr. Vogeler. They will be shelved in the Music Division.

BROWN CORRESPONDENCE. The Manuscript Division has received a collection of the personal correspondence of one of the City's most influential clergymen, the Reverend William Adams Brown (1865–1943). Dr. Brown, a native New Yorker, served on the faculty of Union Theological Seminary for forty-four years. Though Presbyterian in his allegiance, he was a leading proponent of interdenominational cooperation, taking a very important part in the founding of the World Council of Churches. The papers just received, covering approximately 1850–1922 and filling three cartons and three letter-files, appear to be personal and domestic rather than organizational.

PRAGUE SERIAL. Received from Slovanska Knihovna, Prague, on exchange, the Uredni list *Ceskoslovenské Republiky* (Official Gazette) for January–October 1956, a serial not received for a number of years.

New Publication

For a description of our new monograph, *Walt Whitman's Correspondence: A Checklist*, by Edwin H. and Rosalind S. Miller (172 p., $3.) see the prefatory essay below, p. 113.

Already OP

In recent months the sale of Library publications has outpaced anticipation, with the result that six months after publication the supply of Earle F. Walbridge's *Drames à Clef* is exhausted and ten months after publication Richard B. Vowles's *Dramatic Theory: A Bibliography* is also out of print. At the moment, indeed, the Library's current list of *Publications in Print* is itself OP, though a new one is in preparation.

A review of the Vowles list, by Alan S. Downer in the October *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, urges the compiler to undertake "future revision and ex-

pansion," and we are asking Professor Vowles how he feels about the idea. Although Professor Downer commends the "objectivity and completeness" of this bibliography of dramatic theory, the "first in its subject," he adds that "no bibliography is ever complete or final" and concludes: "It is not lack of respect but inner hunger that forces [Professor Vowles's] grateful readers to say, not 'Thank you,' but 'More. More.'"

Contributing Alumnus

"I am happy to enclose my check for twenty-five dollars ($25.00) and hope to be able to contribute yearly, in increasing amounts, to my second Alma Mater," writes a Park Avenue physician in splendid accord with the spirit of the Library's fund appeal. Many users recognize NYPL as the college of their knowledge, but our new annual donor admits a certain irregularity in his connection. "I owe the Central Reference Library a great deal," he explains. "As a medical student in New York I virtually lived there from School closing daily until Library closing and for even longer periods on week ends. With four siblings at home — some entertaining friends — another practicing the piano or playing the radio, the distractions were too many for serious and uninterrupted study. The Main Reference Room afforded the right atmosphere. It is true that a stern faced guard (not discoverable on Saturday last) threaded the aisles and tapped the nodding and checked the texts in use — for there was an injunction against bringing in books. These were smuggled in under our coats and shielded while in use with volumes from the shelves. I always thought that the guard on duty in those years overlooked this readily apparent subterfuge — recognizing the integrity of the underlying motive. There were many conveniences, like the Automat across Fifth Avenue where a quick supper could be found before nine o'clock and after the study session a brisk walk uptown to home and sleep. The Central Library meant much to me and in later years when someone inquired 'Where did you study medicine' — I frequently answered — 'In the Public Library on 42nd Street.'"

What happened on Saturday last? Our literary coin-box came into focus. "I wandered into The Library Saturday afternoon, as I have done, so frequently, for many years, and for the first time I saw the appeal-for-funds literature. Like so many New Yorkers I have always been certain that the main building with all its facilities was part of the Public Library System and that it derived its support from the city budget." Now it derives increasing support from its alumni . . . and conscientious users. As of February 1, with five months to go, the year's fund drive had derived $307,000 in cash and $32,000 in pledges toward the goal of $450,000.

Groups contributing several thousand dollars more than last year are the chemical and the radio and TV industries.

Use and Additions February 1957

Visitors entering the Central Building, 242,421; readers in the Reference Department, 79,218; volumes consulted, 217,358. Volumes issued by the Circulation Department for home use, 1,213,039.

Received through purchase and gift:

	Circ. Dept. Gift	Ref. Dept. Gift	Purchase and Gift
Volumes	545	2,540	35,363
Pamphlets	361	9,021	10,676
Maps	—	225	252
Prints	—	147	147
Misc.	2,227	—	2,227

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY.

BULLETIN OF THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

MARCH 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 3

Preparing a Checklist of Walt Whitman's Correspondence

By EDWIN H. *and* ROSALIND S. MILLER
Simmons College

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS, from the year following his death, the letters of Walt Whitman have been appearing in print at intervals. The poet's literary executors, Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace Traubel, published some correspondence in their first joint effort, *In Re Walt Whitman* (1893), which was followed a few years later by *The Wound Dresser*, consisting of the tenderly moving letters to Louisa Van Velsor Whitman, and *Calamus*, containing the lengthy correspondence with the Washington motorman Peter Doyle. In 1902, in the ten beautifully printed volumes of the so-called Camden Edition, the executors devoted two volumes to correspondence, reprinting *The Wound Dresser* and *Calamus* and adding the letters to J. R. Osgood, the Boston publisher, concerning the 1881 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. Since the editors ignored not only the material in *In Re* but also the numerous letters printed by William Sloane Kennedy and Thomas Donaldson in separate volumes in 1896, this first collection of letters was not complete at the time of its appearance.

For the next two decades most large collections of letters were prepared by friends of the poet. Horace Traubel, in 1906, began to print the correspondence to and from Whitman in *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, the fourth volume of which appeared posthumously in 1953. Because of Traubel's discipular devotion to the memory of the poet, many important preliminary drafts of letters have been preserved. Harned published drafts of six letters to Mrs. Gilchrist in *The Letters of Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman* (1918), and the two Bolton (England) admirers, Dr. John Johnston

and J. W. Wallace, printed almost all the letters and postcards they received during the last few years of Whitman's life. Biographers like Bliss Perry and H. C. Binns transcribed a few letters in their books, and correspondence came out at intervals in magazines, in *Putnam's Monthly* in 1908 and in an obscure publication called *The Modern School* in 1918.

During his long career as a Whitman specialist Emory Holloway has printed many letters in magazines like *The American Mercury* and in his numerous studies. His selected letters in the Nonesuch Edition constitute the most extensive modern collection of Whitman correspondence. In this edition Professor Holloway printed many previously unpublished letters which were at that time in the collections of Mrs. Frank Sprague and the late W. T. H. Howe. Clara Barrus, in *Whitman and Burroughs — Comrades* (1931), excerpted from the correspondence of these two life-long friends, and Professor Charles I. Glicksberg, in *Walt Whitman and the Civil War* (1933), edited correspondence to members of the Whitman family, to soldier friends of Civil War days, and to Mrs. Abby H. Price. Later in the 1930's Professor Rollo G. Silver printed many letters in private and public collections in *American Literature* and *Colophon*. Professors Clarence Gohdes and Silver edited the letters in the Trent Collection at Duke University in a volume called *Faint Clews and Indirections* (1949).

In this brief survey of published correspondence we have omitted reference to isolated appearances of letters in journals and books and to three fairly extensive specialized reprints of letters, two of which appeared in *Studies in Bibliography* in recent years and one of which, the Rudolf Schmidt correspondence in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, was issued in *Orbis Litterarum* in 1949. It is clear that because Whitman's correspondence has not been collected but has been issued piecemeal for over sixty years, scholars and students are in need of an accurate checklist which records all correspondence, published as well as unpublished. (We do not record letters to editors written expressly for publication in the columns of newspapers, since these were paid contributions; however, the notes or letters accompanying these contributions we do list.) Since great quantities of letters — for example, the Gilchrist correspondence at the University of Pennsylvania, the O'Connor letters in the Berg Collection, and the Bucke correspondence in the magnificant collection of Charles E. Feinberg — have not been printed and only rarely quoted, students will be able to locate easily through our checklist correspondence of interest and importance to their research. Thus this checklist of over 3500 items should fill a void in Whitman scholarship.

The checklist is arranged chronologically and includes full bibliographical information and the present location or the last auction record of each extant letter. Perhaps the most unique feature of our compilation is the inclusion of slightly over 1000 listings of letters not known to be extant. Evidence that a letter was written, though the actual letter has not been seen to the best of our knowledge by any collector, critic, or student, has been found in one or more of the following sources: letters written to Whitman; letters or notations in which Whitman himself referred to other correspondence; recordings in the diaries of the Civil War years, which Professor Glicksberg has reprinted; and extant envelopes. Most of these entries, however, are from the invaluable Commonplace Books, in which Whitman day by day for twenty-five years, from 1876 almost until his death, cited not only his myriad financial transactions as salesman of his own books but also listed many of the letters and cards he wrote to various correspondents. Because of the generosity of Mr. Charles E. Feinberg we were able to examine these storehouses of Whitman information and to make use of them for the first time for scholarly purposes. Although many of these letters may be permanently lost, some will surely turn up in the future; at any rate, even though the letter is not now available, it is sometimes of interest, occasionally of significance, that Whitman wrote on a certain date to a particular person.

These entries must be accepted for what they are — reconstructions on our part which will be as accurate and as inaccurate as the information we have gleaned from various sources. We insert the place from which the correspondence was sent, and we term the item a letter or a postcard whenever the source permits classification. When our information is derived from a printed source, a letter to or from Whitman, a reference in a conversation with Traubel, we simply cite the book and the appropriate page. To have included a full explanation would have unnecessarily lengthened a long list, and people interested in verifying our records can easily refer to the book in question. One final comment should be made: readers will note that entries from April 18 to 29, 1879, are marked "Manuscript notes for inclusion in Commonplace Book." When Whitman visited New York, he forgot to take along the Commonplace Book and made himself a crude little notebook so that he could continue his recordings while he was away from home.

As every student of Whitman knows, the poet frequently prepared a rough draft of a letter which he later recopied and which, more often than not, he preserved. On one occasion Traubel asked Whitman: "Do you make a prior draft of all letters?" "Of all? No: Of some? Of particular letters? Yes."

When the letter and the draft are extant, we note both. In a few instances there are copies of the draft or of the letter — Whitman's "carbon copies." The letter to J. R. Osgood and Company, April 12, 1882, is known in four states. We record all states because we believe this information is of interest to scholars as well as to collectors, and because the alterations Whitman made are sometimes of significance. One frequently can watch the poet's mind at work as he wrestles over a reply to the passionately importuning Mrs. Gilchrist or attempts to clarify arrangements with publishers or printers.

We include in our entries information as to the present location of an envelope which has been separated from the letter. Occasionally a letter is in one library, the envelope in another. For completeness we bring together all data, even though only collectors perhaps will be interested in such details.

Thus we have endeavored to make available to students in compact form all known information concerning Whitman's correspondence in the hope that this checklist will lighten their labors. It should fill the gap until the collected letters of Whitman appear in the edition of his writings to be published by the New York University Press. This project we have already begun, and, with good fortune, we hope to complete it in the not too distant future, though we realize that it will have to take a number of years.

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Walt Whitman's Correspondence: A Checklist, by Edwin H. and Rosalind S. Miller, 172 pages, $3.00, is now off the press. This checklist will not be printed in the *Bulletin;* it represents an expansion of the Library's publishing program to include direct and immediate publication of useful lists of such length as to be inconvenient in serial form. Such publications will necessarily cost more than reprints from the *Bulletin,* but we are experimenting in inexpensive methods of production. The present booklet is an experiment in cold-type composition and offset printing.

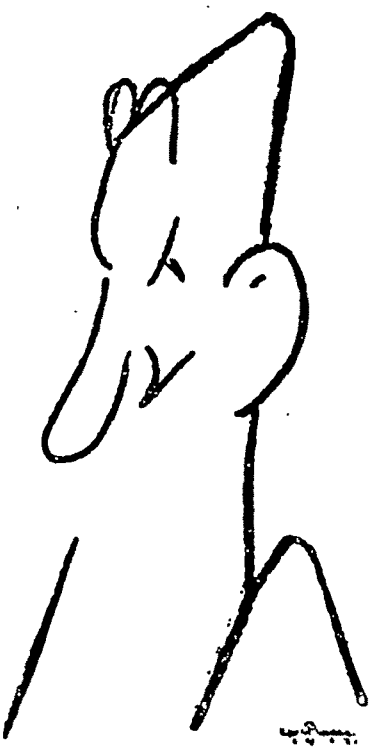
Bernard Shaw: 1856-1950

An exhibition from the Berg Collection

By JOHN D. GORDAN

INTRODUCTION

THE centennial of the birth of Bernard Shaw finds his name very much alive in public notice. In New York alone nine of his plays have been revived during 1956, not as museum pieces but as entertainment. The plays of no other English dramatist except Shakespeare so persistently hold the boards today. Shaw has drawn audiences into the theater and readers to his books because of the enduring interest of the way he has looked not only into the motives and behavior of human beings but also into the forces and movements that shape the development of civilization.



The fascination of Shaw lies not in the events of his life but in the life of his mind. He poured his intellectual vitality into novels; dramatic, literary, artistic, and musical criticism; plays and their direction; economic and religious studies; political books and pamphlets. Many of the ideas of his youth which shocked Britain at the turn of the century now fit comfortably into the daily thinking of the world. No other English writer of his period has made his thought so widely felt. No other English writer has had the advantage — or disadvantage — of remaining articulate to the age of ninety-four. Few writers have lived through so much historical change — Shaw was born five years before the American Civil War and died five years after the dropping of the first atom bomb — or have had as much to say about the experiences of their time.

The diversity of Shaw's mind was extraordinary. He could charm and he could infuriate. He was a saint and a devil. He was a philosopher and a clown. He was a teacher and a seer, a wit and a poet. He was seldom a bore.

Anyone who thinks that he can give an adequate account of Shaw in the condensed form necessitated by an exhibition is sadly underestimating his subject. At best one can convey only some impression of the man himself, some guide to his variety, some imperfect account of the meaning of his work. The material in this exhibition is largely drawn from the Berg Collection. The rest comes from other collections in The New York Public Library. Even of the material in the Berg Collection, where there are some two dozen manuscripts of varying interest, nearly two hundred books, and six hundred autograph letters, only a small selection can be put on display.

It would have been difficult to make and describe even this selection without the cooperation and help of innumerable members of the Library staff, most especially of Mrs. Charles Szladits and Miss Beatrice Landskroner of the Berg Collection. It would not have been possible to write the descriptive notes that follow without reliance upon the biographies of Shaw by Archibald Henderson and Hesketh Pearson, the handbook on the plays by Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, and the bibliographical study of the rehearsal copies by F. E. Loewenstein. The compiler of the catalogue wishes to express his very genuine gratitude.

The caricature reproduced on the preceding page appeared on the cover of the *Art Chronicle* for September 15, 1911, where it was captioned: "G. B. S. in Extremis, a Gay Caricature by Lovat Fraser."

THE CATALOGUE

[Bernard Shaw] Typescript of a childhood friend's reminiscences, corrected in Shaw's hand.

These reminiscences by the daughter of a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, presumably George F. Shaw, LL.D., but no relation to the dramatist, give an idealized picture of Bernard Shaw's early life in Dublin. It is significant that Shaw repudiated the writer's statement about their childhood days, "very happy days they were," by adding in longhand "for me" to indicate that the opinion was hers, not his.

A century ago — a century of which he lived through ninety-four years — George Bernard Shaw was born in Dublin on July 26, 1856. The youngest of three children, he had two sisters, Lucy and Agnes. His parents, George Carr Shaw and Lucinda Elizabeth Gurly Shaw, belonged to upper-class Protestant society. Indeed, his mother had been a prospective heiress but was disinherited for her marriage to a notorious drunkard. The father's habits and financial failure gradually cut the family off from normal social life. Mrs. Shaw, who had a fine voice, absorbed herself in music and in serving her teacher, George John Vandaleur Lee, as "general musical factotum." The discovery of his father's alcoholism was a profound shock to the child: "I have never believed in anything since: then the scoffer began." As a result, he determined to make "trifles of tragedies instead of tragedies of trifles. If you cannot get rid of the family skeleton," he decided, "you may as well make it dance."

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated Maybury Knoll, Woking, Surrey, July 1, 1902.

The letter shown here serves as a table of contents for the first half century of Shaw's life. He touched upon his Irish background and his early failure as a writer. He analyzed at length the English socialist movement of the 'eighties, his attitude towards Marxism, and his connection with the Fabian Society. Then he described in detail his work as a critic and his emergence as a playwright.

Shaw wrote this brief biography for the use of Siegfried Trebitsch (1869–1956), whom he had met in November 1900. Trebitsch translated his plays into German and by his efforts brought about on the Continent recognition of the playwright's genius before it was acknowledged in England.

Charles Dickens. *Little Dorrit.* London: Chapman and Hall, n.d.

The English influences on Shaw's thinking, in the opinion of some critics, have been overlooked in the emphasis laid upon the Continental. Of the native forces the most important was probably Charles Dickens, who did not die until the future playwright was nearly fourteen. He began reading Dickens before he was in his teens — *Great Expectations, A Tale of Two Cities.* "I also struggled with *Little Dorrit* at this time," he remembered. "I say 'struggled'; for the books oppressed my imagination most fearfully, so real were they to me."

The copy of *Little Dorrit* shown here is the one in which Shaw *reread* the novel "when I was a boy late in the eighteensixties." In the note written on the front flyleaf in 1929, more than half a century later, he calls it "in some respects Dickens's greatest book, following the change to complete seriousness which was marked by his Hard Times." In an introduction to a reprint of *Hard Times* which Shaw wrote in 1913 he stressed the social protest, so long disregarded, in Dickens' novels: "that the condition of the civilized world is deplorable, and that the remedy is far beyond the means of individual righteousness."

[Bernard Shaw] "Messrs. Moody and Sankey," *Public Opinion,* XXVII, no. 706 (April 3, 1875)

Shaw was exposed to religion in the Established Church of Ireland and to education at various private schools, notably the Wesleyan Connexional School. Otherwise he was disregarded by his parents. What he remembered learning in "a devil of a childhood" was "lying, dishonorable submission to tyranny, dirty stories, a blasphemous habit of treating love and maternity as obscene jokes, hopelessness, evasion, derision, cowardice, and all the blackguard's shifts by which the coward intimidates other cowards."

There were compensations. The family connection offered several eccentrics who sharpened the boy's appreciation of character. He loved reading, especially Bunyan, Dickens, and *The Arabian Nights*, and telling comic and extravagant stories. His mother's absorption in music brought the work of Mozart, Handel, Beethoven, Verdi, Gounod, and the whole repertory of opera intimately into his life. He discovered the Dublin theater and the National Gallery of Ireland and the pleasures that the Irish countryside could give him.

In 1871 Shaw went as a clerk at eighteen shillings a month into a land agent's office. There he was to remain some five years, showing definite ability, working up from rent collector in the slums to cashier at £84 a year and hating his work. In 1872 Mrs. Shaw, accompanied by the two girls, went to London to earn a living as a teacher of voice. Their departure made the young man restless and threw him more than ever on his own. He taught himself to play the piano and immersed himself in music.

It must partially have been loneliness that made him take an interest in the Moody and Sankey religious revival in Dublin in the winter of 1875. This letter about the American evangelists, signed "S," is believed to be Shaw's earliest appearance in print. The communication, intended to back up the sceptical inquiries of one "J. R. D." in *Public Opinion* for March 27, is characteristically Shavian. The audiences that came to hear Moody and Sankey in Dublin were "respectable," he pointed out, and "respectable audiences were precisely those which were least likely to derive any benefit from them."

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to X. X. X., care of Messrs. White & Son, dated 13 Victoria Grove, Fulham R^d^ [London] July 22, 1880.

After nearly five years of work Shaw decided that he, too, had best escape from the limitations of Dublin and of a land agent's office. In April 1876 he followed his mother to London and settled down upon her for a decade while he completed his education. He called himself "an incorrigible Unemployable" because he did not want employment. "I did not throw myself into the struggle for life," he later declared. "I threw my mother into it."

Try his hand at odd jobs he did, but not too earnestly. He played the piano at evening parties for his mother's friend and teacher, Vandaleur Lee. He also wrote musical criticism for Lee to sign for the *Hornet*, which soon ceased publication. In 1879 he worked briefly for the Edison Telephone Company, through which he first came into contact with the American character and the American language.

Among his desultory attempts to obtain work was his reply, of which the letter shown here is a rough draft, to an advertisement inserted in the *Times* for Thursday, July 22, 1880:

> Clerk Wanted. — To Law Clerks and others. — The advertiser REQUIRES the SERVICES, in London, of an intelligent YOUNG MAN, about 20 years of age, of respectable family and fair education, of good personal appearance and address, one who desires out of door occupation and a permanent and improving position. Salary to commence at 100 guineas. Address, with full particulars as to family and previous occupations, to X. X. X., care of Messrs. R. F. White and Son, 33, Fleet-street.

Nothing is known to have come of Shaw's request for particulars.

Bernard Shaw. Original manuscript notebook dated January 10, 1882.

This small black notebook presents further evidence of Shaw's attempts to earn money during his lean years in London. It contains nineteen pages of manuscript in his Pitman shorthand and four pages of explanation written in longhand and sixty-five years later. According to a notation in his hand on the bottom of page 18, the book was "laid aside early in 1882." The material, being transcribed, consists of what appear to be a series of essays on "Singing in Tune," "Pronunciation," "The Common Dread of Classical Music," "Qualifications of a Singer," "Physiology of the Vocal Organs," "Classification of Voice," and a one-page piece, dated "6/5/83," dealing with effort in singing.

In December 1947 the notebook was submitted to Shaw, who acknowledged it as his work but did not recognize the style. The style, he felt, lacked the "personality" with which he had learned to write by 1882–83. Then, with a warning that he was "very old (91½), and my imagination has always rearranged facts into stories," he was able to identify these little essays on singing and musicianship: "I had written it not in my own character but in that of George

John Vandaleur Lee. . . . Lee . . . resolved to republish his old book The Voice, or a new version of it brought up to date. I set to work to provide this, and had drafted a good deal of it in shorthand when Lee's sudden death put an end to the project; and my career as a pseudo-Lee closed for ever." These musical papers would appear then to have been Shaw's revisions for *The Voice: Its Artistic Production, Development and Preservation*, of which a second edition had been published in 1870. They show that he was willing to undertake any sort of ghost-writing Lee could give him.

Bernard Shaw. Typewritten transcription of the notebook in Pitman shorthand dated January 10, 1882.

When a transcription was made about 1947 of the revisions in Pitman shorthand for George Vandaleur Lee's *Voice*, Shaw was interested enough in this memento of his past to go over the typescript, to correct and to supplement it. On the page shown here he has filled in two musical notations.

Bernard Shaw. "An Unsocial Socialist," *To-Day: The Monthly Magazine of Scientific Socialism*, New Series, I, no. 3 (March 1884)—II, no. 6 (December 1884)

Shaw began scribbling tales before he was in his teens, and during his business career in Dublin he sent out stories and articles to magazines which consistently rejected them. In London he also found it more satisfactory to write for his own interest than to work for someone else's. Most of his time between 1876 and 1885 he devoted to writing, at his mother's expense, and made only £6. From 1879 to 1883 he wrote five novels, one a year, and had them refused by some sixty publishers in England and America. This not inconsiderable effort seems to have earned him little or nothing.

Though a brief piece or two were published in *One and All*, the first major Shaw work to see print was the last novel he wrote. *An Unsocial Socialist* ran in *To-Day* from March through December 1884. *To-Day* was a socialist magazine of which one of Shaw's great friends, James Leigh Joynes, was an editor. The most stimulating aspect of the young Irishman's life in London was his discovery of social critics like the poet Shelley, Henry George, and Karl Marx and his friendships with social and economic theorists like Joynes, Henry Salt, Edward Carpenter, H. M. Hyndman, William Morris. These influences led him to examine critically such accepted social conventions as capitalism and meat-eating.

An Unsocial Socialist, a gleeful consideration of problems arising in a capitalist society, was written in the last six months of 1883. It was originally entitled "The Heartless Man." Shaw's name appeared as the author in the table of contents that formed the wrapper of the periodical.

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. *An Unsocial Socialist*. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., 1887.

Though several publishers had refused *An Unsocial Socialist* before it appeared in *To-Day*, Shaw started the story on the rounds again as soon as its serial appearance was complete. After four houses had turned it down, Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co. accepted it. Shaw proved himself hard-headed in his very first contract: he refused to part with the copyright but leased it for seven years with an option for a seven year renewal. The public demand made such precautions unnecessary.

Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey delayed so long in actually publishing *An Unsocial Socialist* that *Cashel Byron's Profession*, which had followed it as a serial, preceded it as a book. This accounts for the error on the title-page found in the earliest issue of *An Unsocial Socialist*, where it is described as by the"Author of 'The Confessions of Byron Cashel's Profession.'" The mistake was corrected first by a cancel title-page and then by a reprinted title-page. There was also an error in the scarlet binding: at first the *c* in the publisher's name was omitted on the backstrip. The copy shown here has the earliest title-page and the corrected scarlet binding. One thousand copies were printed; fewer than 250 copies in the scarlet binding seem to have gotten into circulation. The price was 6 shillings.

Bernard Shaw. *An Unsocial Socialist*. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., 1887.

Unable to move *An Unsocial Socialist* in its original form, the publishers reissued the unsold sheets with an "Appendix" by Shaw dated Christmas 1887. The "Appendix" was in the form

of a letter from the hero of the novel, Sidney Trefusis, to the author commenting on his handling of the story. The title-page is in correct form and in some copies is dated 1887 and in others 1888. This issue of the book was bound in maroon paper boards and sold at 2 shillings.

By June 1892, when the contract between Shaw and Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey expired, all but 25 copies of the original printing had been sold.

Bernard Shaw. "The Irrational Knot," *Our Corner,* v, (April 1, 1885) — IX (February 1, 1887)

The second of Shaw's novels to be published was also the second to be written. *The Irrational Knot* is a study of morality and immorality in the marriage relationship as seen from the Shavian point of view. The manuscript was also sent on the rounds of the publishers — unsuccessfully. It was accepted for *Our Corner,* another organ of social protest, largely because Annie Besant, the editor, was infatuated with Shaw. Mrs. Besant (1847–1933) is perhaps best remembered as a theosophist and worker for Indian independence. After a long friendship she even proposed that, despite her undissolved marriage, she and Shaw live together under a contract as man and wife. But Shaw refused to sign an agreement that struck him as more irrational than the legalities of marriage. The lady brought their relationship to an abrupt end.

The Irrational Knot was published under Shaw's name — "author of 'An Unsocial Socialist.'" The serial version ran to twenty-three chapters, some monthly installments ending in the middle of a chapter.

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. *The Irrational Knot. Being the Second Novel of His Nonage.* London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1905.

The Irrational Knot was not published in book form for twenty years after it appeared as a serial. It carried an autobiographical preface dated May 26, 1905 (with a postscript dated June 25), in which Shaw expressed his pleased surprise on rereading the story to find that "it is a fiction of the first order. By this I do not mean that it is a masterpiece in that order . . . but simply that . . . it is one of those fictions in which the morality is original and not ready made."

It is to be noted that Shaw heavily revised the serial version for book publication. The latter, for instance, has only twenty-one chapters. Beginning with the second chapter changes in text are numerous. Shaw rewrote sentences and paragraphs, cut long passages, and rearranged chapters. He even changed the name of some of the characters from McQuench to McQuinch.

The sheets of the English edition were printed in New York. The English and American editions both note on the copyright page that the volume was "published September, 1905." Constable and Brentano, the American publisher, must have worked out simultaneous release dates to prevent the kind of piracy that had occurred with the American edition of *Cashel Byron's Profession.* It is entertaining to observe that the serial was described as by George Bernard Shaw, the American book publication by G. Bernard Shaw, and the English by Bernard Shaw. For the greater part of his life the playwright used the shortened form of his name.

Bernard Shaw. "Cashel Byron's Profession," *To-Day: Monthly Magazine of Scientific Socialism,* New Series, III, no. 16 (April 1885) — V, no. 27 (March 1886)

The fourth of his novels to be written, *Cashel Byron's Profession,* of which the hero is a prize fighter, was presumably the third to be published. Since Shaw is described in *To-Day* as the "author of 'An Unsocial Socialist,' 'The Irrational Knot,' &c," it is likely that the April publication of *Cashel Byron* was planned to follow, by at least a few days, the April appearance of *The Irrational Knot.* The two serials ran concurrently until *Cashel Byron* was completed eleven months earlier than the other. It was the second time *To-Day* ran a Shaw novel as a serial.

Though Shaw was no sportsman and felt that a preoccupation with sport was an indication of a weak intellect, he developed an interest in pugilism and the social atmosphere of the prize ring. He studied the subject in the library of the British Museum, which was his favorite haunt and the chief source of his education during these years.

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. *Cashel Byron's Profession. A Novel.* [London] The Modern Press, 1886.

At the time *Cashel Byron* started running in *To-Day*, the magazine was published by the Modern Press, which was partially owned by one of the editors, H. H. Champion. Champion's "unregenerate taste in pugilism" led him to have the story printed from stereotypes of the *To-Day* setting (with a rearranged type page) and sold in book form for a shilling. The first printing consisted of one thousand copies.

The novel had a considerable success. Robert Louis Stevenson was impressed by it. William Ernest Henley wanted to dramatize it. "I never think of *Cashel Byron's Profession* without a shudder," Shaw admitted, "at the narrowness of my escape from becoming a successful novelist at the age of twenty-six. At that moment an adventurous publisher might have ruined me."

When in 1900 *Cashel Byron* was turned into a play in the United States without Shaw's permission, he decided to protect it against further depredation by dramatizing it himself. The adaptation, which he called *The Admirable Bashville, or Constancy Unrewarded*, was made in 1901. Shaw wrote it in blank verse as a burlesque of rhetorical drama and imbedded lines from Shakespeare and Marlowe in it as booby traps for careless critics. The first presentation was by amateurs at the Pharos Club, London, on December 14, 1902. It was produced professionally by the Stage Society on June 7, 1903, with Shaw as director, and presented in public in Manchester on September 22, 1905.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to an unknown correspondent, dated 29 Fitzroy Square [London] May 9, 1889.

Shaw's experience inevitably supplied him with material — from a name to an incident or a characterization — for his literary work. "I have used living models as freely as a painter does," he declared, "and in much the same way: that is, I have sometimes made a fairly faithful portrait founded on intimate personal intercourse, and sometimes . . . developed what a passing glance suggested to my imagination. . . . I have copied nature with many degrees of fidelity, combining studies from life in the same book or play with those . . . traditional figures of the novel and stage which are called pure fiction."

Shaw himself cites an example of his method in the letter about Irish writers shown here. "Cashel Hoey [a connection of Shaw's by marriage], by the bye, was one of Gavan Duffy's group of agitators & writers in the old days: I took the liberty of borrowing his name for Cashel Byron."

Bernard Shaw. *Cashel Byron's Profession. A Novel.* New York: George Munro [1887] (Seaside Library. No. 937. Double Number)

At this time Shaw's novels were not protected by American copyright, and *Cashel Byron* was promptly pirated in the United States — by more than one publisher. Acting with what was extraordinary publishing morality for the time, Harper and Brothers pirated the novel in 1887 and sent the author a gratuity of £10 in the interest of good feeling. George Munro's piracy of the same year is shown here; there is no record that he sent Shaw even a token payment.

From the Reserve Division.

[Bernard Shaw] *The Great Fight.* [New York: Privately Printed by Mitchell Kennerley, 1921]

Shaw's interest in prize fighting persisted sufficiently over the years for him to report for the London *Nation* the Carpentier-Beckett fight in London in December 1919. The article shows a lively knowledge of the prize ring as it had been thirty-five years before and an appreciation of the art of boxing.

The note from Shaw's secretary displayed with the pamphlet establishes the fact that the Kennerley reprint of *The Great Fight* was unauthorized.

Bernard Shaw. Six pages of the original manuscript of *Love Among the Artists.*

Shaw's third novel deals with the differences between the creative artist and the dilettante. As usual, he illustrates his points through the relationships of his characters. This is the first time that he shows woman as the huntress in the sexual chase. The story took longer to write than its predecessors partly because it was interrupted by his first serious illness, a case of

smallpox. As he had supposedly been immunized by an inoculation, the experience was one of several that disillusioned him with the claims made for medicine by some of its publicists.

There are half a dozen pages of the original manuscript shown here. They all carry copious deletions and additions. Type was set from four of them (for the second chapter of Book II) and two were canceled before printing.

Bernard Shaw. "Love among the Artists," *Our Corner*, x (November 1, 1887) — xii (December 1, 1888)

Mrs. Besant continued to show a generous interest in Shaw by running *Love Among the Artists* in her magazine and paying the author. Indeed, when the funds of *Our Corner* ran low, Mrs. Besant paid him out of her own pocket, though he did not know it. The magazine did not survive the completion of the serial: the last number carried the last installment.

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. *Love Among the Artists*. Chicago: Herbert S. Stone and Company, 1900.

Love Among the Artists took twelve years to appear in book form. It was brought out by the intelligent and enterprising Chicago firm that by 1900 had already published two collections of Shaw's plays, *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant* and *Three Plays for Puritans*, and *The Perfect Wagnerite*. It was another fourteen years before the novel was published in England in book form.

Bernard Shaw. *Immaturity*. London: Constable and Company Limited [1931]

Shaw's first novel, *Immaturity*, is the story of a young man who comes to London to make his fortune and learns the harsh realities of modern urban life. Written in 1879, it waited half a century before it appeared for the first time as volume one in his collected works, in the limited edition in 1930 and in the Standard Edition, shown here, in 1931. With it appeared a forty page autobiographical preface, dated Summer 1921. The date suggests that the novel was nearly a decade longer on the way than Shaw expected.

Shaw's experience with publishers was not easy for a youthful writer with a first novel. Chapman and Hall refused *Immaturity* on the word of their reader George Meredith, whose report was a laconic *no*. Though John Morley advised Macmillan's not to accept it, he was interested in Shaw and considered him briefly as a contributor to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Blackwood's accepted the novel and then changed their mind. It must have taken all the proverbial humor and sense of irony of the Shaw family inheritance to accept this disappointment.

The Fabian Society. *Fabian Tracts, no. 2. A Manifesto*. London: Geo. Standring, 1884.

Shaw's introduction to serious economic study seems to have occurred while he was in the midst of writing *Cashel Byron's Profession*. In September 1882, he heard Henry George, the American sociologist, expound his doctrines of the Single Tax and Land Nationalization. *Progress and Poverty* completed his conversion to Georgian economics. His socialist friends told him, however, that he would understand nothing until he had read Karl Marx's *Kapital*. He read it in the French translation at the British Museum, where William Archer, the drama critic and translator of Ibsen, got his first memorable glimpse of the red-headed Irishman "studying alternately — if not simultaneously — *Das Kapital*, and the orchestral score of *Tristan and Isolde!*"

Marx was the light on Shaw's Damascus road. It took him some little time to reconcile to his own satisfaction some of the conflicts in the Marxian doctrine. When this was done, he became "a man with some business in the world." The place in which he principally transacted this business was the Fabian Society. The Fabian Society, organized to effect an evolution in English life through gradual economic measures, was not six months old when Shaw attended his first meeting in May 1884. He became a member that September. Thereafter, with Sidney Webb (later Lord Passfield), Beatrice Potter (later Mrs. Webb), and a few others he set the stamp of his intellect and personality on the society that helped develop the Labour Party which governed England from 1945 to 1951.

For the Fabian Society Shaw spoke on street corner and platform an average of three times a week for more than a dozen years; he did uncountable hours of committee work and wrote millions of words. He became a master of polemics, and the art of argument shaped the thought

and style of his plays and their attendant prefaces. The first tract he produced for them was the unsigned manifesto shown here. The seventeen premises it contains are put forward with a wit that speaks of the division of society "into hostile classes, with large appetites and no dinners at one extreme, and large dinners and no appetites at the other."

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. Typewritten letter to Hamlin Garland, dated 10 Adelphi Terrace, London, December 29, 1904.

In this letter to Hamlin Garland, the American novelist and social philosopher, Shaw warmly acknowledged his debt to Henry George (1839–1897). Before he heard Henry George he had "never . . . studied social questions from the economic point of view." Shaw felt that "only an American could have seen in a single lifetime the growth of the whole tragedy of civilization from the primitive forest clearing"; yet because he was an American George still believed that "there was hope for the Individualist and the hustler" and hence stopped short, in his social thinking, of "the point of total economic reconstruction. . . ." "But I am glad to say that I never denied or belittled our debt to Henry George," the playwright declared. "If we outgrew Progress & Poverty in many respects, so did he himself too."

At the end of the letter Shaw added a characteristically Fabian touch. "What George did not teach you," he wrote Garland, "you are being taught now by your great Trusts and Combines, . . . excellent institutions, quite in the path of progressive evolution, and by no means to be discouraged or left unregulated as if they were nobody's business but their own."

From the Manuscript Division.

Laurence Gronlund. *The Co-operative Commonwealth. An Exposition of Modern Socialism. English Edition.* Edited by George Bernard Shaw. London: The Modern Press, 1885 (International Library of Social Science, Vol. II)

It was doubtless Shaw's friendship with the owners of the Modern Press and his appearance in *To-Day* that led to his editing the English edition of Gronlund's *Co-operative Commonwealth.* Laurence Gronlund (1846–1899) was by birth a Dane and lived by choice in the United States. He was an idealist and a socialist and, like so many of the early Fabians, he found in socialism a religion. Shaw was doubtless attracted to him because Gronlund, too, found Henry George's theory insufficient. There is some belief that Shaw's work on *The Co-operative Commonwealth* went beyond the merely editorial. The book is the first in hard covers to bear his name on the title-page. The second volume, which he edited also, appeared in 1886.

The copy shown here was presented by Shaw on June 2, 1885, to Emery Walker, later Sir Emery, whom he seems to have known through their mutual friend, William Morris. Walker, one of the most eminent typographers of his day, was instrumental in founding the Kelmscott Press and with Cobden-Sanderson later started the Doves Press.

Bernard Shaw. Original manuscript of two songs by Bernard Shaw, "How she Comes" (words by Caroline Radford) dated March 1884, and "Ah Love, I Lack thy Kisses," dated September 1884.

It is not surprising to find that Shaw's early interest in music led to a desire to write some of his own. These two attempts were made in 1884 after he completed his novels and just before his career as a critic of literature, art, drama, and music began.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to Caroline Radford, dated 36 Osnaburgh Street [London] March 31, 1884.

The letter shown here accompanied the manuscript of "How she Comes" which Shaw sent the author of the words, Mrs. Radford. The song, he explained, was for tenor: "The music is trumpery enough; but I am not a composer, and only profess to be tremendous in the third volume of a novel. . . ." His opinion of the lady's poem was not high. "I believe you can do better," he told her.

As Shaw volunteered to reset "How she Comes" if Mrs. Radford wanted him to, it is possible that "Ah Love, I Lack thy Kisses" is a setting of another of her poems.

Bernard Shaw. Photostats of the letter to Mrs. Radford and of "Ah Love, I Lack thy Kisses," annotated by Shaw on June 19, 1950.

When Shaw was approached in January 1950 as to the authenticity of this musical material, he stated categorically, "I never knew anyone named Caroline Radford, nor ever composed any music for her or for anyone else." When he was sent photostats, however, he acknowledged both letter and music to be his work, ending with characteristic jauntiness: "This in no way conflicts with my statement that I am not a composer. Mr. Winston Churchill is not a bricklayer, nor was Tolstoy a bootmaker, because they tried their hands at these arts."

Bernard Shaw. "Mr. Bernard Shaw's Works of Fiction. Reviewed by Himself," *Novel Review,* New Series, no. 33 (February 1892)

"The need for getting me to review my own works of fiction," Shaw stated at the beginning of this unusual review, "has arisen through the extreme difficulty of finding anyone else who has read them." In flippant style he went on to mock, to praise, and to advertise the four novels published by 1892. He devoted by far the greatest attention to *Cashel Byron's Profession.* He ended by recommending "the works of my youth, in spite of their occasional vulgarity, puerility and folly" to "tolerably educated persons [who] cannot be interested except by exhibitions of character or suggestions of social problems."

Bernard Shaw. "The Miraculous Revenge," *Time,* XII (March 1885)

This satirical extravaganza is one of the few short stories by Shaw to get into print. It is concerned with a cemetery that picks up and moves across a lake so that the saints long buried there will not have to fraternize with a newly-buried sinner called Brimstone Billy. After its appearance in *Time,* a magazine of general interest published in London, it was pirated in America in 1885 by the Haldeman-Julius Company of Girard, Kansas.

In the volume entitled *Short Stories: Scraps and Shavings* published in his collected works, Shaw included another story from *Time,* for February 1890, entitled "Still After the Doll's House," and two others published before the 'nineties: "The Serenade" from the *Magazine of Music* for November 1885, and "A Sunday on the Surrey Hills" from the *Pall Mall Gazette* for April 25, 1888.

Bernard Shaw, editor. *Fabian Essays in Socialism.* London: The Fabian Society, 1889.

Though Shaw went into action for the Fabians on such occasions as Bloody Sunday (the attempted mass meeting of socialists in Trafalgar Square on November 13, 1887), his instinct was all against physical conflict and all for mental combat. He served the Society notably on the soap box and rostrum and with the pen. The volume shown here illustrates these abilities simultaneously in operation. The essays had been delivered in 1888 as lectures in London and the provinces by Shaw himself — on the economic basis of socialism — and by Mrs. Besant, Sidney Webb, and others. Shaw also acted as editor of the collection, which had been "revised for publication, but not recast."

The Fabian Society. *Fabian Tracts* no. 13, 40, 41, 45, 49, 70, 93, 107, 146, 226, and *Fabian Leaflet* no. 43. London: The Fabian Society, 1890–1929.

This selection of tracts illustrates the kind of service that Shaw did the Fabian Society over four decades. The very titles tell a story of public relations, exposition, propaganda: "What Socialism is" (1890); "The Fabian Election Manifesto" (1892); "The Fabian Society: What it has Done & How it has Done It" (1892); "Vote! Vote!! Vote!!!" (1892); "The Impossibilities of Anarchism" (1893); "A Plan of Campaign for Labor" (1894); "Report on Fabian Policy and Resolutions" (1896); "Women as Councillors" (1900); "Socialism for Millionaires" (1901); "Socialism and Superior Brains" (1909); "The League of Nations" (1929).

Bernard Shaw. "Art," *Our Corner,* V (June 1, 1885)

Shaw's first regular signed work as a critic of exhibitions, the theater, and music was given him by Mrs. Besant. Beginning in June 1885 and running through September 1886 he supplied

critical material for the column entitled "Art" in *Our Corner*. To his first article, shown here, he brought a common sense, an impertinence, that were revolutionary for the time and that make his reviews still stimulating. The opening sentence declares, "During the past month Art has suffered an unusually severe blow at the hands of the Royal Academy. . . ." Turning his attention to the exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery, he commented on individual pictures: "Mr. Spencer Stanhope has depicted the birth of Venus, but has not elucidated what she is trying to do with her head, since there is no apparent reason why she should be trying to put it under her arm." For the next sixteen months he dealt in this irreverent fashion with pictures, books, music, musicians, plays, playwrights, and actors.

For the thirteen years from 1885 to 1898 Shaw poured the greater part of his energy into the time-consuming work of the critic. In May 1885 William Archer obtained books for him to review for the *Pall Mall Gazette* at two guineas a thousand words, and he contributed reviews until September 1888. His fortunes began to improve: in 1885 he earned £112 from journalism just as the death of his father deprived the family of the £1 a week allowance they had been receiving from Ireland. It was again Archer who in 1886 arranged for him to be appointed art critic for the *World*, from which he received about £40 a year. Two years later, in May 1888, he became the music critic for the *Star* and for two guineas a week wrote a column on music, under the *nom de plume* of Corno di Bassetto, until May 1890. At that time, once more through the good offices of Archer, he returned to the *World* as music critic for four years at five guineas a week. Early in 1895 he became drama critic for the *Saturday Review*, under the editorship of Frank Harris, who paid him £6 a week, double the usual fee for the paper, and gave him a free hand. When he finally left the *Saturday Review* in May 1898, it was because his own work as a dramatist absorbed all the time not taken by the Fabian Society.

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. *Dramatic Opinions and Essays with an Apology.* London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1907.

A selection of the criticisms that Shaw contributed to the *Saturday Review* was published in two volumes in 1907 as *Dramatic Opinions and Essays*. They provide a comprehensive account of the theater of the latter part of the 1890's — and illuminate Shaw's knowledge and feeling for the theater at the time he was getting into his stride as a dramatist.

When he left the *Saturday Review*, he handed over his post to Max Beerbohm, later Sir Max (1872–1956) with an introduction that has become famous: "The younger generation is knocking at the door; and as I open it there steps spritely in the incomparable Max."

Bernard Shaw. *Music in London: 1890–1894.* London: Constable and Company Limited [1932]

When Shaw was bringing out his collected works, he gathered together his musical opinions and essays to form a companion volume to his dramatic opinions. They were selected from his week by week contributions to the *World* for the years 1890–94. *Music in London* appeared in the limited edition of the works in 1931 and in the Standard Edition, shown here, in 1932.

The importance of Shaw's knowledge of music in his development as a dramatist is made plain in one of his letters to Siegfried Trebitsch. "I still call myself a pupil of Mozart in comedy," he declared, "much more than of any of the English literary dramatists."

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. *London Music in 1888–89 as Heard by Corno di Bassetto (Later Known as Bernard Shaw). With Some Further Autobiographical Details.* London: Constable and Company Limited [1937]

After the publication of *Music in London: 1890–1894*, Shaw decided that the musical criticism he had contributed to the *Star* from 1888 until May 1890 was equally worth collecting. A continuation in reverse, therefore, was garnered from the *Star* under the title *London Music in 1888–89*. It is shown here in the Standard Edition of his works, published in 1937.

In 1935 Shaw wrote an autobiographical preface for the projected volume in which he described the origin of the pseudonym he had used for the *Star:* "I was strong on the need for signed criticism written in the first person instead of the journalistic 'we'; but as I then had no name worth signing, and G.B.S. meant nothing to the public, I had to invent a fantastic per-

sonality with something like a foreign title. I thought of Count di Luna (a character in Verdi's Trovatore), but finally changed it for Corno di Bassetto, as it sounded like a foreign title, and nobody knew what a Corno di Bassetto was.

"As a matter of fact the corno di bassetto is not a foreigner with a title but a musical instrument called in English the basset horn. It is a wretched instrument, now completely snuffed out for general use by the bass clarionet."

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. *The Quintessence of Ibsenism.* London: Walter Scott, 1891.

Presumably William Archer, who had been working since 1877 on an English translation of Ibsen, fired Shaw with an enthusiasm for the Norwegian poet, dramatist, and philosopher. Throughout the 1880's knowledge of Ibsen's work, particularly of *A Doll's House,* was spreading among the English intelligentsia. Shaw's first public treatment of the Norwegian playwright of any scope was in the form of a lecture delivered on July 18, 1890, before the Fabian Society as the last in a series devoted to "Socialism in Contemporary Literature."

From this lecture grew the study published the next year as *The Quintessence of Ibsenism.* Here Shaw was interested not in Ibsen the poet or the dramatist but in the social philosopher. He interpreted him in Shavian terms and protected his interpretation by declaring that "the existence of a discoverable and perfectly definite thesis in a poet's work by no means depends on the completeness of his own intellectual consciousness of it." Such a view of his own work he certainly did not tolerate.

The study indicates the important part which Ibsen's example had on Shaw's conception of the possibilities of drama as a sociological medium and on his practice as a dramatist. The influence of the Norwegian reached him at the right moment to turn him towards the theater. He was already connected with it professionally as a critic. The failure of his novels had left him in need of a new way to reach an audience.

Bernard Shaw. *The Quintessence of Ibsenism. Now Completed to the death of Ibsen.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1913.

Ibsen survived Shaw's interpretation by fifteen years, dying in 1906. The Irishman's interest, however, did not die with its object. He brought his study up to date in 1913 with a section entitled "Down among the Dead Men: The Last Four Plays" and added a preface and three new sections of general considerations.

This copy of the 1913 edition of *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* was presented by Shaw to his Swedish translator, Hugo Vallentin. Vallentin, a native of Gothenburg and a journalist, first translated *Arms and the Man* as *Hjältar* in 1906. He died shortly after World War I.

Bernard Shaw. *The Perfect Wagnerite: A Commentary on the Ring of the Niblungs.* London: Grant Richards, 1898.

Shaw's interest in Wagner had been awakened in the mid-1870's in Dublin by the score of *Lohengrin* and strengthened in London and Bayreuth. Indeed, *The Perfect Wagnerite,* like *The Quintessence of Ibsenism,* represents the experience of the critic put to use by the social theorist. Interpreting Wagner as he had Ibsen to suit his own purpose, Shaw examined *The Ring of the Niblungs* not for its musical or dramatic effects but for a philosophical meaning.

This copy of the book was inscribed on the half-title *"The Perfect Wagnerite* to the Perfect Ellen from G. Bernard Shaw." Shaw saw Ellen — later Dame Ellen — Terry (1848–1928) on the stage shortly after he came to London. He began writing to her in 1892, and carried on a love affair by letter for eight years. In 1899 he wrote *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* especially for her. They first met in 1900 at a performance of the play in which another actress played the part intended for her. The correspondence inevitably slackened but they remained friends till her death.

The Perfect Wagnerite was written in the first weeks of Shaw's married life. On June 1, 1899, he married Charlotte Frances Payne-Townshend (1857–1943), an Irish woman of considerable means whom he had met two years before at a Fabian houseparty at the Webbs'. Her interest in the Fabian Society and in Shaw prompted her to become his secretary, his nurse during a serious illness, and finally his wife. Their happy and calm union he characterized as "a childless partnership between two middle-aged people." The playwright put his emotions into his letters to women he never or seldom saw, like Ellen Terry and later Mrs. Patrick Campbell.

Karl Baedeker. *Southern Germany and Austria. Including Hungary and Transylvania.* Leipsic: Karl Baedeker; London: Dulau and Co., 1887.

Though Shaw was to claim that he was not temperamentally a traveler and learned nothing from visits to other parts of the world, he was too intelligent not to enjoy his experiences. As a young man he did not have the means to go outside the British Isles. When he began supporting himself with his criticism, he started traveling.

His first trip to the Continent, it is believed, was made with Sidney Webb to Holland and Belgium. He attended the Wagner Festival at Bayreuth in 1889 with William Archer. With Webb he saw the Passion Play at Oberammergau. The guide book shown here, which carries his signature, may have been purchased for one of these last two expeditions, though he made later trips to Southern Germany. In 1891 he visited Italy with the Art-Workers Guild, and despite his protests over the filth, the fleas, and the superstition he returned with the Guild in 1898. That same year he went to Paris to review a production of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt.*

After his marriage Shaw claimed that his wife dragged him off on extended trips — though he seems to have gone willingly enough. In 1899 they took their first Mediterranean cruise. They went often together to the Continent, including Bayreuth, and took a motor trip in Algeria. After World War I they increased the range of their travels — to Russia, with Lord and Lady Astor, on a triumphal tour; twice to South Africa; around the world in 1932–33, including his brief and only visit to the United States; and twice to the Pacific.

Bernard Shaw. Original manuscript of *Widowers' Houses.*

Shaw's friendship with William Archer was responsible for his first attempt at playwriting. In 1885, presumably about August 15 from a date in the manuscript of *Widowers' Houses,* the two men decided to combine Archer's talent for dramatic structure with Shaw's for witty dialogue. Archer provided his friend with a plot worked up from French models. Some weeks later Shaw announced that he had used it all without completing the second act and put Archer, who was addicted to somnolence, to sleep by reading the incomplete play aloud to him. The collaboration collapsed. When Henry Arthur Jones also discouraged him, Shaw put the fragment aside with the conviction that playwriting was not his forte.

In a note on the manuscript Shaw recorded: "First two acts written in 1885. First part of 3rd act probably in 1890. Second part in 1892 — finished 1st August: pp. 83, 84 & 85 added 20/10/92." One of the pages of Act III bears the notation "Broadstairs — Xmas 1889." The manuscript is partly in ink and partly in pencil and carries heavy cancellations, from individual words to long passages of dialogue. A typescript was made from the manuscript and in its turn copiously worked on: the text of the manuscript and of the play as published differ extensively from the first to the last page.

Bernard Shaw. *Widowers' Houses. A Comedy. First Acted at the Independent Theatre in London.* London: Henry and Co., 1893.

The Independent Theatre was founded in 1891 by Jacob Thomas Grein (1862–1935), a young Dutchman who wished to encourage in England productions of Ibsen and of advanced native dramatists. Largely to prove that there were native plays worth producing, Shaw worked up *Widowers' Houses* for presentation on December 9, 1892. His first play, an attack on slum landlords, was given two performances. On the first night it was cheered by the socialists and booed by others. All the audience, however, succumbed to the charm of the author's curtain speech.

The play was published in 1893, appearing in at least the three variant bindings of brown, blue, and purple cloth which are in this exhibition. The stamping on the front cover described it as "number one of the Independent Theatre Series of Plays. Edited by J. T. Grein." Both Grein and Shaw contributed prefaces and the playwright added three appendixes. Such a continuation of the argument outside the confines of the play itself was to remain characteristic of all Shaw's published drama.

The copy shown here carries on the title-page a laconic statement in Shaw's hand: "My first and worst play."

Bernard Shaw. *Widowers' Houses. A Comedy. First Acted at the Independent Theatre in London.* London: Henry and Co., 1893.

The copy of *Widowers' Houses* shown here was given to Sir James M. Barrie in February 1918 to be sold for a patriotic cause connected with the first World War. It was Shaw's own

copy, according to the inscription, and carries Mrs. Shaw's name on the verso of the title-page. It is unopened, and Shaw comments ironically, "As it contains the original text of the play with all its silly pleasantries, I can recommend it to collectors of quarto Hamlets, and of all those scarce and superseded early editions which the unfortunate author would so gladly annihilate if he could. . . . Whoever uses the paper knife on it will destroy half its value as a curiosity; so perhaps it will remain unread now for ever. . . ."

Bernard Shaw. *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant. The First Volume, containing the three Unpleasant Plays.* London: Grant Richards, 1898.

Widowers' Houses was reprinted in *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant,* the two volume collection containing the plays Shaw had completed by 1896. It was the first Shaw title printed by Grant Richards, who began that year to assemble a list of authors for his publishing venture. The playwright was astute in warning the novice against bringing out his work. He referred to *Widowers' Houses, The Philanderer* and *Mrs. Warren's Profession,* which make up the volume of "unpleasant plays," as "realistic" and described the first as "dead as a doornail."

The failure of *Widowers' Houses* to sell was doubtless one of the reasons why Shaw revised the text published by Henry and Company so thoroughly for republication by Grant Richards. He expanded the stage directions into readable descriptions and rewrote much of the dialogue from the opening to the closing scene.

The Philanderer, which had been written in 1893, was satiric at the expense of the pseudo-Ibsenites and of the medical profession. The flirtatious hero, Charteris, Shaw supposedly modeled on himself and in the jealous scene in the first act between Charteris' two inamorata drew upon his own experience with Mrs. Patterson, one of his mother's vocal pupils, and Florence Farr the actress. Though Shaw wrote the play for the Independent Theatre Society, it was considered inappropriate for them and for the New York public by Richard Mansfield. To secure copyright Shaw had a reading of the play in March 1898, to which a few paid admissions were issued as part of the legal process. This was the first of the copyright performances by which he safeguarded many of his plays from publishing pirates if they were not to be protected by immediate production. *The Philanderer* was not produced until 1905 by the New Stage Club, London, a mixed group of professionals and amateurs.

Advertising leaflet for "Plays, Pleasant and Unpleasant by Bernard Shaw" issued by Grant Richards [1898]

According to the information contained in this three-page advertisement for *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant,* it was issued while the two volumes were "in the press." It contains an adaptation of pages xxi–xxiv of the "Preface," which takes sufficient liberties with the text to suggest that Shaw adapted it himself.

Interesting light is cast by the leaflet on the preparation of the plays for publication: "The only manuscripts available were 'prompt copies' prepared for technical use on the stage . . . [and] Mr. Bernard Shaw could not for a long time be persuaded to undertake the labour of turning his prompt copies into versions for reading. Mr. Grant Richards, however, has this year induced Mr. Shaw to devote the autumn recess to the necessary revision and expansion."

Garrick Theatre [New York] Programme for the week commencing Monday evening, October 30, 1905. Arnold Daly's Company in *Mrs. Warren's Profession. A Play in Four Acts,* by Bernard Shaw.

The last of the unpleasant plays, *Mrs. Warren's Profession,* created more controversy than any of Shaw's work. In it he drew a contrast between the woman whom society rewards for exploiting her body and the woman who tries to force society to reward her for using her brain. Though the play was written in the latter half of 1893 and early 1894 for the Independent Theatre Society, J. T. Grein thought it too unpleasant to produce. The Lord Chamberlain refused to license it for public performance except in mutilated form — "with the 2nd Act omitted and Mrs. Warren converted into a female Fagin." In 1902 it was put on privately by the Stage Society, with Shaw as director, for two performances and shocked members and critics alike.

The first public presentation was that of Arnold Daly's Company in 1905, of which the programme is shown here. The tryout in New Haven, chosen in the hope that Yale University would excercise a broadening influence, was closed by the police. When the play opened in

New York the next week, the entire cast was arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and released on bail. The press, with one exception, attacked the play, and Daly closed it. Shaw considered the whole venture premature. To the credit of Justice Olmsted, in July 1906 the court acquitted Daly of violating the penal code in producing *Mrs. Warren's Profession.*

The play was not publicly performed in England until 1925 — long after the first productions in Germany (1904), Russia (1907), Hungary (1909), Italy (1910) and France (1912).

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. Receipt made out to Karl Mušek for fees paid for the use of the Bohemian translation of *Mrs. Warren's Profession* in Prague, dated December 7, 1907.

Further evidence of the freedom of the theater on the Continent in comparison with England is found in the receipt from Shaw for the Czech royalties for *Mrs. Warren's Profession.* Karel Mušek (1867–1925) began around 1900 his translations of English dramatists and in addition to Shaw he prepared Galsworthy, Maugham, Synge, and Yeats for the Czech stage. The printed form shown here was used by Shaw in such business transactions with his translators.

Bernard Shaw. *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant. The Second Volume, containing the four Pleasant Plays.* London: Grant Richards, 1898.

In 1896 Shaw told Richards that, in addition to the three realistic plays, he had ready "three plays which are works of dramatic art purely" and "another little play." The volume of "pleasant plays" is made up of *Arms and the Man: a Comedy; Candida: a Mystery; The Man of Destiny: a Trifle;* and *You Never Can Tell: a Comedy.*

Eleanor Calhoun, to whom Shaw presented the copy shown here, was an American actress, born in 1862 in California, the grandniece of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. In London she was leading lady with Johnston — later Sir Johnston — Forbes-Robertson (1853–1937). In Paris she acted with Mounet-Sully and Coquelin. Evidently Shaw was anxious to interest her in his work. In 1903 she married a Serbian nobleman and diplomat, Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, and retired from the stage. In her reminiscences, *Pleasures and Palaces,* she speaks amiably of Shaw.

Avenue Theatre [London] Programme for Saturday, April 21, 1894. A Romantic Comedy, in Three Acts, entitled *Arms and the Man* by Bernard Shaw.

The first of the four pleasant plays, *Arms and the Man* was hurriedly written in 1894. Florence Farr, who had long been Shaw's close friend and had played in *Widowers' Houses,* was being backed by Miss A. E. F. Horniman for a season of challenging productions at the Avenue Theatre. The venture was to be on a commercial rather than a membership basis. In a crisis she appealed to the playwright, who had already begun a piece for her.

Shaw not only completed the play but directed it. It was the first of his plays that he directed, with the sureness, thoroughness, and kindness that made his method famous in the theater. He would plan in advance and in great detail exactly what he wanted; he would not interrupt the actors but take written notes on their interpretations; in correcting an actor he would always exaggerate so that he could not be slavishly imitated; he was never sarcastic.

So rapidly was the play rehearsed that on opening night the bewildered actors played their parts with intense seriousness. This created exactly the effect Shaw wanted and produced a great success with the audience. Shaw was called before the curtain to acknowledge the applause — and a solitary boo. His rejoinder to this critic was so apt that he has been suspected of manufacturing the incident. "My dear fellow, I quite agree with you," he called out, "but what are we two against so many?"

The play, preceded by W. B. Yeats' *Land of Heart's Desire* as a curtain raiser, ran from April 21 to July 7. Unhappily the actors began playing for laughs, and the comedy lost its effectiveness. The average nightly take for the run was £17. It was the first Shaw play produced in the United States, in Russia, and in Hungary, though it had the distinction of being banned in Austria by the Dual Monarchy. In 1909 it was used without the author's authority and to his rage as the libretto for *The Chocolate Soldier* by Oscar Straus. Though Shaw may have been influenced by this liberty to call *Arms and the Man* "flimsy, fantastic, unsafe stuff," it has been revived two or three times in each decade since its first production.

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated Welwyn, January 16, 1905.

Shaw gave Trebitsch in the letter shown here an account of the origin of some of the details in *Arms and the Man*. "The first version of the play had no geography," the playwright remembered, "— nothing but a war with a machine gun in it." Sidney Webb suggested the Balkans and the Servo-Bulgarian War as a setting. Shaw adapted his material to the "historical & social facts of the time very carefully." For background he turned to Sergius Stepniak, the Russian revolutionary, who was in exile in London. Stepniak introduced Shaw to the Russian naval officer who had commanded the Bulgarian Danube fleet during the war. It was the accuracy of his information that caused the banning of the play in Austria-Hungary. A German staff officer who had been in the Franco-Prussian war provided Shaw with other military details: "the description of a cavalry charge in the first act was his."

Bernard Shaw. Typewritten letter to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated 10 Adelphi Terrace [London] December 12, 1902.

In describing for his German translator his methods of rehearsing Shaw revealed himself as a master of stagecraft and of human psychology. His opinion of the theater, though expressed with exaggeration, was based upon close acquaintance: "The transfer of any work to the professional stage means desecration, prostitution, sacrilege and damnation . . . *at best*. At worst it means ignorant rascality, lies, cheating, evasion, and interpolation of obscenities and idiocies."

"I always come to the first rehearsal with the whole stage business cut and dried . . .," he told Trebitsch. "The great difficulty to a beginner is to refrain from saying too much. For instance, you will note, say, twelve points that the leading lady misunderstands or misses or spoils. If you tell her all the twelve on one day, you will worry her out of all loyalty to you. Tell her two at most, and save up the rest for the following rehearsals." Actors, he felt, were teachable: "The truth is, theatrical people, with all their insane vanity and lack of any positive element of character, are for that very reason easy to manage by anyone who thoroughly learns the business of the stage."

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated 10 Adelphi Terrace, London, April 11, 1908.

The long letter shown here demonstrates how genuinely unhappy Shaw was over the use of *Arms and the Man* by Oscar Straus. Apparently he had expected only " 'the idea' of the first act" to be taken as the basis for a libretto. When he found out his mistake, he proposed to Trebitsch that they attempt by every legal means to get out of the contract. He was determined to prevent the use of his title and of any of his dialogue. His concern was practical, not artistic: he was afraid that the operetta would kill any interest in the play.

Oscar Straus and his librettists, Rudolph Bernauer and Leopold Jacobson, were working not from the English original but from Trebitsch's German translation. Somewhat unkindly Shaw stated that it was to give his translator half the 1000 crown fee that he had accepted the offer in the beginning.

[Bernard Shaw] Typewritten memorandum of agreement between Shaw and Richard Mansfield concerning *Arms and the Man*, dated June, 1894, and corrected in Shaw's hand.

When Richard Mansfield, the famous American actor, saw the London production of *Arms and the Man*, he wanted to play Bluntschli. He had an interview with Shaw at which they probably discussed the terms enumerated in this rough draft of a contract. It is to be observed that Shaw kept a careful eye on the box office receipts (of which he was to receive "£10 per centum of the gross"), on the appearance of his name in all publicity, and on the strict observance of his text. On June 9, 1894, he wrote Mansfield that he had just executed two copies of the agreement, one for the actor and one for himself — "which will give us the satisfaction of pretending that we are both very careful and accurate men of business."

Mansfield put the play on in New York for two weeks in September 1894. He also took it on tour. Though his performance was reputed to be brilliant, the play was no more financially successful than it had been in England.

Royal Court Theatre [London] Programme for six special matinées, beginning April 26, 1904. *Candida* by Bernard Shaw.

The second of the pleasant plays, *Candida: a Mystery* was written in 1894–95. It was characterized by Shaw as "THE Mother Play" and as a counterfoil to Ibsen's *Doll's House*, "showing that in the real typical doll's house it is the man who is the doll." It was Shaw's first dramatic use of the religious temperament, with which some of his critics have found him to have the closest bonds. Though the play was considered by many actors and friends to be too much in advance of the thinking of its day to be performed, Janet Achurch and her husband Charles Charrington undertook to produce and act in it. After trying it out on tour in 1897, they presented it for the first time in London for one performance at the Stage Society in 1900.

The first public performances in London were the six special matinées on April 26 and 29 and May 3, 5, 6 and 10, 1904, in which Granville-Barker shone as Marchbanks, his first Shaw role. The production had been sparked by Arnold Daly's success as the young poet in New York in December 1903. The American actor was rewarded for risking his capital of $350 on his belief in *Candida:* the play was performed one hundred and fifty times in New York before going on tour in April 1904.

The London production of *Candida* marked the beginning of the Vedrenne-Barker partnership that was to mean so much to Shaw in particular and to the English theater in general. John E. Vedrenne (1867–1930) was a theatrical manager of sound business sense and high artistic standards, and Harley Granville-Barker (1877–1946) an actor, producer, and playwright of unusual abilities. *Candida* was sufficiently successful to encourage them to join officially in the management of the Royal Court Theatre on October 18, 1904. At first they confined themselves to matinées and later undertook evening performances as well. Their management lasted until June 29, 1907, and during these three years they presented eleven Shaw plays, many for the first time, and work by other dramatists from Euripides to Granville-Barker himself. The combination of Shaw, Granville-Barker, and Vedrenne was the most important in the London theater of its time.

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated Overstrand Hotel, Norfolk, January 7, 1903.

When Trebitsch began translating *Candida*, he so misunderstood "the secret in the poet's heart" that Shaw took him firmly to task for "this bourgeois craving for happiness & love and all the rest of the petty consolations" he had introduced into the translation. Shaw pointed out that "Candida's quiet description of their happy home" produced Marchbank's discovery that "life is nobler than that." The relation between Candida and the young poet, Shaw insisted, is "the relation between two clever people who understand certain things that others, far dearer to them, do not understand." The playwright was also careful to mention that though Morell *is* weaker than Eugene in his relation with Candida, "he *is* strong & manly, and *is* worthy of her respect. Eugene never denies this, never disparages it, never belittles it."

Royal Court Theatre [London] Programme [for Vedrenne-Barker Matinées June 4 to 28, 1907] *The Man of Destiny. A Trifle* by Bernard Shaw.

In 1895 Shaw wrote a long one-act play about Napoleon for Richard Mansfield. This sketch of the beast and the dreamer who became one of the world's great men of destiny did not please Mansfield. The actor was even less pleased to be told by Shaw, "I studied the character from you, and then read up Napoleon and found that I had got him right." It was the playwright's first attempt at elaborating on history.

Through his friendship with Ellen Terry, whom he had all along wanted to play the Strange Lady in *The Man of Destiny*, Shaw entered into negotiations with the eminent English actor Sir Henry Irving. Irving and Shaw were at opposite extremes in most things pertaining to the theater. The actor, who had received frank dealing from Shaw the critic, kept Shaw the playwright up in the air over production from November 1895 till April 1897. Then, angry over a Shavian review, he refused the play.

The Man of Destiny was presented by Murray Carson for three performances in Croydon in July 1897 and by J. T. Grein at a "Sunday Special" matinée in London in 1901. The first regular

production, for which the program is shown here, had to wait until 1907, twelve years after the play had been written, when it was played in combination with *Don Juan in Hell.*

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. Corrected typescript of *You Never Can Tell. A Comedy in Four Acts.*

In the summer of 1895 Shaw began to write a play which he hoped would appeal to the commercial theater. It was to be a farce comedy, intended to please people and to make them laugh by giving new twists to old devices and characterizations. The typescript shown here carries plentiful evidence of work. Almost every page reveals copious manuscript corrections. Many pages have revisions pasted over the original dialogue. Some pages have been entirely rewritten in longhand. The text differs at times from the published version.

Despite the effort he put into it, Shaw had bad luck with *You Never Can Tell.* He offered it to Cyril Maude for the Haymarket Theatre. When Maude read it to the company in April 1897 two of the actors walked off the stage. The play had to be cut. The actors could not do their parts as Shaw wanted. After two weeks of rehearsal he withdrew the play.

It was performed by the Stage Society in November 1899 and first produced publicly in May 1900 in a series of six matinées. Once produced, it became popular and has had frequent long runs and good box office. It was published as the last of the pleasant plays.

"Statement of Sales [issued by] Grant Richards . . . in account with G. B. Shaw Esq. for 'Plays, Pleasant & Unpleasant,'" dated December 31, 1898.

Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant was published in the week before April 23, 1898, according to the *Publishers' Circular* of that date. The statement of sales between July 1 and December 31, 1898, shown here, apparently represents the movement of the book after it had already been before the public for nearly three months. At the beginning of July there were apparently 365 copies of volume one and 367 of volume two on hand, and by the end of December 191 more copies of volume one and 178 of volume two had been disposed of. The volumes could be purchased separately at five shillings each. Even though a slight *succès de scandale* gave the unpleasant plays a lead, not many copies of either volume were sold in this half-year period. Shaw's royalty was £18.9.–. He was not lavish with presentation copies during these six months, having given away only 6 sets, for which plus postage Richards charged him £2.6.–.

Bernard Shaw. *Three Plays for Puritans: The Devil's Disciple, Caesar and Cleopatra, & Captain Brassbound's Conversion.* London: Grant Richards, 1901.

Shaw's next collection, *Three Plays for Puritans,* contained the work he had completed between *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant* and the turn of the century. The playwright provided a preface on the current state of the theater, including his own work, and used *Caesar and Cleopatra* as the basis for an assault on Bardolatry or Shakespeare worship.

The volume shown here was Shaw's own copy of *Three Plays for Puritans.* The word "Country" written in ink on the front cover by Mrs. Shaw indicates, as he explained in the inscription, "that it is our old household copy, to be kept in the country and not given away. That is what has preserved it for you."

The "you" for whom the note was inscribed on March 27, 1929, was Grant Richards, the publisher of the volume, who apparently had lost his own copy. "Is it possible that you, who produced all my first editions, have not got one?" Shaw wrote somewhat inaccurately. "Well: I am just one better than yourself; and here it is."

Bernard Shaw. *Three Plays for Puritans: The Devil's Disciple, Caesar and Cleopatra, & Captain Brassbound's Conversion.* London: Grant Richards, 1901.

The first photograph of Shaw to appear in one of his own books served as the frontispiece for volume one of *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant.* It shows the playwright looking quizzically to the left, in the full vigor of his fifth decade, with hair, beard, and mustache luxuriant and untouched by time.

The photographer was Frederick H. Evans, who was particularly interested in architectural photography, which he exhibited both in England and in this country. He also exhibited his camera portraits at the Royal Photographic Society. Shaw must have been pleased with the frontispiece in *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant,* for he presented the copy of *Three Plays for Puritans* shown here to Evans in January 1901.

Bernard Shaw. Fragments from the preface to *Three Plays for Puritans.*

These nine pages were deleted from the preface to *Three Plays for Puritans.* They fall into three groups, each of three pages. Of two of these fragmentary essays — one dealing with William Morris and the other with modern warfare — all trace seems to have disappeared from the preface as published. The third, which describes how *The Devil's Disciple* came to be written, can be found in reworked form as part of "On Diabolonian Ethics," the second section of the preface.

In 1896 William Terriss, highly popular in London as a star in melodrama, proposed to Shaw that they collaborate on a melodrama for the actor to take on a world tour. Like Archer, Terriss produced a scenario. Shaw, however, disregarded it and on his own produced *The Devil's Disciple,* which employed, with a difference, such stock tricks as "reading of a will, the oppressed orphan. . . , the heroic sacrifice, the court martial, the scaffold, the reprieve. . . ," as if in mockery of public taste. "The play," he later recorded, "was written around the scene of Dick's arrest, which had always been floating around in my head as a situation. . . ."

Shaw is said to have kept both Terriss and Mansfield in mind while he was writing the play and to have modeled the hero Dick Dudgeon — was it in amends for *The Man of Destiny*? — upon the American actor. Though Terriss turned it down, perhaps because his world tour was canceled, Mansfield triumphed in it. After the American success, Terriss wanted to produce the play but was murdered by a lunatic at the stage door of his theater.

Fifth Avenue Theatre, New York. Programme for the week commencing Monday evening, October 18, 1897. Season of Mr. Richard Mansfield, in *The Devil's Disciple* by G. Bernard Shaw.

Shaw's study of the genuinely religious man as a social outcast was first produced in the United States. After one night out of town in Albany, *The Devil's Disciple* moved into the Fifth Avenue Theatre on October 4, 1897, and remained there for sixty-four performances. Shaw estimated that the box office took in £25,000, of which he received ten per cent. It was this American success which enabled him to leave the *Saturday Review* and concentrate on writing for, rather than about, the theater.

Though *The Devil's Disciple* was produced for thirteen performances on the outskirts of London in 1899, it did not receive a West End production until October 1907, ten years after the American première. In the meantime it had been produced in Austria (1902), Germany (1904), Hungary (1906), Russia (1906), and Norway (1907).

From the Theatre Collection.

New Amsterdam Theatre [New York] Programme for the week beginning November 5, 1906. *Caesar and Cleopatra: a History, in Four Acts,* by G. Bernard Shaw.

"I wrote *Caesar and Cleopatra,*" said Shaw of the second of *Three Plays for Puritans,* which he wrote in 1898, "for Forbes-Robertson because he is the classic actor of our day. . . ." He is also supposed to have had Mrs. Patrick Campbell in mind for Cleopatra. A rupture between the two actors, however, prevented their appearing together in the play. The lady took part in the copyright performance in Newcastle-on-Tyne in March 1899, and the gentleman in the first professional production in English, which opened in New York on October 30, 1906. This production, of which the programme is shown here, ran for forty-nine performances. The play had been given in 1901 by amateurs in the Anna Morgan Studios in Chicago and on March 31, 1906, in German in Berlin. It was not publicly presented in London until September 1907 when Forbes-Robertson played Caesar in the Vedrenne-Barker production at the Savoy Theatre. Cleopatra was played by Gertrude Elliott, who later became Lady Forbes-Robertson.

In *Caesar and Cleopatra* Shaw continued the process of humanizing history begun in *The Man of Destiny.* It was a popular technique of the 1920's which he anticipated by a quarter of a century.

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. "Caesar and Cleopatra." Typescript entitled "Notes to Act I."

These two pages, which are numbered 27 and 28, seem to belong to a set of technical notes for production purposes which Shaw prepared for *Caesar and Cleopatra.* The title and the opening sentence were supplied by him in manuscript. The fragmentary memorandum shown here covers scenery, music, and costumes. The scenic notes refer to the play as originally per-

formed. It is to be noted that Shaw and Forbes-Robertson cooperated as directors of the American and English productions of 1906 and 1907. Such detailed preparation as these notes suggest was characteristic of Shaw's method of directing.

Bernard Shaw. *Caesar & Cleopatra: Prologue to be Substituted for the First Scene, to Make Room for the Hitherto-Omitted Third Act. Forbes Robertson, 1912.* Stamped "First Proof" and "R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Edinburgh, 5 Aug. 1912."

In the productions of *Caesar and Cleopatra* in America in 1906 and England in 1907 the entire third act, in which Cleopatra pays her surprise visit to the lighthouse, was omitted upon Shaw's stern insistence. "The management. . . ," explained the programme, "yielded to his judgment (not without regret), recognizing that the play at full length is too long for a single performance, and that it is better to omit a purely episodical act than to mutilate the rest. . . ." Since the third act had had a great success, however, in the Berlin production in 1906, Shaw was intent upon somehow finding time for it. An occasion presented itself when Forbes-Robertson revived the play, first at Liverpool in October 1912 and then in April 1913 in his Farewell Season at Drury Lane.

Shaw's expedient was to cut the first scenes of the first and fourth acts and to write a new prologue for the play, "a sort of grand overture . . . to be spoken by the god Ra." The prologue is shown here, stamped "first proof" and "5 Aug. 1912." It is believed not to have been published before it appeared in *Three Plays for Puritans* in the limited edition of his collected works in 1930. It is one of the longest speeches, even in a Shaw play, that actors are ever called upon to learn — some twenty-six hundred words. The new prologue was a success, but it did not kill the old opening scene. The inevitable happened: in at least two revivals, in 1925 and 1932, they were both used.

Bernard Shaw. Typescript entitled " 'Caesar and Cleopatra.' Prologue (as adapted for the Polish Stage.)"

This five-page typescript carries a notation in the playwright's hand: "Read and approved G. Bernard Shaw 27/9/28." He and his Polish translator, Floryan Sobieniowski, worked out between them this adaptation for Polish audiences of the prologue written in 1912 for Forbes-Robertson's revival of *Caesar and Cleopatra*. Allusions to Britain and British history have been changed to fit Poland and Polish history. References to "the heart of Muscovy" and "the life of Stefan Batory," for instance, take the place of the British "fleet that covers thirty miles of the sea." And the original has been shortened by at least a thousand words.

New National Theatre, Washington, D. C. Programme for the week commencing Monday evening, March 25, 1907. Ellen Terry and Company. *Captain Brassbound's Conversion.* By Bernard Shaw.

Though *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*, which Shaw considered a "religious tract," was expressly written in 1899 to convince Ellen Terry that she had ageless charm, she did not play the part publicly for nearly seven years. Her first reaction to the piece, which the playwright had originally called "The Witch of Atlas" to underline his compliment, was to write the author, "It's not the sort of play for me in the least." Quickly she came to think it "a fine Play" and in 1899 gave it a copyright performance in Liverpool. Her commitments to Henry Irving and the Lyceum Theatre, however, prevented her appearing in it until March 1906, when it was presented by Vedrenne and Barker in a series of six matinées at the Court Theatre, London. In the meanwhile Shaw had allowed Janet Achurch to play Lady Cicely for the Stage Society in London — the occasion on which the playwright met Ellen Terry — and in Manchester in 1900.

When Ellen Terry made her Jubilee Tour of America, she included Lady Cicely in her repertory. Captain Brassbound was played by James Carew, a young American actor, who had had another part in the Court Theatre production. The two met, so to speak, through Shaw, who wrote the actress, "I love you; and I am furiously jealous of Carew, with whom you fell in love at first sight." The programme shown here was for the week of March 25, 1907, in Washington. Ellen Terry and James Carew had been married in Pittsburgh on March 22. The marriage ended in a friendly and unofficial separation.

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. *Man and Superman. A Comedy and a Philosophy.* Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1903.

When Shaw was music critic for the *Star* he became friendly with his colleague Arthur Bingham Walkley. Walkley, who later became the drama critic for the *Times*, suggested to him that he "write a Don Juan play." The result was *Man and Superman*, in which Shaw embodied his ideas on the relation of the sexes as a basic factor in his theory of Creative Evolution, the progress of humanity toward the goal which it must reach or perish. He represented woman as the agent of the Life Force, man as a mere expedient, in the production of the Superman. In this play Shaw first began to give shape to a systematic philosophy. He dedicated the piece to Walkley, who received something quite different from what he had asked for.

Since Grant Richards' financial irresponsibility made him something less than the ideal publisher, Shaw offered *Man and Superman* to John Murray, who refused it because he disliked the play's ideas and spirit. It was apparently at this moment that the playwright decided to go into commission publishing. He entered into an arrangement with R. and R. Clark, Ltd., of Edinburgh, who had been Richards' printers, to manufacture his books for him at his own expense and with Constable to publish them on commission. The method was extremely profitable for Shaw and led to nearly half a century of pleasant relationships between author, printer, and publisher.

This copy of *Man and Superman* Shaw inscribed and presented in September 1903 to Ellen Terry, who in her time had strikingly manifested the power of the Life Force.

Bernard Shaw. *Man and Superman.* Cambridge [Massachusetts] The University Press, 1903.

The American edition of *Man and Superman* is a monument to Shaw's ceaseless attempts to circumvent piratical publishers. The volume shown here, as the author's note indicates, "is a spare proof of the first American edition. . . , hastily set up and published formally to save the United States copyright." Type was apparently set from the first English printing. The proof does not carry the name of Brentano, who brought out the first American published edition in May 1904. The copyright was consistently in the name of G. Bernard Shaw.

Shaw pointed out here on the flyleaf that he sent the University Press a duplicate set of corrected proof in August 1903 and additional corrections in September. These corrections are in Charlotte Shaw's hand in this set of proof. They include the elimination of the phonetic rendering of Hector Malone's American accent as found in the first English edition. The corrected text throughout can be found in the Brentano edition. But in later English printings, which otherwise incorporate the corrections, Hector Malone's original pronunciation has been restored.

Bernard Shaw. *Man and Superman. A Comedy and a Philosophy.* Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1903.

Begun in 1901 and completed in 1903, *Man and Superman* was given a copyright performance in June 1903, two years before it was presented by the Stage Society at the Royal Court Theatre, London, on May 21, 1905, and publicly performed with the same cast and at the same theater on May 23. This production was played without the third act. The second scene of Act III, which has come to be known as *Don Juan in Hell*, was first produced in June 1907 as a one-act play described as "A Dream from 'Man and Superman.'" The play was not presented in its entirety until June 1915. Since these productions, *Man and Superman* without the third act has been acted two or three times a decade; *Don Juan in Hell* less than half a dozen times altogether; and the entire play on some seven occasions.

This copy of *Man and Superman* was inscribed and presented by Shaw in August 1903 to his Fabian friend, Stewart Duckworth Headlam (1847–1924). Headlam was a Christian Socialist clergyman. Shaw added a note certifying that the last line of page 137, part of Dona Ana's speech which closes *Don Juan in Hell*, he owed to Headlam: "I believe in the Life to Come."

Royal Court Theatre [London] Programme for eight Vedrenne-Barker Matinées, beginning June 4, 1907. "Don Juan in Hell. A Dream, from *Man and Superman*," by Bernard Shaw.

When *Don Juan in Hell* was first produced as a separate one-act play, Vedrenne and Barker, the producers, were afraid that the audience might not understand Shaw's intentions. The playwright agreed to provide the explanatory leaf shown here for "those who are not to some

extent skilled in modern theology." After comparing old and new fashioned conceptions of Heaven and Hell and acknowledging his debt to Tirso de Molina's drama and Mozart's opera, he analyzed the legendary characters of Don Juan, Don Gonzalo, and Dona Ana in terms of their eternal abodes. It is the lady, however, who embodies Shaw's thesis: she goes neither to Heaven nor Hell but awaits her divine mission, "as Woman Immortal, [to] bear the Superman to the Eternal Father."

Bernard Shaw. Autograph postcard to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated Castle Haven Rectory, Castle Townshend, Co. Cork, Ireland, September 27, 1906.

For a quarter of a century Shaw kept up a running battle with Max Reinhardt (1873–1943), the famous Austrian director and producer. Reinhardt wanted to produce Shaw plays and had decided ideas as to how they should be done; so did their author. The result was fireworks.

The first explosion came over Reinhardt's production of *Caesar and Cleopatra* in Berlin in 1906. *"They have cut out the first scene of the 4th act!!!"* Shaw complained to Trebitsch. Instead of omitting the third act, as the playwright specified, the Austrian director "spoiled the 2nd & 4th acts. . . , and wrecked the play." Half a dozen years later Shaw showed that he had come to approve of Reinhardt's arrangement by cutting the first scene of Act IV himself.

The postcard shown here contains Shaw's fulminations over *Caesar* and his decrees for *Man and Superman*, which Reinhardt now wanted to put on. Shaw had emphatic ideas on how the latter should be cut: "The third act is to be omitted totally — not one word or syllable of it is to be performed. . . . The play, as cut by me, is as long as any audience can endure. . . . This is final and peremptory. My word has gone forth: let Reinhardt tremble and obey."

Bernard Shaw. Autograph card to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated November 13, 1907.

The two ambitions confided to this card were never achieved. Here Shaw expressed the hope that Richard Strauss would compose incidental music for *Don Juan in Hell*. He also confessed to a desire "to do a new libretto" for the composer.

(To be continued)

Crossing the Line

Tales of the Ceremony during Four Centuries

Gathered by HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG

PART XVIII

1885, continued

Neptune, being satisfied with the appearance of his retinue, concluded to move aft; the services of the band were brought into requisition, and to the enlivening strains of a march, the procession moved slowly aft. When the head of the line reached the mainmast, the Signal Quartermaster hoisted and broke at the main his Majesty's Royal Standard, which consisted of a white field sixteen feet by eight feet, bearing the inscription Neptunus Rex; in the center of the field was painted a large dolphin, and each of the four corners were ornamented with shell fish painted thereon. On the right of Neptune, manning a stout line secured to the neck of the stuffed effigy of a horse, stood twelve seamen bold, with countenances beaming with pleasure in consequence of the pleasant duty they were about to perform, which was nothing less than celebrating in manner following the death of poor old horse. As Neptune moved aft they at the same instant straightened out taut their line and commenced to drag the horse aft, each one in his turn singing a verse of a "shanty", to which all joined in chorus, the long strong pulls together being regulated by certain emphasized words in each line of song and chorus. Arriving abreast of the starboard gangway, they halted until Neptune's retinue had passed them, then picking up the old horse, they launched him with a shout into the big drink. This little side-show was intended to illustrate an event in the life of a sailor on a long voyage; that is, that he had been long enough on the voyage to work up his advance wages, or as he terms it, the "dead horse", and even in the pure atmosphere that he is accustomed to live carrion is objectionable as company, and so old horse must go not to the boneyard but overboard. Arriving on the quarter-deck, the policemen, bears, and other followers of Neptune halted and formed, faced to the front or inboard. Neptune and wife, followed by the Doctor and Barber on foot, continued on aft until within a few feet of the Admiral and Captain, when he and his wife alighted, bowed to the Admiral and Captain, and without further ado countermarched forward to the bridge to commence the shaving. Neptune's wife on the arm of the Admiral, and Neptune himself escorted by the Captain. In their rear followed the Doctor, Barber, Clerk, and Officers of the Ship; the ship's company at the same time rushed forward to secure the best possible places to witness the shaving.

Amidships on the bridge were grouped, standing, the Admiral, Captain and Officers. Neptune and wife were seated on the starboard side of the

1885, continued

bridge. On the port side was a large tub containing the lather made of soap, molasses, and flour, over which the Barber and assistants kept a watchful eye. The Doctor stood hard by to render assistance whenever his professional services should be required. Neptune's Secretary, who was an important character, must not be forgotten; he also occupied a place on the bridge; his duties required him to call the names as they were arranged on lists in his possession of the individuals to be shaved. As the names were called, the victims either presented themselves voluntarily, or the ship was searched for them by the police. They reached the bridge by a ladder leading from the starboard side; arriving on the bridge, they received a nod of recognition from Neptune and were hurried across the bridge, turned over to the barber, received a good share of lather, applied with a white-wash brush, had it partly removed by a large wooden razor in the hands of the barber, and then they were carefully lifted from the bridge and dropped into an awning in the port gangway, so secured as to form a large tub, which was filled with water by a hose connected to the steam pumps. While in the awning, the individual shaved was attended to by the bears of Neptune, who were there to receive him; after undergoing a good ducking he was allowed to scramble out, and he was HENCEFORTH considered a bona fide son of the sea. As each new victim received his dose the cheers and laughter of the crew expressed their appreciation of the fun.

[Two further episodes are described: near the starboard gangway appears suddenly the *late* Honorable Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Chandler, who is received with tremendous cheers — and sent to the bottom of the sea by stern command of Neptune; climax of the sport is the discovery that G. Savasta, Chief Musician, has "endeavored to escape shaving by securing a certificate under false pretences," he now receiving an extra lathering and "both edge and back of the razor." It was now "nearing the hour of twelve"; Neptune bade all good-bye and a pleasant passage — and returned to the quiet recesses of the ship, to enjoy the beer received by the payment of the forfeits."]

(James Brady. King Neptune's visit to the U. S. Flagship Lancaster. Written by James Brady, Schoolmaster, Flagship Lancaster, 1885. 8 p.)

At this time the *Lancaster* was flagship of the European Squadron cruising off the west coast of Africa, shifting from north to south latitude on 23 April 1885 and arriving at French Point, River Congo, on the 28th following.

1897

Sept. 5. Closing in on the equator this noon. A sailor explained to a young girl that the ship's speed is poor because we are climbing up a bulge toward the center of the globe; but that when we should once get over, at the equator, and start down-hill, we should fly. When she asked him the other day what the fore-yard was, he said it was the front yard, the open area in

the front end of the ship. That man has a good deal of learning stored up, and the girl is likely to get it all.

Afternoon. Crossed the equator. In the distance it looked like a blue ribbon stretched across the ocean. Several passengers kodak'd it. We had no fool ceremonies, no fantastics, no horse-play. All that sort of thing has gone out. In old times a sailor, dressed as Neptune, used to come in over the bows, with his suite, and lather up and shave everybody who was crossing the equator for the first time, and then cleanse these unfortunates by swinging them from the yard-arm and ducking them three times in the sea. This was considered funny. Nobody knows why. No, that is not true. We do know why. Such a thing could never be funny on land; no part of the old-time grotesque performances gotten up on shipboard to celebrate the passage of the line could ever be funny on shore — they would seem dreary and witless to shore people. But the shore people would change their minds about it at sea, on a long voyage. On such a voyage, with its eternal monotonies, people's intellects deteriorate; the owners of the intellects soon reach a point where they almost seem to prefer childish things to things of a maturer degree. One is often surprised at the juvenilities which grown people indulge in a sea, and the interest they take in them, and the consuming enjoyment they get out of them. This is on long voyages only. The mind gradually becomes inert, dull, blunted; it loses its accustomed interest in intellectual things; nothing but horse-play can rouse it, nothing but wild and foolish grotesqueries can entertain it. On short voyages it makes no such exposure of itself; it hasn't time to slump down to this sorrowful level.

(Samuel Langhorne Clemens. Following the equator; a journey around the world. By Mark Twain. Hartford, Connecticut [1897] p. 65–69.)

The vocabulary is typical Mark Twain. How much study did he give to the ceremony before settling the question? If the initiation ceremony at the passing of the mouth of the Platte upward bound on the Missouri had ever come to the notice of Sam Clemens, the Mississippi pilot, one would expect mention of it here. And the crossing of the height of land between the Great Lakes and the Pacific and Hudson's Bay watershed would be ruled out here as mere landsmen's frivolities.

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1904

There is an old custom among sailors that if a person has never been across the equator before, he must be ducked in the sea when he first crosses that line. There was some talk in fun among the passengers of ducking two or three of us on board who had never been across, but no effort was made. I think they feared we would make a fight and possibly duck some of the other fellows.

(Richard Alexander Fullerton Penrose. Life and letters of R. A. F. Penrose, Jr. By Helen R. Fairbanks and Charles P. Berkey. New York, 1952. p. 343 of the manuscript diary, 18 July 1904.)

ca. 1910

On this voyage we had a number of young people on board who were crossing the equator for the first time, so Neptune kindly offered to leave his ocean depths and to board the ship, in the good old-fashioned orthodox style to further these young folks' education. Just as we crossed the Line, the ship was hailed from the sea, her name and destination were ascertained, and she was peremptorily ordered to heave to, Neptune naturally imagining that he was still dealing with sailing ships. The engines were at once stopped, and Neptune, with his Queen, his Doctor, his Barber, his Sea Bears and the rest of his Court, all in their traditional get-up, made their appearance on the upper deck, to the abject terror of some of the little children, who howled dismally at this alarming irruption of half-naked savages with painted faces. I myself enacted Neptune in an airy costume of fish-scales, a crown, and a flowing beard and wig of bright sea-green. Of course my Trident had not been forgotten. Amphitrite, my queen, was the star-comedian of the South African music-hall stage, and the little man was really extraordinarily funny, keeping up one incessant flow of rather pungent gag, and making the spectators roar with laughter. All the traditional ceremonies and good-natured horseplay were scrupulously adhered to, and some twenty schoolboys and five adults were duly dosed, lathered, shaved, hosed, and then toppled backwards into a huge canvas tank of sea-water, where the boys persisted in swimming about in all their clothes. The proceedings were terminated by Neptune and his entire Court following the neophytes into the tank, and I am afraid that we induced some half-dozen male spectators to accompany us into the tank rather against their will, one old German absolutely fuming with rage at the unprecedented liberty that was being taken with him.

(Lord Frederic Hamilton. Here, there, and everywhere. New York [copyright 1921] p. 278–279.)

This voyage from Capetown is noteworthy for one of the rare performances on crossing from the south and also for having Neptune and his Queen enacted by the passengers, not the seamen. Date not given, but probably before 1914.

Reprinted with permission of the executor of the will of the late Lord Frederic Hamilton, through Messrs. A. P. Watt & Son of London.

1911

On the fourteenth of July we approached "the line," said by geographers to be imaginary, but proving to us very real. The first indication of it was at dinner time, when a deep voice from the bow called "ship ahoy, any novices on board?" There were; and we were warned that Neptune would be on board about three o'clock. As six bells struck, sure enough, old grey-bearded Neptune, trident in hand, appeared from the bow, followed by his buxom fair-haired wife, his daughter fresh from a marine ballet, his bibulous doctor, and a crew of minions. After parading the deck, these ancient celebrities

mounted a throne on the after-deck and called for the novices. Each man was called up before Neptune, who questioned him as to his purposes in entering his realm. Next we were examined by the "doctor," who always prescribed some of his yellow, pink or blue liquids or watersoaked biscuits, which remedies were administered down the back or up the sleeve. Then the candidate was seized by the minions and taken to the "barber," who lathered with a whitewash brush, shaved with the great two-foot wooden razor, and powdered with soot. During this the victim was seated on the edge of the tank, and as the process was nearing completion, was tumbled head over heels into the water, rising to meet the full force of the ship's hose as he came up. We all went through this with the others, including a couple of sailors and stewards, while the assembled steerage fairly gloated over us; until at the end the hose was turned upon them. Then Neptune and his following, assisted by the initiates, plunged into the water and the ceremony was over. Later each of us received an illuminated certificate assigning us to various fish families, and entitling us to rove at pleasure over the seven seas.

How old the ceremony is I do not know, but a Spanish traveler in the early part of the seventeenth century describes just such a ceremony as the "rescate" or ransom, differing from the above only in that the duckings, etc., were imposed because the novices would not give satisfactory reasons for entering Neptune's domain, and the captain was fined a dinner for the whole crowd. It is doubtless a mockery of the ancient custom of sacrificing to the god of the sea to propitiate him when the early voyagers entered his realm; but it must have been a deep rooted custom to have survived with so much detail and uniformity. It is only on the palatial passenger boats that the ceremony is dying out.

(Frederick Brewster Loomis. Hunting extinct animals in the Patagonian pampas. New York, 1913. p. 17–18 with half-tone plate of the ceremony.)

One more unanswered question. Who is the early 17th century Spanish traveler who describes such a ceremony as the "rescate" or ransom?

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1913

The "Crossing of the Line" occurred on August 31st. The event had been anticipated by many with interest and curiosity. One gentleman, speaking about the matter, remarked: "We shall no doubt feel it an hour or two before we get there, and probably an hour or two afterward." As the equator is an imaginary line, what my friend expected to feel I am at a loss to imagine. Another fellow-voyager approached me and seriously inquired "how long I thought it would take us to get over the line." When I told him the feat might be accomplished in about a second of time he looked mystified and even disappointed. I did not press him to explain himself. It would hardly have been polite to do so. To what sort of nautical acrobatics he was looking

1913, continued

forward will ever remain a puzzle to me. On the morning of the eventful day a proclamation was read at breakfast, announcing that Father Neptune and his daughter, attended by their court, would appear on board at two o'clock in the afternoon, and then proceed to initiate into the mysterious rites of his realm all those who were for the first time invading his domains south of the equator. During the forenoon of the day there were many conferences between the "committee of arrangements" and the proprietors of a circus, who were traveling as second-class passengers. At the appointed hour a procession took place upon the upper deck. It was headed by Neptune and his daughter. Neptune was clothed in a sea-green robe, held his trident, wore a crown of gilded pasteboard, surmounting his flowing locks which were composed of strands of oakum. The discerning eye detected under the disguise the rotund outlines of the purser; and under that of his daughter the somewhat diminutive form of the second steward.

The reason for the frequent conferences, which had been held with the owners of the side-show in the morning, now became plain. The theatrical properties of the troupe had been brought into requisition. The chief steward arrayed as a ballet dancer, and the barber, wearing the mask of a clown, on his head a fiery red wig and in his hands a razor three feet long made of gilded wood were prominent among the merrymakers. A motley company composed of the ringleaders in "the smoking-room crowd" wearing masks and strange disguises followed. A platform had been erected in front of the swimming tank. On it the chief steward, provided with a whitewash brush and a big bucket of paste, took his place. Beside him stood the barber, stropping his gigantic razor upon a yard of burlap tied to a derrick-boom. The first victim was a young lady who seemed to feel that it was her duty to be initiated. She came forward smiling, wearing a silk gown. She seated herself upon the barber's stool. Her head was anointed with paste, the barber made a few passes with his mimic razor, and then in a twinkling, heels over head, she was flung backward and soused in the tank by the minions of Neptune. The ship's surgeon and the fourth officer were the next victims. They were followed by others until the tank was full. Those who were floundering in the bath now resolved upon reprisals. The first attack was made upon the chief steward. He was seized from behind and waltzed into the tub, from which he emerged looking like a drowned rat. After him came the barber, from whose pockets, crammed with colored papers, oozed bright green, pink, and yellow dye-stuff. "Beau-ti-ful as the rainbow!" he exclaimed, as he crawled out of the tank and again took his place on the platform, and began to strop his razor. The fun now rose to its height. One by one the company of merrymakers were caught and protesting, struggling, kicking, rolling, were brought to the tank and flung over its sides. It no longer contained sparkling water, but a broth of paste, paint, floating wigs, and other accoutrements. Those who had met their baptism in it had an hour's work before them in their private baths to remove the stains of their experience.

Each reveler received a diploma, properly signed and sealed by Neptune, attesting the fitness of the recipient to sail "the seven seas."

(William Jacob Holland. To the River Plate and back. New York, 1913. p. 20–22.)

Another rare instance of passengers or officers portraying courtiers of Neptune. Reprinted with permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons, publishers.

1919

[In 1919] We held smokers and Happy Hours en route to Rio, [on U.S.S. *Idaho,* taking down to Brazil the President of Brazil and his party] but the big event of the voyage was "crossing the line" when we ceremoniously converted polliwogs into shellbacks. This was the first of my four round trips over Neptune's mythical frontier, and I was well lathered by the royal barbers, paddled by his pirates and after being tossed into the tank, manhandled by the polar bears — all in the presence of our laughing guests from Brazil. (p. 101–102)

The Fleet visited Valparaiso, Chile, in the summer of 1921. We again staged an elaborate "Neptunus Rex party" when we crossed the Equator, and being a shellback, I found the excitement a great deal more enjoyable than the first time. Lieutenant Commander Daniel J. Callaghan, assistant gunnery officer, paid the penalty for being an especially popular shipmate by being subjected to all the most barbarous forms of equatorial torture. The members of the ship's raceboat crew, enacting the rôle of polar bears in Neptune's royal pool gave Dan what the men called "the works." And Callaghan, since our shipmate days in the *Idaho,* has been a dear friend. (p. 107–108)

. . . I had everything for the book except the pictures and the story of crossing the Equator.

This event at sea was the high light of the cruise. The governor general [of the Philippines, Dwight F. Davis] was a good sportsman, winning the hearts of the men when he pleaded with Neptunus Rex to allow him to substitute for his daughter in the initiation ceremonies. Mr. Davis had already crossed the "line" but he patiently allowed the *Pittsburgh* shellbacks to lead him to the electrified platform where he danced when they turned on the "juice"; and he let them heave him into the tank where the polar bears "did their stuff." (p. 217)

(William A. Maguire, chaplain. Rig for church. New York, 1942.)

Reprinted with permission of Father Maguire's heirs and representative.

1920

H.M.S. *Renown* moved into the sultry waters of the tropics. Neptune came on board, and he demanded the royal victim with glee. The good fellowship of Osborne was called on now: the British capacity to grin through five

1920, continued

minutes of discomfort. The Prince was docile while the courtiers of the Equatorial king sang:

Shave him and bash him,
Duck him and splash him,
Torture and smash him
And don't let him go.

The orders were carried out with brutal precision.

(Hector Bolitho. King Edward VIII. His life and reign. London, 1937. p. 101.)

Reprinted with permission of Eyre & Spottiswoode, publishers.

"And whereas in this our time, the minds of men are so diverse, that some think it a great matter of conscience to depart from a piece of the least of their Ceremonies, they be so addicted to their old customs; and again on the other side, some be so new-fangled, that they would innovate all things, and so despise the old, that nothing can like them, but that is new: . . ."

Everybody knows that certain humorous ceremonies are associated with the passage of the Equator, that "imaginary line drawn round the earth equidistant from the Poles." Nobody knows why, or whence the custom was derived. That it is a very ancient custom is undoubted, though its association with the Line in particular is comparatively modern, and cannot be older than the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Such investigations as have been made into ancient records have thoroughly established the fact that ceremonies similar to those now practised in "Crossing the Line," were earlier observed in many other parts of King Neptune's domains. The Straits of Gibralter, and the entrance to the Baltic through the Sound, were long associated with ceremonial observances. In the old whaling days similar ceremonies were observed on crossing the Arctic Circle.

Such records as are available throw little light upon the origin of these ceremonies. There is evidence that, in the case of the Sound, not only were "novices" initiated with amusing frolics (much as now in "Crossing the Line") but the ship herself had to pay a forfeit — which was presumably spent in regaling the crew. We get here a distinct suggestion of a propitiatory sacrifice, of "paying toll to Fortune." And this at once takes us back to very ancient days, long before the Christian era. The name of the King of the Sea, Neptune, which is universal and has survived to the present day, points in the same direction. The Romans had a horror of the sea, and had the more reason to pride themselves on their conquest of the "unfriendly element." Among the public celebrations of the Roman year was that of the "Neptunalia," and we know from Horace how grateful travellers proferred thanksgiving sacrifices to the God of the Sea for their safe arrival in port. The highest test of friendship, according to the same authority, was that he "was ready to accompany his friend even to the Straits of Gibraltar."

To primitive navigators all narrow seas held special terrors. The swift tides, the varying currents and the strong gusts of changing winds usually present in these narrow seas made the passage of sailing ships extremely perilous to the small craft of antiquity. The passage of the Sound, indeed, remained a matter of anxiety, if not very real risk, even to the best-found ships of the modern era of sails. The religions of heathen antiquity naturally suggested offering a propitiatory sacrifice to the Sea Deity to procure safe passage through these difficult seas. Similarly in the old whaling days of our own era the entrance upon an extremely perilous enterprise was made, by the unchanging traditions of the sea, occasion for a like offering, and the Arctic Circle was chosen to make a definite locality for the celebration.

Writing far away from books, it is only possible to suggest that the customs now observed in "Crossing the Line" have come down to us from a very hoary antiquity; that they originated in the idea of propitiatory sacrifice to the Sea-God in present or anticipated perils; and that, when practised by the heathen navigators of the North, they were probably accompanied with human sacrifice, even in the Christian era. We seem to remember having read of a galley slave being thrown overboard in an hour of extreme peril. It is possible that the story of Jonah may lead us in the same direction, even much farther back than the days of the Romans. The superstition of all sailormen, that the presence aboard ship of a minister of any religion rouses the jealous indignation of the Sea-God (presumably as being hostile to the observances traditionally due to King Neptune), is likewise suggestive in this connection. Influences aboard ship supposed to be hostile to the sovereign rights of the ancient Sea-God are still known among sailormen as "jonahs." In the "Crossing of the Line" by H.M.S. *Renown*, the sovereign rights of the heathen Sea-God were, by an amusing little by-plot to the main theme of the celebration, seriously challenged for the first time on record.

It is easy to see why the Line became associated with the same ancient customs. In early days the Line was the threshold to a new world full of unfamiliar terrors. The very heavens changed, the old constellations were no more; the moon herself seemed to face the wrong way about; the ocean held new terrors and unfamiliar denizens; the land was peopled with strange beasts and naked cannibals, and the coral reefs were an ever-present peril. To the Line was naturally transferred the old association of ideas that linked ceremonies of propitiation with the entrance upon enterprises of difficulty and perils that were novel and abounding.

In these days of rapid steam transit and the nervous hurry of modern civilization, the money-making fever, and the consequent contempt for everything which has no direct bearing upon a practical result, the ceremony of "Crossing the Line" is becoming obsolescent. In crowded liners it is made a show for the amusement of bored passengers who are allowed to escape the personal sacrifice to the Sea-God, or to commute it into a gift for the benefit of the crew. In the usually undermanned tramp, with a crew too often only British in name, there is neither the time nor the inclination for an elaborate ceremony; it is

1920, continued

either omitted altogether or sadly curtailed, to save the expenditure of time, money and labour.

But in a British ship of war the ceremony is always observed with that thoroughness which characterises the work of the Royal Navy, and is equally noticeable in its play. The British "matloe" dearly loves a bit of "play-acting" and is an adept at impersonation. There are always in a ship of war twice as many men as would suffice for the needs of the mercantile marine; and, though they are always occupied, their work is in general neither exhausting nor difficult. They are all men in a condition of trained physical fitness — no old men among them, nor any not in the pink of health. Weaklings soon leave the Navy, and sick men are sent ashore to hospital at the State expense. One occasionally hears it said — and there is a modicum of half-truth in the statement — that a dozen longshore workmen would do what it takes a score of matloes to accomplish, and do it in quicker time. But the workman ashore only works a part of his twenty-four hours' day, and cannot be required to raise a finger when his spell of work is over. Sailormen have to fight the elements, which take no account of man's convenience. And sailormen of the Royal Navy have to be "ready, aye ready" to fight a possible human foe as well. They are necessarily, therefore, both more numerous — to make good the inevitable wastage when a ship of war is performing her natural functions — and in finer physical condition (for they must at all times have an immense reserve of strength for the moment of supreme need) than sailormen of the mercantile marine.

(Victor E. Marsden. Crossing the Line with His Royal Highness, The Prince of Wales in H.M.S. "Renown," Friday-Saturday, April 16–17, 1920. Sydney, 1920. p. 5–7.)

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1922

On crossing the equator, we could not have the usual ceremony of Father Neptune and his mermaids, owing to the number of Peruvians, Chileans, and Spanish on board, who would have failed to understand the shaving, dipping in the sea-bath, and other old customs of the solemn occasion.

But the health of Father Neptune was drunk, and we celebrated the occasion with some 1911 Vintage Melnotte champagne in a big electroplated jug, and plenty of ice to cool it, in my cabin with some of our friends on board.

(Frank Hedges Butler. Round the world. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company [1923?] p. 89.)

In January 1955, J. B. Lippincott wrote that it had taken over the Stokes Company, had no objection to quoting thus, but could not "grant a clear permission since our records do not indicate that we have the authority to do so." Diligent search followed but brought nothing clearer. The quotation is therefore made with the earnest hope that no rights are now and thus damaged.

1923

[1923, after September] The great day of crossing the line at last arrived, and I was vastly relieved to know that King Neptune had absolved me from going through the ordeal of making my obeisances to his court. My companions explained that although they did not believe my protestations that I had crossed the line before, they would nevertheless give me the benefit of the doubt and let me off the ceremony. To this magnanimous concession I, though inwardly grateful, replied that if the court could not accept my word I would insist on going through the bath. The doctor, who was to receive his initiation this day, rather too enthusiastically seconded my proposal and things were coming to a deadlock when Manager Andersen struck the very bright idea of creating me official photographer to the royal court, an honor I immediately accepted. I informed the doctor that I should have much pleasure in photographing him in the throes of the bath and the clutches of the bears. He did not see eye to eye with me on this matter, but I did my duty.

At the appointed hour the mournful drones of an accordion accompanied by sundry improvised instruments were heard, instruments whose only virtue seemed to be that they kept a strange sort of time.

From my vantage-point on the bridge I saw the strangest procession I ever beheld pass along slowly and with comic dignity, below, to the throne of King Neptune, preceded by his band. King Neptune, dressed with the pomp that befitted his Royal Heaviness, took his post majestically, and was followed by the royal physician, royal barber and assistants, royal bears, royal police, and numerous royal smaller fry whose duties were probably known only to themselves.

The squad of police of the royal household searched diligently for skulkers who might be hiding in the out-of-the-way corners of the ship, and when they did catch one of these misguided deserters, the punishment was dire and dreadful — an extra dose of the royal physician's medicine, according to the victim's capacity to take it.

The first to be initiated was the ship's doctor, who, on account of his undoubted status and learning, was given a double dose, after being catechized by the court, which was of the opinion that he needed a second helping. I rather think that there was malice aforethought behind the decision, for although I never sampled the medicine I was told confidentially that it consisted of tea, coffee, rum, pepper, salt, mustard, beer, and a very small quantity of aqua vitæ.

Though the doctor objected to the concoction, he was forced to swallow it under the threat of suffering worse torment. He was then handed over to the tender mercies of the royal barber. This industrious person had already a pail of soot and whitewash, to serve as lather. With a whitewash brush he slapped (sloshed would be a better word) his victim all over the head with the mixture, which he then scraped off with a huge wooden razor, wiping the razor on the hair of the helpless and speechless doctor, who was then

1923, continued

tipped over backward into the royal bath and then left to the bears for further treatment.

These persons dipped and soused their victim until sure that the honors of the occasion had been well established in their favor, after which they released him to make room for the next. Many that day followed the doctor and passed through the torment.

I need hardly mention that after watching the ceremony of initiation I was extremely thankful I had not to go through the bath; but I kept a discreet silence and a very sharp lookout for treachery, in case the royal court should alter its mind, and decide that it might be as well to include me in the list of its initiates.

An extra allowance of rum was issued after these proceedings, as is the custom on such occasions, and so the time-honored ceremony of crossing the line was brought to a conclusion.

(F. V. Morley and J. S. Hodgson. Whaling north and south. New York, 1926. p. 131–134.)

The "I" here comes from Hodgson.

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c. 1930

I was in my cabin on the *Maunganui*, half smothered with telegrams from surprised friends, before I could believe it was true. I was really going to Tahiti, beginning a new life!

I intended to rest and meet no one on the ten-day trip down [from San Francisco], but it turned out to be a gay passage. Prime Minister Coates and his party from New Zealand were aboard, so the Captain decided to put on a brilliant pageant when we crossed the equator. He misunderstood the gaiety of my corner and evidently thought me a socially-inclined person. The interested look on the faces of the men and women in that corner and the spontaneous laughs coming out of it were the result of a little trick I always try on shipboard. I start a Tall Story Club — each one tells the most unusual happening in his life. It successfully does away with "that reminds me" stories of hunting in Maine or visiting cathedrals in Europe. Everyone has days and days in which to think up a good one that will top all others. And, believe me, even Davy Crockett would blush at some of the fabulous tales!

So we were the first to our corner and the last to leave it. Observing me among all those story-telling men, as I say, the Captain misunderstood. He sent me a note asking me to be Queen Neptune for the Crossing of the Line Ceremony. Of course, I refused. He thought me rude not to appreciate the honor and was rude in return by saying that it was either the queenship for me or a ducking like all the rest. Evidently no respect for age on this ship.

I had to go through with it. An officer wove me a wonderful costume of rope and everyone loaned me strings of pearls. I was regally costumed for the

Crossing. When I saw the others smeared with paint and sent to the ducking stool, I knew I had chosen wisely.

(Mary Sheridan Fahnestock. I ran away to sea at fifty. New York, 1939. p. 27–28.)

No precise date is given, but the crossing was probably in the thirties. The mother sailed to Tahiti to join her two sons who had left Manhasset Bay Yacht Club, Long Island, on a cruise to the Pacific in their thirty-five foot schooner, *Director*.

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1936

The voice of the people was loud and distinct in 1936, with only Maine, Vermont, and Dutchess County dissenting. When the vote of confidence had been recorded, we began preparations to transport FDR to the Inter-American Conference at Buenos Aires....

FDR was a frustrated seagoing sailor. He was never so content as when he was on blue water, and the ocean was second only to Warm Springs in restoring vigor sapped by the toughest job in the world. He was in magnificent fettle as we tied up at Rio. He had survived his equator crossing nicely, although he was subjected to a double initiation. He was not only elevated from the lowly state of "polliwog" to "trusted shellback," but in recognition of his exalted position he was further given what was known as the "Royal Works." The crew showed no awe for their Commander-in-Chief and gave him full treatment, to his great delight and the Secret Service's complete horror.

(Michael F. Reilly and William J. Slocum. Reilly of the White House. New York, 1947. p. 108–109.)

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1939

The boisterous ceremonies of "crossing the line" are of such ancient vintage that their derivation is lost. It is well known that ceremonies took place long ago when the ship crossed the thirtieth parallel, and also when going through the Straits of Gibraltar. These early ceremonies were of the roughest sort and were, to a great extent, supposed to try the crew to determine whether or not the novices on their first cruise could endure the hardships of a life at sea. Then, as is the custom at the present time, it was primarily a crew's "party." The Vikings were reported at an early date to carry out these ceremonies on crossing certain parallels. It is highly probable that the present-day ceremony was passed on to the Angles, Saxons, and Normans from the Vikings.

At an early date, ceremonies of propitiation were carried on. Neptune, the mythological god of the seas, was appeased by the seamen, and marks of respect were paid those of his underwater domain. It is plausible that a part of the ceremony grew out of traditions of other days, even though sailors

1939, continued

had come to doubt the existence of Neptune. Nevertheless, Neptunus Rex is today the majesty who rules in the ceremonies.

Those who have "crossed the line" are called "shellbacks." These Sons of Neptune compose the cast for the present-day ceremonies. It is a curious fact of human nature, but men will suffer a very severe initiation in order to be permitted to inflict the same on other men.

Sailormen treasure the certificate which testifies that "in Latitude 00–00 and Longitude . . .," and usually addressed to

> all Mermaids, Sea Serpents, Whales, Sharks, Porpoises, Dolphins, Skates, Eels, Suckers, Lobsters, Crabs, Pollywogs, and other living things of the sea,
>
> [name]
>
> has been found worthy to be numbered as one of our trusty shellbacks, has been gathered to our fold and duly initiated into the solemn mysteries of the ancient order of the deep.

Usually the ceremonies of the modern Navy are picturesque, and with the exception of the discomfort of a good wetting in the tank, a slight shock of electricity from the "Devil," and the shaving ceremony, the initiation cannot be called extremely rough. I am told that in merchant ships the ceremony is still severe in the physical discomforts inflicted. Officers of the United States Navy could at one time "buy off" by giving the Neptune party so many bottles of beer. Unless the ceremonies are very crude, it is a tradition that younger officers in particular undergo the initiation.

The eldest and most dignified member of the crew is usually selected as Neptunus Rex; his first assistant is Davy Jones. Her Highness Amphitrite is usually a good looking young seaman who will appear well in the déshabillé of seaweed and rope yarns. The Court in general consists of the Royal Scribe, the Royal Doctor, the Royal Dentist, the Devil, and other names that suit the fancy of the party. The Bears have the difficult task of rounding up the uninitiated, and also standing "dousing" watches in the canvas water tank.

The night before the ship crosses the line, it is the custom that Davy Jones shall appear on board with a message to the Captain from His Majesty, Neptunus Rex, stating at what time he wants the ship hove to for the reception of the Royal Party, and with particular summons for certain men to appear before him. This reception of Davy Jones usually takes place at night and may be made most impressive. The ship is stopped and, amid a glare of lights and a whirl of water, Davy Jones emerges from the hawse or is hoisted over the bows to deliver his message. He is usually received by the Captain and Officer of the Deck on the bridge.

A part of the customary dialogue follows:

A Ritual for Ancient Order of the Deep

Davy Jones comes aboard and hails the bridge.

Davy Jones to Officer of the Deck: Ship Ahoy!

O.O.D.: Aye, Aye, Sir.

Davy Jones: What ship?

O.O.D.: U.S.S.—.

Davy Jones: What course?

O.O.D.: *State course.*

Davy Jones: Very well, Sir, I have been waiting your arrival. You will notify the Commanding Officer that I, Davy Jones, have a message to deliver to him from His Royal Highness, Neptunus Rex.

O.O.D.: Aye, Aye, Sir.

Permit a few minutes to elapse.

O.O.D.: Your Honor, the Commanding Officer awaits you.

Davy Jones (proceeding to place designated): Very well, Sir.

If the meeting takes place on the quarter-deck, all hands are permitted to follow Davy Jones aft.

Captain to Davy Jones: Greetings, Davy Jones.

Davy Jones: My congratulations to you, Captain. Some few years since I saw you.

Captain: Yes, it was aboard the U.S.S.—.

Davy Jones: I have a summons to you from Neptunus Rex.

Captain: I will be glad to receive it.

Davy Jones reads the summons. He then shakes hands with the Captain.

Davy Jones: I will await your pleasure tomorrow, Sir, and will see you when I return with my Royal Master, Neptunus Rex. Good night, Sir.

Davy Jones walks forward.

On the next day when all is in readiness for the reception of Neptune and Party, the navigator reports the ship is on the "line." Davy Jones appears and reports to the Officer of the Deck that the Captain is to be informed that Neptunus Rex and Party have been sighted ahead. The Flag of Neptune is broken when Neptune and Court appear on deck. The bugle call "attention" is sounded; officers and crew fall in at quarters or where designated. The Royal Party then proceeds slowly aft to meet Davy Jones.

Neptune (when he meets Davy Jones): Well, well, what a fine ship and what a cargo of landlubbers.

Officer of the Deck salutes and reports with much dignity that the Captain awaits the Royal Party. Party proceeds.

Captain: A sailor's welcome to you, Neptunus Rex; it is a great pleasure to have you with us.

1939, continued

Neptune: The pleasure is mine (a short speech). Allow me to present Royal Navigator Shellback who will relieve you. I am glad to be with you again, Captain, and have prepared for a busy day in order to make your landlubbers fit subjects of my great sea domain.

Captain: May I invite your attention to the fact that I have several young officers and members of the crew aboard who have not been in the Service long enough to have had an opportunity to visit your domain and become shellbacks. I beg you to be as lenient with them as possible.

Neptune: Ah! Captain, I will be as severe as I can — as severe as I can.

Captain then introduces officers who have crossed the line before. These officers converse with the immediate personal staff of Neptune for a minute or so.

Captain: Neptune, I turn over my command to you for such time as you wish.

Neptune: Very well, Captain, thank you. *Turning to Royal Navigator.* Royal Navigator proceed to the bridge and direct the ship on the course assigned.

Royal Party is then escorted to the throne. They ascend. Initiation commences with officers first.

Dramatis Personae. — Amphitrite, Neptune, Royal Baby, Davy Jones, Royal Chaplain, Royal Navigator, Neptune's Officer of the Day, Judges, Attorneys, Barbers, Doctors, Bears, Police.[1]

NOTE. — The writer is indebted to Lieutenant Commander T. R. Cooley, U. S. Navy, for an opportunity to examine the original manusript of dialogue and ceremony used aboard the U.S.S. *Sacramento* and U.S.S. *Pruitt* when those ships "crossed the line." Much fun may be derived from charges and specifications that deal with the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the "victims" of the initiation. The *Sacramento* received advance dispatches and letters from Neptune much to the discomfiture of landlubbers.

A Sample Summons [2]

U.S.S.— ON ENTERING

DOMAIN OF NEPTUNUS REX

NOTICE AND LISTEN YE LANDLUBBER

I order and command you to appear before me and my court on the morrow to be initiated in the mysteries of my Empire. If not,

[1] The U.S.S. *Henderson* and *Chaumont*, which make frequent cruises across the Pacific, have instituted the ritual of initiation into the Realm of the Golden Dragon, when ships cross the international date line on sailing to the westward. The neophytes, both officers and men, are subpoenaed and appear before the Court of the Grand Dragon for sentence and initiation.

[2] The "Summons" given is one of many forms used. They are usually folded and made up in the form of a subpoena.

you shall be given as food for sharks, whales, pollywogs, frogs, and all living things of the sea, who will devour you, head, body, and soul as a warning to landlubbers entering my Domain without warrant.

You are charged with the following offenses_____

_____

THEREFORE, appear and obey or suffer the penalty.

Registered:

DAVY JONES
Secretary to His Majesty

Decorative certificates of distinct nautical phraseology are presented to those initiated. It is customary for the captain to sign the "diploma," also the seal of the ship is affixed thereto. No custom of the sea is better known, for to qualify as a "shellback" is a distinction desired by all sailormen.

As an example of the importance given to the ceremonies of crossing the line, the writer [3] has seen a squadron of ships sail along for days just north of the "line," awaiting a favorable time to head south and cross. . . . This ancient ceremony that we observe is most spectacular and dear to the heart of the seamen of all nations.

Captain Hall, writing a hundred years ago, said of this ceremony,

> Its evil is transient, if any evil there be; while it certainly affords Jack a topic for a month beforehand and a fortnight afterwards; and if so ordered as to keep its monstrosities within the limits of strict discipline (which is easy enough) it may even be made to add to the authority of the officers, instead of weakening their influence.
>
> (Lieutenant Commander Leland P. Lovette, U. S. Navy. Naval customs, traditions and usage. United States Naval Institute: Annapolis, Maryland, 1939. p. 42–47.)

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The quotation from Basil Hall is entered in full above under 1832.

[3] Chief Boatswain John D. Thompson, U.S. Navy.

(To be continued)

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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTRAITS AND OTHER NOTABLE PAINTINGS — ROOM 318

Works by Copley, Stuart, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Morse, Raeburn, and others.

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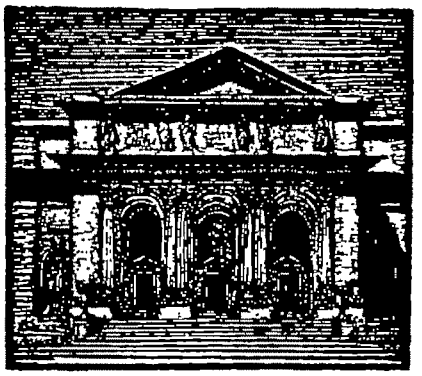

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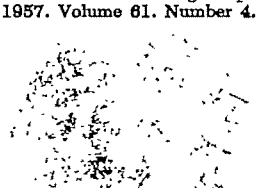

Front Matter

WHILE explaining how he let *Lion* out of his bag (see page 165) William Pène du Bois releases at the same time some obviously valuable tips for writers — tips not only high-level but extra-planetary. We find ourselves typing out this month's "Front Matter," nevertheless, quite without benefit of the hot-hot bath — and almost without benefit of any seasonal signs. We recognize that the winter grass and the wild garlic stems have been growing a shade greener each week. We have even seen a crocus here and there. But as we go to press it is chill, bleak, and as likely to snow as rain. Good weather for books.

Ghana in Harlem

One March evening with wet snow in the air and a purple glow in the sky we boarded a number two bus and rode uptown to visit the Library's Schomburg Collection and Countee Cullen Regional Library — two branches that sit back-to-back on 135th Street and 136th Street east of 7th Avenue.

We were impressed by the modern look and efficient arrangement of rooms and shelves in Countee Cullen (named after the brilliant American Negro poet and teacher) and by the frequent sparks of neighborly communication that arced between persons taking out books and the librarians on duty, especially Branch Librarian Mrs. Dorothy Homer. But we had set aside the present evening for the adjacent Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, through which (and the files of its history) we were deftly guided by its Librarian Miss Jean Blackwell.

History is the note we felt everywhere, and the sense of past and future history tightly linked — in the exhibit cases, in the books we were shown, and in the motives of Arthur A. Schomburg, the Puerto Rican partly of Negro descent who formed the basic collection. A row of vivid pastels sent from modern Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa, drew inspiration, Miss Blackwell pointed out, from ancient cave drawings. A permanent exhibition of drums, hoops, pottery, masks, and mandolins, and ivory trumpets from the Congo had been gathered for very modern purposes by Dr. Alain Locke on the *Theatre Arts*-Blondiau expedition. The busiest user of books this night was a history professor on leave from a Carolina university to write of eminent American Negroes. And the linkage of past and present was the motif of the special news-matching display that had drawn us forth. "The Schomburg Collection," Miss Blackwell's memorandum had said, "hails the new nation of Ghana with an exhibition arranged by Abraham Barnett entitled 'Ghana Authors.' This display is not only timely but provides an opportunity to show some of the most unusual and scarce books in the Collection. Readers stand around and take notes." We did.

A. A. Schomburg

Dramatic days in the recent transformation of colonial Gold Coast into self-governing Ghana were headlined in copies of the *Ghana Evening News*, *Ashanti Pioneer*, and *Gold Coast Weekly Review*, selected from the Library's fragile collection of African newspapers. Books and pamphlets by leaders of the new government and of its "loyal

opposition" began with two pamphlets and an autobiography by Kwame Nkrumah, the new Prime Minister; extended to numerous volumes on Akan laws and customs by J. B. Danquah, grand old man of the opposition party and early proponent of the name Ghana (from an ancient African Kingdom); and ran back to an early *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* by Carl Christian Reindorf, reprinted by Reindorf's son, one of the present leaders—the book being at once a plea for and an exemplification of the importance of the writing of African history by Africans.

The distance between Africa and New York is not great; Danquah lectured here three years ago; Nkrumah himself is an old library user who studied in the Schomburg Collection eight years ago and in 1955 made another brief visit to books and librarians. But if Africans have come to Harlem to read up on their own history and customs, Americans have had a similar reason for reading African history as their own, a reason that takes us right down to the central meaning of the collection in the minds of Schomburg and the other civic leaders who amassed it and secured its permanent establishment in a branch of our Library.

"Though it is orthodox to think of America as the one country where it is unnecessary to have a past," wrote Arthur Schomburg, "what is a luxury for the nation as a whole becomes a prime social necessity for the Negro. For him, a group tradition must supply compensation for persecution, and pride of race the antidote for prejudice. History must restore what slavery took away, for it is the social damage of slavery that the present generations must repair and offset. So among the rising democratic millions we find the Negro thinking more collectively, more retrospectively than the rest, and apt, out of the very pressure of the present, to become the most enthusiastic antiquarian of them all." "The American Negro must remake his past in order to make his future."

We are quoting Schomburg's essay in *An Anthology of American Negro Literature*, as quoted in an offprint Miss Blackwell lent us of a most instructive article by Arna Bontemps in the July 1944 *Library Quarterly*. To this the reader should turn for the personal, social, and library "history behind the Schomburg Collection" and for note of the special significance of such treasures as the writings of Phillis Wheatley, Boston slave girl. Miss Blackwell showed us an autographed copy of her *Poems* (London 1773) and a scarce fragment of her handwriting. And even earlier documents of the Negroes' share in human culture — as prime example the first printed book by a Negro author, a volume of Juan Latino's Latin verses published in 1573 at Granada, where Latino held the chair of grammar at the University. (Schomburg himself recovered the evidence that Latino was a Negro.) And rare early histories of Ethiopia.

We were shown with equal pride a first edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and a first edition of the first novel by an American Negro, *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter; A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States.* Yet one senses in the present day a particularly dramatic pride in such books as Attoh Ahuma's *Memoirs of West African Celebrities . . . with Special Reference to the Gold Coast* (Liverpool 1905). "The bigotry of civilization," Schomburg held, "must be corrected at its source."

Flowering Books

Since writing this month's first paragraph we have been contradicted by the bursting into blossom of a Japanese magnolia tree. We'll not rewrite but happily take this as a flourish for the announcement of the coming exhibition (see back cover) of "The Book of the Orient," a magnificent selection of illustrated books, scrolls, and manuscripts brought into the Spencer Collection in recent years.

This exhibition, arranged by Karl Kup, Adviser of the Spencer Collection, has had what may be called two previews: a showing of thirty-two pieces under the same title in November, at the Cincinnati Public Library: nine countries through nine centuries, including Chinese scrolls, miniatures from India, the red, purple, and gold of Japan, an Indonesian puppet player's promptbook; and an exhibition in February and March at New York's Grolier Club of "Japanese Book Illustration from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century." (Described in some detail in the New York *Times* of March 7.) From one of these, a woodcut scroll (Osaka 1832) reproducing a 15th century manuscript scroll, we have chosen the details vignetted on these pages — a wind god and a sweeper of fallen leaves — seasonally a harking back, or ahead, to autumn. The suggestion of bright leaves is right for this show.

OTHER new shows include "Book Bindings Old and New," with emphasis on styles from the 15th century to the present, also from the Spencer Collection; and a memorial exhibition in Central Children's Room of the work of Elizabeth MacKinstry, consisting of drawings and studies from her intimate journals and notebooks, her sculpture and painting, and a lavish selection of her book illustrations, familiar to most of us in the *Fairy Tales* of Andersen, in *Alladin,* and (if we were lucky) in *The White Cat.* The show is discussed in the April *Horn Book Magazine,* with intriguing samples of her projected but unused illustrations for a Mandeville, a *Gulliver,* a Chaucer and designs for stained-glass windows, tapestries, and theatre sets.

An exhibition that is leading to an article or two for the *Bulletin* is the memorial show, in the Music Room cases, of the work and works of John Tasker Howard, Honorary Curator of the Henry Hadley Library of Musical Americana.

A "bio-bibliographical essay" is being prepared as well as an account of Howard's part in building our Musical Americana Collection.

In Room 318 the Shaw exhibition will be succeeded in June by a variety show of acquisitions "New in the Berg Collection: 1952–1956," a selection of manuscripts, letters, and inscribed and annotated works added to the Collection in recent years, ranging from an unpublished Walter Scott to a cluster of James

Matthew Barries. Nineteenth century and Edwardian enthusiasts take note. (Dr. Gordan's descriptive catalogue will begin in the July *Bulletin.*)

Long Voyage Ending

In the August 1955 *Bulletin* began the "sarpentine length" (as he calls it jocularly in correspondence) of Harry Miller Lydenberg's gathered chronicle of "Crossing the Line: Tales of the Ceremony during Four Centuries." This month the fourth century concludes with an almost up-to-the-last-moment entry for 1953. The printers are already busy with revisions and additions and an index of authors and ships and places; the art department is preparing a design to be stamped on a blue cloth cover; and we expect to have handsome bound copies ready (at about $5) within a month or two.

Special reward for all acquirers of the bound edition: four Appendices of brand new matter. *Appendix A:* Crossing of the River Platte, "the Equator of the Missouri"; *Appendix B:* Crossing by Air, e. g. "Mrs. Roosevelt 'Hazed' In Flight Over Equator"; *Appendix C:* Crossing on Land, i. e. the divide near Rainy Lake in 1793; *Appendix D:* Crossings in Scandinavian Waters, at Elsinore and elsewhere, a reprint of Henning Henningsen's compendious essay in the *Mariner's Mirror.*

Other Sailings

Voyage through a previously uncharted Walt Whitman manuscript, earliest extant version of his "Passage to India," in the Library's Oscar Lion Collection, will be conducted by Professor Fredson Bowers in one of our summer *Bulletins.* The manuscript is a veritable Sargasso Sea of erasures, paste-ons, black, blue, and red ink and pencil revisions; but the conscientious bibliographer promises to guide us safely through.

Whitman also appears briefly, but significantly, in our May and June feature, a pair of articles by Justus R. Pearson, Jr., on the editorial history of "New York's *Galaxy*" based on correspondence in our Manuscript Division and a file of the magazine.

Welcome praise has welcomed our recently issued economy volume, *Walt Whitman's Correspondence: A Checklist,* by Edwin H. and Rosalind S. Miller (172 p., $3), described last month.

Rapid readers: don't overlook, in this month's *Bernard Shaw* installment (there will be one more), facsimile of a segment of Shaw's revision of *Major Barbara* for the movie version, where we find him literally keeping up with "contemporary spirits."

Virginia in NYPL, 350 Years

With the tobacco-built state of Virginia currently celebrating its 350th anniversary, Dr. Sarah A. Dickson has joined the celebration with a widely representative display of Virginia historical documents drawn from the Arents Tobacco Collection.

Use and Additions March 1957

Visitors entering the Central Building, 277,317; readers in the Reference Department, 93,635; volumes consulted, 253,443. Volumes issued by the Circulation Department for home use, 1,164,250.

Received through purchase and gift

	Circ. Dept. Gift	Ref. Dept. Gift	Purchase and Gift
Volumes	795	275	44,390
Pamphlets	76	7,493	8,674
Maps	---	213	214
Prints	---	50	104
Misc.	301	---	301

BULLETIN OF THE
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APRIL 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 4

Animal History will Bear this Out*

By WILLIAM PÈNE DU BOIS

IT is indeed an honor to be invited to speak on such an illustrious occasion as this fiftieth anniversary. This is also somewhat of an anniversary for me. Exactly twenty years ago today I was invited to speak right here in this same room at a similar but younger meeting, but fortunately for those present, I never quite reached the podium. It was a cold day and an icy breeze was blowing up and down Forty-Second Street. But in this exact same room it was frightfully warm, and the steam radiators were banging away at a fearful pace.

Miss Anne Carroll Moore and I were strangers at the time, and as I entered the room she directed me to a seat in the rear, near a window, and instructed me to either open or shut the window and demonstrated a discrete signal which was to serve as cue. This worked out nicely and I well remember an address by Doctor Seuss about some rather extraordinary doings on Mulberry Street. The system worked well until Miss Moore herself made a delightful address in the success of which she absently flashed our secret signal seventeen times in one exciting minute, and the poor window became a guillotine in the heat of the revolution. She told me rather firmly to sit down and stay down, and then finished her talk by saying something to the effect that, "William Pène du Bois was supposed to be here to speak, but has apparently been blown off the streets by the stiff winds outside."

I heaved a sigh of tremendous relief, but some traitor in the audience (who turned out to be my publisher, May Massee) said that I had been there all the time, and pointed to me before I had a chance to duck behind the

* This paper was read on November 19, 1956, in the Central Children's Room of The New York Public Library on the occasion of the presentation to Anne Carroll Moore of *Reading without Boundaries*, the essays published as the November-December Number of the *Bulletin* and separately in a Special Edition.

chairs. Knowing that I couldn't possibly follow up two such delightful talks (and now that I look back at it what I had planned to say was very odd indeed) and being scared to death anyway, and feeling that the best air-conditioners are those which make the least noise while operating, I flatly refused to speak; and the party broke up cheerfully and the guests departed wreathed in smiles. But I do remember that on my way out a lady of vast proportions grabbed me by the lapels and shook me like a puppy. "Listen here young man," she said, "the next time you're asked to speak, YOU SPEAK!" I promised that I would, and here I am, but I will confess that I still shake at the thought of speaking, and the mere suggestion that I address an audience sends me, as the old saying goes, running to the nearest window.

But since that day I treasure my friendship with Anne Carroll Moore, and I feel that it is indeed nice to have someone think back of you as being in some way related to a breath of fresh air.

And why this fear of talking? It's simply that there are some artists and writers who talk a great deal about their work and others who never mention it at all, and in more general terms there are people who talk a great deal and others who are quite silent, and then too there are participators and spectators. I fall into the second of these three sets of categories — I'm a very silent spectator.

Now what does a silent spectator talk about when cornered? Well since I've hardly used the medium at all, the possibilities are immense, spread out all over this and more imaginative planets, and since I've only made one other talk in my whole life, the chances of my repeating myself are remote. So I'll be trite and banal and try to answer the first question I'm always asked about a book, and I'm sure all other writers are asked first — which is, "How did you ever think of such a crazy idea?" And to illustrate my answer I shall discuss a short book of mine named *Lion.*

Usually when asked this question, "How did you ever think of such a crazy idea?" being a silent-spectator type, I give a quick answer which over a period of twenty years has been burnished and refined to the following words: "I take a hot hot bath and some time between the slow rising of billowy clouds of steam, and the slow descent of drops of water on the tile walls there emerges an idea for a children's book." I find this answer puts an end to the conversation generally, but it's not quite long enough for this distinguished podium. I once illustrated some travel journals by Somerset Maugham in which he described smoking opium and said the effects were quite similar to the blissful state which overcomes one after soaking for

hours in a very hot tub when one becomes quite overcome with wild flights of imagination. This seems to me a rather British description of a romantic Oriental pastime, but I seem to detect perhaps his giving away of a secret which I hitherto thought was all mine, and now that the cat is out of the bag, I wouldn't be in the least surprised if the world were soon to see a whole new generation of well-scrubbed writers. And now back to *Lion.*

The plot of *Lion* is extremely simple. The foreman of an Animal Factory in Heaven where animals are being designed for the purpose of populating the various planets of the Universe thinks of a name for an animal and that name is LION.

The name LION seems so good to him that he decides to design the animal to go with it himself. He hasn't done any actual designing since he was a very young boy and drew a wiggly line with a brown crayon which he named WORM. For designing WORM, a highly functional multi-purpose animal, he received a medal and was made foreman of the factory. (He wasn't literally made "foreman," he was put in charge — his name was Foreman and the job as we've come to know it was named after him.)

Well, not having designed an animal in years, centuries perhaps, he is a bit out of practice and unsure of himself. His first design for LION is a small multi-colored bug with a fur body, a head trimmed with feathers and the tail of a fish. Not feeling too sure of this design, he puts the same question to six of his assistants, and this question is, "TELL ME IN ONE WORD WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE LION." As boss, he doesn't feel like hearing a more lengthy criticism from his underlings.

The answers come back in one word each: "SIZE," "FEATHERS," "COLOR," "LEGS," "HAIRCUT," and finally that one marvelous answer he's been waiting for, "*NOTHING!*" and the KING OF BEASTS has been designed!

That's all there is to the story.

Now don't get me wrong, no hot hot bath was wasted on that little plot alone. No. Up to this point I haven't set foot in a tub. The year before I wrote *Lion,* I received a Christmas card from a cousin of mine, a good artist named Margot Tomes, and she had drawn a lion who was gently and quietly perusing Jesus in the manger, a sweet smile on his furry face. This lion was beautiful except that he had legs which were a bit thin. My cousin has a poodle trimmed like a lion and the influence must have been a bit overpowering. I wrote her telling her how much I loved the card and then said that if I were asked to tell in one word what was wrong with the

lion, I would answer "LEGS." This in itself was most rude, because I wasn't asked and my cousin and I detest criticism from each other in any shape or form. Well, that Christmas card brought forth the plot, so now on to the baths.

What does an Animal Factory in Heaven look like? That took a bit of soaking. I first decided that it should be off by itself, a unit apart, in the suburbs of Heaven. Then came the question of gravity — is there gravity in Heaven? Of course not! God invented gravity to keep things put as he placed them on other planets. There is no need for gravity in Heaven. Angels have wings so they can keep their hands free as they go up, down, sideways, across, playing lutes, flutes and oboes. But for sitting at a drawing table, and I'm thinking with partiality based on my own experience, I reasoned that there should be a slight force of gravity to hold things in place such as pots of paint and boxes of crayons. So I placed the Animal Factory on a magnetic platform. This created a danger to the younger, smaller angels with little wings, a danger of being drawn abruptly to the platform and stuck there as on fly paper, so I placed a raised platform, high above the factory, a platform on which to land which was connected to the factory by a very long slide. Up there the gravitational pull would be quite mild — just enough to slide an angel down gently into the factory itself.

What kind of power should be used to make animals? I suppose atomic power would be truest, but I thought steam would be warmer so I borrowed a magnificent steam engine from F. A. O. Schwarz Toy Store and used that familiar machine to make the Animal Factory look like a factory. Actually if one is really creative no mechanical power is needed at all.

The buildings themselves were made from materials on hand such as fur, feathers, and fish scales. There were two badminton courts for exercise during lunch hour. Badminton was invented at the Animal Factory, the rackets being strung with leftover cat gut, and the birds made with bits of leftover leather and feathers.

There is a drawing in *Lion* of angels flying to the Factory drawn by kites. This isn't a mode of celestial transportation, far from it! Flying without gravity takes no effort whatsoever. The angels with the kites are testing new designs of frameworks for birds. The kite, another Animal Factory invention, obviously came before the bird; and then, billions of years later poor man had to start with the bird and go backwards through the kite to arrive at *his* flying machine.

I decided that there should be no color in Heaven, only black and white — color being a frivolous device for the amusement and camouflage of lesser planets.

Just one more thing. It says in the book that there were one hundred and four artists who sat on silver stools behind one hundred and four white wooden tables. The studio was actually quite like a classroom.

They sat in twenty-six rows of four angels each, alphabetically: four A's in the first row, four B's in the second, four C's in the third and so forth; and like a classroom, the bright angels sat in the front rows and the dunces in the back rows.

Animal history will bear this out.

Imagine for instance this front row, the A row, in which the four angels are designing animals which begin with the letter "A."

The first angel is designing that most delicate, industrious and well organized of all animals, the wondrous ant; while sitting next to him, a brilliant and witty angel is designing the clever and imaginative aardvark to eat the ants his meticulous comrade is creating.

The third angel is designing the swift, elegant, graceful antelope — a beautiful bit of thinking, while his crafty neighbor, the fourth angel has up his creative sleeve an ingenious snare to catch this speedy animal at the watering hole, the fearsome trap-jawed alligator.

Yes, four brilliant minds at work in row A.

Now, walk back to the rear of the room and consult the dunces. In row Y some waggish dolt is working on the Yak which he obviously cribbed from the Ox in row O — while in row Z an even lazier angel is leaning over his shoulder and copying the Yak and calling it a Zebu, while next to him an uninspired angel is putting black and white stripes on a rejected drawing of a horse he found in the wastepaper basket and is calling it the Zebra. The angel who is drawing Zebra went as far as to steal the first three letters of his animal's name from his silly pal who is drawing the ridiculous Zebu! Just like any classroom.

Those are some of the ideas, such as they are, which went into *Lion*. I mention them because I have a feeling that when I'm asked "How did you ever think of such a crazy idea?" the person who asked the question felt that the book was thought of in a moment, illustrated in a week, and printed in a day. There is a widespread feeling that doing children's books is a divertissement or hobby, never a full time job, and that it's quick and easy. I don't want to discourage people who want to dash off a children's book, but I would like to slow them down a bit. Thank you.

Crossing the Line

Tales of the Ceremony during Four Centuries

Gathered by HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG

PART XIX

1942

Going out, in March, 1942, we were in convoy in the Pacific, five troop ships, one little "gun boat," small destroyer, as an escort. The gun boat stayed so far ahead I think it felt that it was safer there in case of an attack. We knew by observation of the sun and stars that we paralleled the equator for a long time, just when we slipped over we were never told. Some time later we found some old certificates of the pleasure cruise days aboard and these we had certified. There were no ceremonies whatsoever.

On my return trip in April, 1944, in an Alaskan fishing boat that we contended had been retired from that service as unfit, we were alone. We carried, I think, some 500 Australians that were to go to Canada or United States for air training. All the Yank troops that were returning were shellbacks even though they had not been formally initiated going out. By the time of our return voyage the security regulations had been relaxed and so a ceremony had been planned.

On April 7th we crossed. The Aussie neophytes, clad only in shorts, were brought up from below, with the aid of paddles. They were introduced to the Court consisting of King, Queen and Junior. These were garishly costumed as could be expected with what was available on the ship. Junior, I remember, was a small colored soldier and acted somewhat as the court jester. After being introduced, the victim got a mixture of oil and graphite on his head, and then had the joy of a drink concocted of atabrine, quinine, mineral oil, and sea water, served from a thunder jug. A pool had been made by suspending a large tarpaulin or sail between some spars. This was full of sea water and the pollywog was soused into this and made to say "shellback" while under water. Surprising to say, there was a bit of sputtering and choking. All in all, the Aussies didn't take to the whole thing with too much enthusiasm. The Yanks may possibly have used it all as a chance to make amends for some misunderstandings, surprising to say.

(Extracts from a letter from a friend, a medical officer, sailing early and in active service until near the end of the war when he was invalided home.)

1943

There was no question about it: Joe *was* injured during the war. And another fact was indisputable: the injury occurred on June 22, 1943. But the official Navy records show that McCarthy was not facing Jap shrapnel or serving on

a Marine airfield at the time. On June 22, 1943, he was on board the Navy's seaplane tender *Chandeleur,* steaming toward the Pacific war area. The ship recorded him as an "officer passenger." It sailed from Pearl Harbor on June 12, but did not reach Espiritu Santo, the destination of McCarthy's squadron, until July 3. And on June 22, the *Chandeleur* was crossing the equator. The details of that day were reported later by one of Joe's shipmates:

> The skipper, Commander Albert K. Morehouse, gave the enlisted men permission to have a mild "shellback" ceremony on June 22, the day we crossed the equator. That day the ocean was flat and the sky was clear. We had our "general quarters" moved up to 8 A. M. so the ceremony could be held at 10:00. And at 9:55, the uniform for "pollywog" initiates was announced as pajamas, overseas caps, and bare feet. The war was completely forgotten as we appeared before Neptunus Rex, the enlisted man enthroned on the boat deck. Rank meant nothing, of course, as we were paddled, soaked with hoses, speared by the electric trident, and generally abused. One Marine officer did an elaborate strip tease, and someone else read a long defense, typed on toilet paper. It was comic relief from the war, still hundreds of miles ahead of us.
>
> McCarthy was nearly through his initiation when he was hurt. He was going down a ladder with a bucket fastened to his foot when he slipped. His other foot caught on a lower rung — an iron pipe a few inches from the steel bulkhead — and he fell backwards, injuring his foot. . . . After my initiation was over and I had rinsed the stain from my shaved head, I went to the sick bay to see how Joe was getting along. They had decided that three bones were broken, and I watched them put a cast on his foot.

Joe was in a good humor as he hobbled around on his cast, but he admonished his buddies: "Don't ever tell that I broke my foot in this silly way." They never suspected that, before Joe's war career was over, his prank injury would grow into a "severe leg injury" and he would be cited by Admiral Nimitz for bravely refusing "to be hospitalized."

> (Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May. McCarthy, the man, the senator, the "ism." Boston [1952] p. 62–63.)

A United Press story from Washington dated December 29, 1952 reported that Senator McCarthy "received today a Distinguished Flying Cross and an Air Medal with four gold stars for 'heroism and extraordinary achievement' as a Marine Corps officer in the Pacific during World War II." (New York *Times,* December 30, 1952, page 2, column 4.) Earlier, *Time* Magazine on July 7, 1952 had quoted the Milwaukee *Journal* statement on the "shellback" initiation.

When Headquarters of the Marine Corps in Washington was asked by the compiler for word of verification as to accuracy, it replied that the practice of the Corps was not to quote citations, but to refer inquiries of this kind to the principal.

A letter to Senator McCarthy, addressed to him at the Senate Office building April 10, 1954, remained unanswered and unacknowledged, nor was it returned because of mistaken or inadequate address. It asked if he would give a few words about his experience to be included

1943, continued

in what was intended to be an objective study of this bit of sealore, as the compiler was trying to gather as many first-hand stories as possible.

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I first crossed the equator aboard an LCI(L) — Landing Craft, Infantry (Large) — in late February or early March, 1943. We had an early type of LCI which in those days were awkward, uncomfortable vessels about 155 feet in length designed to transport some 100 or so troops onto the beach on amphibious assaults. Ours had a complement of some 22 men and 3 officers in the ship's company, with two officer passengers, these two being connected with the LCI Flotilla Staff. We were traveling in a convoy of about 32 ships, mostly LCIs, mine sweepers, and submarine chasers. Our point of crossing was on a more or less direct line between the Panama Canal and Bora Bora in the western group of the Society Islands.

We had discovered soon after leaving Norfolk that the entire ship's company was made up of pollywogs. Of the whole gang of us, only one officer passenger, a young lieutenant (jg) in the Supply Corps who had come up through the ranks, had ever been initiated into the mysteries of crossing the line. Needless to say, he filled our ears with all sorts of blood curdling yarns about what we were about to face. We allowed him to have his sport until it became tiresome to us and then pointed out to him that if he felt that he alone was going to play each role from King Neptune down to the Royal Baby while attempting to grease and clip a whole shipload of unwilling sailors, he had his work cut out for himself.

He, being a reasonable man, saw the logic of this, and except for uttering a few dark threats about seeing to it that we would not get our shellback certificates, he subsided and held his peace. Consequently, the day we crossed the line we spent several hours lounging on the deck watching through binoculars the ordeals and torments being undergone by those no more inexperienced than ourselves who were merely unfortunate enough to find themselves aboard ships with strong shellback parties.

Later in the war and in connection with operations in New Guinea and the Phillipines, I crossed the equator several times, but each time was aboard a ship that was criss-crossing back and forth regularly, so that all hands were shellbacks several times over. So by the end of the war, I had crossed the equator about 6 times in each direction, and the nearest I had come to an initiation was a few hundred yards while watching the ceremony through field glasses.

Therefore I was greatly pleased in 1946 in connection with an Antarctic expedition (Operation Highjump) to be on hand for and to participate in a bona fide crossing-the-line ceremony. We crossed aboard the USCGC *Northwind*, an icebreaker, in mid-December on a great circle course from Panama to Scott Island in the Antarctic Ocean. On the leg from Norfolk to Panama, the shellbacks had gotten together and been assigned our roles. Being a Naval Officer aboard a Coast Guard Cutter, I was automatically suspect and was

assigned the role of Defense Attorney for the pollywogs — a position of some delicacy in that it sometimes happens that if the Defense Attorney makes too eloquent a plea, things may become so unruly that he finds himself subjected to various indignities along with his clients.

In Panama City, a delegation went ashore and purchased various costumes and trimmings, and the first few days at sea were spent in building a large open canvas water tank below and just aft of the helicopter flight deck. A straight backed chair was secured to the flight deck by hinges on its back legs in such a fashion that an occupant thereof, after being treated by the Royal Barber, could be tipped over backward and into the tank below where two stalwart shellbacks could supervise the ducking and presumably rescue the victim in his last extremity.

Also, a canvas tunnel was constructed about 15 feet long and leading up a well-greased ramp to the flight deck. Into this tunnel was led a series of high pressure water hoses.

The main cast of characters consisted of such standard personalities as King Neptune, his Queen, the Royal Baby (an obese Petty Officer), the Royal Prosecutor, Defense Attorney, the Royal Jury, the Royal Physician and Dentist (with squirt guns filled with a very bitter fluid), the Royal Barber, and various others bounding and howling about.

We were all briefed in our duties by the Shellback Committee and were read instructions from the Navy Department cautioning us against committing any physical violence which might injure the initiates.

On the morning of the crossing, the pollywogs were stripped to their underdrawers and led aft one at a time, the higher officers going first in order to insure their getting well initiated while we were still full of pep and enthusiasm. Each person was first shoved into the tunnel, and as he tried to crawl along it, powerful streams of water harrassed him each inch of the way.

He was then brought before the Royal Court and after bowing to the King and Queen and kissing the Royal Baby, was charged with a series of major crimes the most serious of which was the fact that all during his life thus far he had failed to cross the equator. As Defense Attorney, I took the position that although my client was guilty of everything charged to him and probably more besides, indeed deserved to be tossed over the side without more ado, none the less I reluctantly pleaded for mercy, and asked the court merely to have the unfortunate criminal shorn, greased, baptised.

Officers and Petty Officers received individual attention from the Shellbacks, of course, but by the time the main mass of enlisted men came through (there were probably some 75 or more pollywogs to begin with, representing about half the ship's company) the first bloom of enthusiasm had worn off and the men were run through in groups in rather haphazard fashion.

All in all, everyone had a merry time of it, and it was several days before the grease had been properly cleaned from the decks and several weeks before the ship's barber was able to restore any sort of order to the haircuts of those who had been treated by the Royal Barber.

1943, continued

I should mention that the first to go through the initiation was our Commanding Officer, Captain Charles W. Thomas, USCG. A rather violent initiation was planned for him, but at the last minute the Shellbacks got cold feet and sent a delegation to the "old man" to say that if he preferred, he would be given only a perfunctory initiation. Captain Thomas, a wonderful gentleman and a good sport in every respect, insisted emphatically that he be spared not one whit. Indeed, he entered into the spirit of the game wholeheartedly, harangued the court, made speeches to one and all, took his initiation in extremely good grace, and after washing and dressing, joined in the remaining festivities — now as a certified shellback — with great vigor and enthusiasm.

Shellback certificates range all the way from florid scrolls all set about with mermaids and various types of sea life to a simple card stating that the holder has crossed the equator. There are similar certificates commemorating such things as crossing the 180th meridian, the Arctic and Antarctic Circles, etc. I have a card certifying that I have been aloft in a helicopter south of the Antarctic Circle.

(Manuscript statement from William Gerrish Metcalf, dated December 10, 1953.)

1944

Aboard a United States Aircraft Carrier (Delayed). — For the officers and men aboard this ship the war almost stopped for about four hours today. At least it seemed to hesitate, and that is because there are some things that are the same in war even as in peace and the crossing of the equator is one.

Many days ago, a few hours after this ship left port, her destination was announced over the public address system and thus it became obvious that there would be a crossing of the line. Almost immediately the shellbacks — those with proof that they already had traversed the world's waistband — began to appear out of those corners where bulkhead meets bulkhead and to crawl out of their sacks and other soft and secluded places to make their presence felt.

There were many nights then when in the crew's quarters there could be heard other sounds in addition to the slapping of the waves against the sides and the resonant snores of the men engaged in their favorite shipboard pastime. There were many mornings, too, when the reasons for these sounds were apparent in the shaved or partly shaved heads of pollywogs who had not been as elusive as is implied by this name for all those who never before have entered into the domain of Neptunus Rex.

The initial climax in the now-rising crescendo of feverish excitement was reached yesterday at 4 P. M., when up over the forward edge of the flight deck there arose, to the accompaniment of firecrackers and the shouts and gesticulations of a group clad in a blending of foul weather gear and light

apparel, the figure of Davy Jones. Mr. Jones wore a suit of red winter underwear over which had been casually thrown a souwester and bore (1) a trident and (2) a striking resemblance to Lieut. Lars J. Larsen of 139–26 87th street, Jamaica, L. I.

Actually the crossing of latitude zero was accomplished during the night, but it was not until 8:30 A. M. today that Neptunus Rex, at other times known as Chief Petty Officer Harry Daily of Lomida, Cal., appeared, bewhiskered with shredded hemp and properly berobed as befitted his office. He was accompanied by the other appropriately caprisoned members of the royal court of the raging main, including the queen, the princess, the royal prosecutor, the royal chaplain, the royal doctor, the royal barber, the royal cook, the royal undertaker, the royal baby and the royal musicians.

It was then that the Jolly Roger was run up on the foremast and the court was convened where thrones had been erected on the forward elevator now lowered to the hangar deck. Here justice was meted out to the pollywogs, all of whom had received subpoenas and summonses and many of whom had been ordered to appear in special raiment.

Lieut. (j.g.) John F. Druze of Irvington, N. J., who will be remembered by sports fans as the 1937 Fordham football captain and former assistant to Frank Leahy at Boston College and Notre Dame, was charged with boasting about his prowess as a football player and athletic expert and was ordered to appear in a costume similar to that worn by Charles Atlas in the strength ads. He then was convicted and sentenced to demonstrate in every compartment of the ship the principles preached by that apostle of athleticism.

While Lieut. Druze was demonstrating how to develop from a ninety-pound weakling into 210 pounds of muscle, four messboys, blindfolded and wearing winter underwear, were belaboring each other with boxing gloves on the lowered after elevator. Two officers, dressed as somewhat exaggerated admirals, meanwhile were going throughout the ship with tubs of water and ship models and staging mock naval battles while lecturing on tactics.

On the range-finder platform an ensign, dressed as Mahatma Gandhi, stood with binoculars to eyes and reported all electricity producing clouds. Every hour on the hour a lieutenant, accused of complaining about the food in the officers' wardroom mess, set up a card table with dishes and silver for one and consumed a box of cornflakes without benefit of cream or sugar.

Down on the hangar deck and on the lowered forward elevator, meanwhile, there was a steady stream of officers and men who crept forward on hands and knees to pay homage to his royal highness and then to be hustled through an assortment of treatments. While intermittent equatorial rainsqualls occasionally showered upon the whole piratically garbed assemblage, they first were sent crawling through a forty-foot tunnel of canvas, from the outside of which they were belabored by royal policemen with stuffed canvas clubs.

Then they were seated in an electrically charged doctor's chair to have their mouths sprayed with gentian blue and, after being embalmed liberally

1944, continued

with flour-paste, they then were rushed aft to the fantail, where they finally were spilled from an elevated chair into a tank of sea water and became shellbacks themselves.

It probably is true enough that this is not the type of thing which you yourself would want any part of in New York or in River Falls, Wis. You may even wonder why men would want any part of it anywhere, and yet for the officers and men aboard this ship this — and this alone — made the war almost stop for about four hours today.

You say "almost" because always while this was going on there were men on watch scanning the skies and the sea from the bridge and from the gun sponsons and there were others down in the damp heat of the engine room and in the galleys, and when, at 2 P. M., the royal court was dissolved, the whole ship settled back once more into the grim routine of war, but of war that had seemed to hesitate, at least, for four hours.

(W. C. Heinz, Staff Correspondent. The New York *Sun*, Friday, March 17, 1944.)

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Chief Printer Edwin L. Murray, U.S.N.R., 5721 Ninth Street N.W., formerly employed in the composing room of The Evening Star, was inducted into the "Ancient Order of the Deep" while crossing the equator in the Pacific recently. He was hailed before King Neptune's court on special charges of selling Shellback certificates to "pollywogs" (neophites of the order) and "not maintaining the proper and meek demeanor of a chief petty officer pollywog."

In addition to regulation punishment, such as wetting from the Pacific Holy Hose and paddlings by the Royal Guard, he was prodded with an electric fork by the Royal Devil while being paddled hard by the King's Elite Cops, he wrote in a letter. The most spectacular of the punishments was a severe haircut, administered at various points along the gantlet of paddle wielders.

Later, Murray was dumped backward into the Royal Pacific Pool, three times unceremoniously ducked and finally sent down a greased chute to the deck, paddled the while by veteran Shellbacks.

(Washington, D. C. *Sunday Star*, January 7, 1945.)

(R. O. Baumrucker, ed. USS West Virginia crosses the Equator again, Oct., 1944. Captain H. V. Wiley, U. S. Navy, Commanding Officer, Commander G. J. King, U. S. Navy, Executive Officer. Cartoons by D. L. Johnson. Entire publication cleared by Fleet Chief Censor. San Francisco, The Trade Pressroom, 1944.)

Opens with photographs of the ship afire at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, another in October 1944, portraits of the Captain and Executive Officer, facsimiles of the Warning of Davy Jones and the Shellback Certificate. There are also texts of the Subpoena and Summons Extraordinary and of the exchange of letters between the Captain and Neptunus Rex, with the proceedings that followed. Many prints of the proceedings, photographs of heads of departments, group pictures of officers and crew, list of pollywogs converted and picture of converted

mountaineers. Added is a moving tale of "That Night at Subiago," sure to give the landlubber a lasting impression of a battleship in action. Three pages of small snapshots show less stern views of navy life afloat and ashore.

The book is the work of Robert Owen Baumrucker, Dartmouth College, 1931, with "three years of battleship duty in practically all Pacific actions from Attu through Okinawa," separating from the navy in January 1946 as a Lieutenant-Commander, and later in the merchandising and advertising business.

It was "originally intended as a souvenir of our exceptionally hilarious Shellback ceremonies just before the invasion of the Philippines, but produced under combat conditions — with censorship, no mail for four to six weeks at a time, kamikazes, Second Battle of the Philippines, Iwo Jima, Okinawa and a new and unsympathetic Executive Officer — it didn't get off the press till the following August. Meanwhile it was expanded to include a roster and pictures of the crew, many snapshots and cartoons, an account of our action against the Japanese fleet and other memorabilia of the spirited crew."

The quotation here is given with permission.

1945

As we approached the equator we got into the doldrums. No breath of wind ruffled the sea, and the sun blazed down fiercely. Weird headgear was devised to prevent burns; my own version of a sun helmet measured a yard across. We organized a ritual for crossing the Line, as sailors of all nations do. Leading characters of Neptune's Court donned fancy dress, made of available rags and tags — Neptune himself, his daughter Thetis, the Chief of Police, the Physician in Ordinary, and of course the Barber. I played Neptune. The Chief of Police beat the wretched initiates with his broadsword, giving hearty whacks.

Just as this celebration reached its height we heard airplane engines. We could see nothing, but the hum was incessant. We leaped to the antiaircraft guns. Thetis took her station by the 3.7-cm. gun, while the Barber and the Physician in Ordinary snatched up machine guns. The whole Court of Neptune took diving stations. Remembering back, I must smile; here was the last uncaptured U-boat crew, all rigged out in fancy dress and poised to fight for their lives. But at the time, it was quite serious, and I am happy to say there was no fight. The drone of engines faded away — a harmless airliner, probably — and we finished ducking Neptune's greenhorns.

(Heinz Schaeffer. We escaped in an outlaw U-boat. *Saturday Evening Post,* November 22, 1952. p. 60–62.)

Many youngsters — no matter whether it is a matter of elapsed time or of spirit — have voyaged twenty thousand leagues under the sea with Captain Nemo in his *Nautilus,* have thanked Jules Verne for the foreglimpse he thus gave them of what was later to be not unusual, have wondered if even they might submerge and tell their children about it. We had to wait for a world war and the dying spasms of a nation to give us the tale of the "crossing" in a submarine. This is the story of Heinz Schaeffer and his crew of the German U-977 that left Kiel in April, 1945. Scarcely were they under way when they heard of the surrender of the German forces. They had to decide whether it was just one more clever ruse of the enemy or a real warning from home. A weighty problem. Schaeffer finally decided to head for the Argentine, hoping to dodge enemy cruisers on the way. It meant running submerged for 66 days. The effect on food, clothing, comfort, spirits of all on board may be imagined, but quite probably the reality was much worse than any outsider can dream of. Surrender to the Argentine police came on August 17, ending a voyage of four months.

1945, continued

But Perry, who never sailed along on one line of argument very long, was off on another tack completely.

"And what provision —" that three-syllable word interwoven into ordinary deck conversation got everybody's attention, and Perry, sensing the effect of it, repeated — "An' what provision is being made for d'crossing d'equator ceremonies — ?"

I was amazed at the response to that. Some guys haw-hawed, others slapped their neighbors on the back — evidently that was funny and serious both to everybody but Mush and me. We looked at each other stupidly. Then I noticed a pale, rangy guy from the black gang who seemed to get paler.

The third oiler (Pat and Birdneck were the other two) spoke up. He was the one everybody called the Maverick.

"Who's d'wictims? Hey, you guy wit d'glasses. You ever been across d'line?"

"What line?"

"D'Equator."

I said, "No. I never —"

"All right. We'll take care of you," and he laughed in that nasty way he had and slapped the pale, rangy guy on the back in glee. "Hey — wait a minute — you ain't eider, have you? You was saying you had dat reg'lar run t'Norway —"

The pale guy gulped and said, "No — I ain't never been South —"

"O-o-h boy! anudder wictim. . . . And you, blubber-mouth." He was talking to Mush. "You too —"

I asked the white-haired guy:

"What's this Equator stuff?"

"Oh — it's nothin' if they ain't rough. . . ."

The Maverick heard that.

"Sure we won't be rough — haw-haw. Wait'll Ol' Fadder Neptune gives him a shave and wait'll Fadder Neptune's red-headed daughter gives him a kiss —"

The Bos'n had come down to the deck. The hilarity quieted down a little, though nothing could hold that Maverick guy now that he had some nasty business planned. He was noisy and swaggered around. . . .

The white-haired guy, Birdneck, and I were assigned to the same station. As we stood there, I took up this Equator initiation ceremony again. Frankly, I was worried. It sounded like the sort of thing I'd read about and expected before I came aboard, but I didn't want any of it now. I liked the quiet uneventful days and pleasant nights as they were.

I nervously asked the white-haired guy, "What do they do — what's this stuff the Maverick was talking about?"

The old fellow said quietly, "Oh, it's nuthin. Just a little fun; don't worry about it. On the big passenger liners they make a whole business of it and everybody has a good time. But on a little ship like this — Some of these

fellers sometimes get rough. Yes, I've seen it happen. Sometimes some of the wild fellers do something and somebody gets hurt. I've seen nice boys hurt pretty bad —"

His voice was soothing, and he shook his head slowly.

"Yeah," came from Birdneck, who stood there with his hand on the brass handle of the hydrant to which we'd attached a dry canvas hose. Birdneck was to turn the water on, we to play the hose come the day when the ship burns up.

"Yeah, that damn Maverick — It's guys like him that makes trouble. An' you know there's a couple of more guys aboard this ship'd join up with 'im if he started. . . ."

"Yeah, but what do they do?"

"Oh, different things. You know that Maverick guy," he was talking and gesturing at the old man. "He's always stirring up trouble — back there in our cabin —"

Oilers rated separate quarters — they were a step above firemen and wipers. Pat, the Maverick, and Birdneck bunked together.

"Sometimes old Pat — you know he's a good old guy — he's old that's all. This goddam Maverick is always trying —"

I broke in, "Look, can't ya tell a fella what happens? What's this Father Neptune — ?"

"Oh, that's nothing. That's just — well what's hard is if some feller like that gets the idea to try some keelhaulin' — like they used to do in the old days —"

"Well, what's this keelhaulin'? Why doesn't somebody explain some of this?" I was getting panicky about that damn Equator.

"Well, keelhaulin', that's when they tie a line around you."

The ship's bell sounded again and interrupted his explanation. . . .

Birdneck approached me early one evening. "Would you do my portray? I see the ones you did of the blond kid. No kiddin' — if I could draw like dat I'd quit d'sea."

I was flattered and happy to make a drawing of his head. There was still plenty of daylight. I'd draw out on deck. We were only two days away from the Equator, and that damn Maverick hadn't shut up for a week about "Hey you — wait'll Fadder Neptune comes aboard down on d'line. Wait'll dat red-headed gal, dat daughter o' his, gets ya. She's a hot baby. Haw —"

The fat Sailing Man with great relish had explained to Mush and me finally what real keelhauling was. "Well, the way they used to do it in d'old days, they'd tie a line — a long line — around your middle, see. Then they'd tie annuder on the other side of ya. Then a couple of men would throw ya over side, holding onto the line o'course and them what's holding the other line would drag it around and under the stern and they'd haul you down under the keel of the ship and then haul you up. That's all."

"That's all? Hell, didn't that drown the guys?"

"No, not always. They had a line tied to 'em, I tol' you."

"Didn't it hurt — didn't they get caught in the propellers —?"

1945, continued

The Fat Guy took his pipe out of his mouth and spat on the deck.

"Those ships didn't have no propellers. Oh, they might have got scraped a bit 'ginst d'barnacles, but they'd pull 'em up gasping like and half-drowned — if they had any life left in 'em."

Mush and I shuddered and walked off.

"Did you think he meant that? Wonder if that old bastard is kidding us," Mush asked me. . . .

Well, I thought Flip was one I could count on. The least he could do was to cut those lines they tied us with and I'd have a running chance. I could hop about until the ship was safely over the Equator and then shout "Out of bounds" or something else as appropriate when we were safely over into lattitude S.01. According to the laws of the sea they shouldn't be able to have anything then. . . .

In the mid-afternoon we crossed the Equator.

Mush, the pale guy from the black gang, and I had arranged to meet before breakfast that day and talk over some sort of all-for-one-one-for-all protective pact. Nothing came of it. We couldn't agree.

All afternoon that day we chipped deck up on the prow — that was tops in in misery.

"We should be hitting the old belt right about now."

I looked up into the sun's glare at the Bos'n.

"What'd you say —?"

He was standing with shimmering waves of heat from the sizzling deck coming up around him, squinting up at the burning sun with his head cocked. His watch was opened in his hand.

"The way I figured it, we should be crossing the Equator right about now." . . .

Mush and I anxiously watched those two doors that led into the purple darkness of the shelter deck. If the Maverick and his bloody Father Neptune brigade came at us, it would be from those doors. Sweat poured down on my glasses and I let it run — I hadn't any clean handkerchiefs. Finally, when the effort of twisting around and watching those ominous holes in the bulkhead got too much for me, I went back to chipping with a bitter indifference.

The hell with them. If they came, they came. Being hauled through that water couldn't be any worse than chipping rust blisters on that burning deck — it would be cool at least — and I decided if that bunch did show up with their keelhauling lynch ropes, homemade splintered wood razors, rusty wire shaving brushes, and buckets of flesh-eating lather (made the week before, the Maverick had told us, from a bucket of Soogie fermented in a mixture of fishoil and crude oil — equal parts), I'd ask the Bos'n to please keep my glasses for me. He was the only one on the prow deck who wore a shirt, and he could tuck them away in his breast pocket. Then I'd be ready for my shave by King Neptune's daughter — or was he to do the shaving and we marry

the daughter, before or after we were keelhauled? I didn't know the procedure, and I never found out.

The Neptune brigade didn't show up.

In the hot mess at supper the Maverick and a few others bellyached: What did them lousers up on midships think — the crew was going to carry on the ceremonies on their own time? Nuts! If midships didn't have the decency to co-operate, and cut down the engines and give the crew time off when we hit the Equator — t'hell with them. There'd be no ceremonies. And there wasn't.

(Louis Slobodkin. Fo'castle waltz. New York, 1945. p. 100–119, passim.)

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1946

In September, 1946, the British Admiralty gave out " 'Crossing the Line:' An Account of the origins of the ceremonies traditionally connected with Crossing the Line, together with a Procedure for the conduct of those ceremonies and examples of the Documents associated therewith." Thanks to the Office of the Chief of Naval Information, we give here most of the text of the document, with brief summary of "I, Origins of the ceremony." The "Foreword" runs thus:

It is not the intention to lay down a hard and fast drill for Crossing the Line. To do so would only be an impertinence, but would ignore such factors as the size of the ship, the local talent available, and the general circumstances prevailing at the time.

With the return to peace routine, however, and the obvious necessity to foster an awareness of the old traditions in the minds of the rising generation, many requests have been received for the promulgation of an authentic order of proceedings.

This pamphlet has therefore been produced on the clear understanding that it represents no more than a symposium of the basic features involved, and in the hope that it may be of practical assistance to those who wish to observe the appropriate ceremonies with the dignity and regard for accuracy to which they are by custom and tradition entitled.

In compiling these notes, considerable reference has been made to "Crossing the Line in H.M.S. Renown," and acknowledgment is also due to Frank C. Bowen, Esq., Commander R. T. Gould, R. N. (Retd.), and to various officers for their assistance.

Part I, "Origins of the ceremony," then follows [summarized here]:

The ceremonies connected with Crossing the Line are pagan in origin. In their earlier forms, they were not even associated with the Equator, but were in the nature of sacrifices to propitiate the gods when entering the unknown. Straits and narrow passages, in addition to representing a transition to hitherto unexplored waters, held very real terrors for seamen on account of the purely physical hazards presented by strong and unpredictable currents, sudden gusts of winds, rocks and shoals.

1946, continued

Early records show that some sort of ceremony was connected with areas such as the Straits of Gibraltar, the Sound and the Skaw. Forfeit was paid by the *ship* rather than by the individual, and there is a suggestion of human sacrifice in the early Viking days. The theory has, in fact, been advanced that the ducking of initiates, now the main feature of the present ceremonies, is derived from the actual throwing of a human body into the sea in moments of peril. Chaplain Teonge (1675) refers in his diary to the ducking from the yardarm of men entering the Straits of Gibraltar for the first time, or being required to pay one dollar in lieu. By the old laws, the mariner did not remove his clothes from beginning to end of voyage, and Captain Woodes Rogers, referring to the customary ducking "when entering the Tropic," adds that this was of great benefit in enabling many "to recover the colour of their skins which were grown very black and nasty." This *may* be symbolised in the lathering and shaving of novices which is now part of the proceedings, but there is no sort of supporting evidence to this effect. It seems more probable that the lathering and other ministrations have grown up as part of the mummery associated with any form of initiation. In any case, it is clear that much of the traditional ceremony is indistinguishable from the universal custom of "blooding" initiates, and so the final result is probably a combination of this custom and the symbolic remains of the original propitiatory offerings to the sea-god.

In the course of time, both the Equator and the Arctic Circle became the scene of traditional ceremonies, as marking the limits of fresh enterprise, and to those who had not previously crossed them the boundaries of the "unknown."

The custom of paying forfeits, either in money or in kind, in order to avoid the rigours of initiation, no longer obtains.

Part II

Dramatis Personae

King Neptune	Doctor	
	Barber	
Queen Amphitrite	Barber's Assistant(s)	King's Messenger
		Herald(s)
		Trumpeter(s)
Judge	Policemen	Head Bear(s)
Judge's Clerk	Bodyguard	Bears

Notes

(i) The above characters are not all essential. On the other hand, certain additions are permissible, e.g. Mermaids, Ladies-in-Waiting, etc.

(ii) In a big ship, it is sometimes the practice for the principal parts to be taken by Officers or Warrant Officers. When V.I.P.s are to take part in the Ceremonies, this is considered to be essential, a special team of Officer Bears being enrolled to initiate them.

Part III

The Preliminary Function

The main ceremony of initiation, by its very nature, must rightly and inevitably involve an element of horse-play, but the preliminaries can and should be so handled as to make a lasting impression on those who witness them for the first time.

These preliminaries, which represent the approach of the ship to King Neptune's domain, take place after supper on the evening of the day before that on which the ship crosses the Line. The Daily Orders for that day should contain an item in the following sense:—

> 2030 (About). The ship, being within hailing distance of the Equator, will probably be boarded by an Emissary from the Court of King Neptune. On sighting this Emissary, the hands will be piped forward to witness his arrival.

The setting for the Herald's arrival must of course depend on the size of the ship and the resources available. The following treatment is suited to a cruiser or above.

Preparations

Run two or more old wash-deck hoses across the upper deck just forward of the breakwater, and connect to mains. Hoses should have small holes pierced in them of the right size and number to produce a vertical curtain of water about 6 or 8 feet high when the mains are fully opened.

Rig *green* floodlights, yardarm groups, or "footlights" to illuminate the water curtain, all lights being on a dimmer circuit. Rig spotlights to illuminate figures standing in the eyes of the ship.

If available, rig loudspeakers to sound aft from the forecastle, with the microphone concealed in a conch-shell or on the Herald's staff.

Drill

Pipe: "D'ye hear there? Ship is expected to be within hailing distance of the Equator in ten minute's time."

When spectators are mustered (all abaft the breakwater), bring up water curtain and floodlights slowly. Under cover of water curtain the following muster as quickly as possible in the eyes of the ship:

Trumpeters
Herald
Bears.

Fanfare on trumpets, followed by a throaty roar of laughter through the loudspeakers.

Herald: "Ahoy — What ship?"
Captain (from the bridge): "Her Britannic Majesty's Ship . . ."

1946, continued

Herald: "Who commands this ship?"

Captain: "Captain . . . Royal Navy" (adding decorations in full, e.g. Companion of the Distinguished Service Order, etc.).

Herald: "Stop the ship — I wish to come onboard."

(Ring down Stop Both)

Captain: "The way is off my ship."

(Lower water curtain, bring up spotlights on Herald and attendants)

Herald: "Whence come you, and whither bound?"

Captain: "We come from . . . and we are bound for . . . We crave permission to clear the Line and proceed southward."

(It is sometimes the custom for the Captain to descend to the forecastle at this point.)

Herald: "My Royal Master, being advised of your approach, bids me welcome you and those who sail with you. That all things may be done properly and in due order, he makes known his wishes by Proclamation, duly signed, and to which attend ye all."

(Unrolls Proclamation. Fanfare of trumpets. Bears growl and assume belligerent attitudes.)

"Whereas it has pleased us to convene a Court to be held onboard Her Britannic Majesty's Ship . . . on the upper deck thereof at . . . on . . . the said Ship being then on the Equator in Longitude . . .

"By these presents we summon all those who have not heretofore entered our Domains to tender the usual homage, and to be initiated into the mystic rites according to the ancient usages of our Kingdom. Whereof nor you nor any of you may fail, as you will answer at your peril, and to the delight of our trusty Bodyguard."

(Short fanfare on trumpets — Bears relax)

Captain: "It shall be done. And now, ere you depart, will you take some refreshment?"

(Captain's Steward serves beer to all. Some apprehension displayed by Bears, who are served last, as to their inclusion in the invitation. They should drink from bottles, the Herald and the Trumpeters from glasses.)

Herald: "I now return whence I came. Pray cause these documents. to be served upon those of your Company who come newly to the domains of my Royal Master. Farewell until the morning."

Captain: "Farewell until the morning."

(Herald hands heavily sealed package to Captain — Fanfare on trumpets, during which cut spotlights and bring up water curtain slowly. As curtain reaches full height and ship gathers way, repeat throaty laughter.)

Notes

(i) It is held by some authorities that Neptune and his full Court should attend the preliminaries set out above, but this procedure is considered to be not only illogical but profoundly bad theatre.

(ii) There is no sort of reason, if space permits, why the Herald should not appear in a nautical chariot drawn by Dolphins, or other symbolic vehicle.

(iii) In an aircraft carrier, the advantages of using the forward lift for the arrival and departure of the Herald and his attendants will be obvious, and similar remarks apply to the main ceremony on the following day.

(iv) It is by no means essential to provide an individual Summons for each "Initiate," but these documents are frequently treasured by the recipients just as much as the "Crossing the Line" Certificates.

The alternative is to broadcast the terms of the document and post copies on the Notice Boards. Individual Summonses, if issued, should follow the lines of the Herald's Proclamation set out above, the name of the individual being shown on a separate line in substitution for the words: "All those who have not heretofore entered our Domains."

The main ceremony

(a) *Preparations*

Routine

The Ship's Routine should be so adjusted that nothing is done after scrubbing decks. The hands should be piped to breakfast as early as possible, and to clean into skylarking rig.

It is sometimes the practice to get out a completely bogus routine, embracing such items as "Bears to cocoa and wash." The advantage of this procedure is that it provides a useful programme of events and adds one more document for the record.

Rigging

The essential requirement is a stage, platform or dais, a canvas bath, and a chair or chairs capable of being tilted in such a manner that the occupant is precipitated backwards into the bath. If the number of initiates is sufficient, two or more chairs may be provided, and possibly two baths, side by side. The baths should be placed with the longer side running away from the platform. The water should be about 4 feet deep, and it is well to place some suitable cushioning material under the baths to prevent injury in the event of any initiates receiving an extra heavy "bumping." Arrangements should be made for the water to be changed at frequent intervals.

Properties

The second requirement is the "lather" for use by the Court Barbers. The essential point is lavish and simple application, and somewhat staggering quantities may be required. The normal recipe calls for a paste of flour and water in white and two other colours, but in these days of food rationing some less palatable substitute may have to be found.

1946, continued

The remaining properties, in the construction of which much ingenuity may be displayed, are as follows:—

Stethescope	(e.g. Voice-pipe headpiece)
Thermometer	(e.g. Guage glass)
Lancet	(e.g. Cutlass or Javelin)
Medicine	(Sea-water, with a flavouring of quinine, in a large variety of bottles)
Pills	(Dough, "bound" if desired with horse-hair, and flavoured with garlic or other tasty but harmless concoction)
Razors	(Made of carefully smoothed wood)
Shaving brushes	(Whitewash brush size)

Note: The common attribute of all these properties is their exaggerated size.

Costumes

In general, the design of the costumes can be left to local talent and imagination.

The Bears, however, not only have to look something like Bears, but they have to spend the greater part of the day in the bath. There are many ways of meeting these requirements, but the following specification, taken from the account of H.M.S. *Renown* when Crossing the Line in April, 1920, may be of help:

> The basic part of the costume was black canvas lightly thrummed with yarns. A fearsome embellishment of teased-out spun yarn, like phenomenal furs of an unknown species, thickly draped their necks, shoulders and waists . . . on their heads they wore navy socks in the manner of fishermen's caps.

The important point is that the "foundation" should be strong enough to withstand the clutching hands of struggling initiates.

Identification of Initiates

There are four methods by which those who have not previously crossed the Line can be identified:—

(a) By inspection of Service Certificates — laborious and not 100% certain.

(b) By direct enquiry — not very satisfactory, and tends to detract from the excitement.

(c) By a detailed enquiry addressed to Leading Hands of Messes, calling for the names of those members of their Mess who have previously crossed the Line, and if more than twice, how many

times — a laborious but satisfactory method, giving the names of initiates by elimination, and identifying those old hands who may be entitled to some special distinction by virtue of numerous crossings.

(d) By direct "hunting out" by the Policemen — traditionally, this is the correct method, but it is not easy in a big ship, and tends to lose its interest and entertainment value if too prolonged. It is, however, desirable that a few volunteer "reluctant participants" should be found to open the proceedings, as described later.

(b) *Procedure*

It is customary for much of the main ceremony, and particularly the earlier stages thereof, to be conducted in verse. Once again, this must be arranged in the light of local circumstances and available talent, but it is worth noting that overmuch doggerel tends to become a weariness of the flesh.

The proceedings open with the assembly, in some suitable spot, of King Neptune and his Court. (Once again, it will be noted that the lift of an aircraft carrier provides an admirable piece of stage machinery.)

Preceded by the Music, Policemen and Bears, and followed by the remainder of their Entourage, King Neptune and Queen Amphitrite, seated in a nautical equipage drawn by Dolphins, then make a processional tour of the upper deck, finishing either on the Quarter-deck or at the Royal Dais, as deemed most convenient.

Here they are greeted by the Captain, and after a formal exchange of amenities those persons qualified by previous multiple crossings of the Line are presented. The ceremony is made the occasion for the investiture of these veterans with Orders and Certificates appropriate to their rank, service and personal idiosyncrasies, the necessary insignia being fabricated onboard. (e.g. "Companion of the Exalted Order of Shellbacks," etc.)

This is a suitable stage in the proceedings to tackle the question of lady initiates. There have been instances when Flag Officers or Captain's wives have been present, and the usual practice has been to grant them honorary certificates and to make them members of an appropriate Order.

For example, the Rev. A. Bloxam, Chaplain of H.M.S. *Blonde* (Captain Lord Bryon) notes in his diary for 12th November, 1824, that Queen Amphitrite "addressed a few lines to Lady B." while on the occasion of H.M.S. *New Zealand* crossing the Line on 6th May, 1919, it is recorded that "... At this stage Her Majesty (Queen Amphitrite), with much graciousness and charm of manner conferred the insignia of the Most Unfathomable Order of the Deep Sea Needle, First Class, upon Lady Jellicoe." The account subsequently states that the distinguished novice was graciously excused homage, a few drops of sea-water being sprinkled on her head in token of full initiation.

When these formalities are completed, the whole procession moves to the scene of action, King Neptune and Queen Amphitrite take their seats, the

1946, continued

Herald makes a short proclamation, the Doctor, Barbers, etc., report all present and correct, King Neptune orders: "Bears in the Bath," and the business of the day begins.

It is well to open with two or three volunteers, one of whom should be an officer, who will undertake to act as "reluctant initiates." That is to say, they have to be sought out by the Policemen, they resist arrest, and, generally speaking, are put through the hoop. The reading of bogus Punishment Warrants prior to the final administrations of the Barber, Doctor, etc., lends colour to this part of the proceedings and aggravates the apprehension of the remaining initiates.

Events then take their normal course, the drill being as follows:—

(a) Initiate is produced by the Policemen or comes forward voluntarily.
(b) His name is announced, and a notation made against it in a massive tome by the Clerk.
(c) He is seated in the chair, his temperature is taken, heart tested, pulse timed, etc., etc.
(d) He is lathered and shaved, a pill is popped into his mouth, and he is tipped backwards into the bath, there to be dealt with by the Bears according to his deserts.

Certificates

It is worth taking a good deal of trouble over the layout of the Certificates, and in the selection of a firm to reproduce them in colour.

The essential features are:—

(a) The ship's crest
(b) A photograph or drawing of the ship
(c) The main body of the Certificate
(d) The seals of Neptune and Amphitrite

With regard to (c) above, there is no hard and fast rule, and the following is merely taken from an actual Certificate by way of example:

> Be it Hereby known that . . . has been duly initiated into the Ancient and Mystic rites of our Realm as by our Royal Decree from time Immemorial. Further . . . We hereby require all such as have not yet entered our Domains, to treat the aforesaid with all respect to which our duly initiated and loyal subjects are entitled.
> Given at our Court on board Her Britannic Majesty's Ship . . . on the Equator in Longitude . . . This . . . Day of . . . 19. . (Seal)

If the ship is on a special cruise or particularly interesting foreign commission, a scroll showing the places visited adds to the ornamentation of the Certificate.

1950/1951

When we left Aruba in the West Indies, our last civilized port of call, and began our long journey south, a deep depression settled over the seven hundred men aboard our ship. In Edinburgh, in Norway, and as we were bunkering at Aruba, they had been gay, reckless, and jovial in manner and conversation. But after we turned southward, despite various attempts at organized fun on the ship in the way of parties, concerts, high jinks at the equator, and the like, we all tended to become solitary and avoid the society of the friends we had made.

(R. B. Robertson. Of whales and men. New York, p. 52–53.)

The tale of the senior medical officer on a pelagic whaling expedition to the Southern Ocean in the 1950/1951 whaling season. Mr. Robertson is a Scot, new to this way of life. His story is full of interest as showing the difference between the old sailing ships and the modern mechanized floating factory. It stands out in connection with the present offering as showing how "the high jinks at the equator" played a slight riffle in the listless current of daily life on the way to the field. Just how "the high jinks" were staged is not told here. Left for "another story?"

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1951

After Pearl Harbor, in 1941, millions more Americans went travelling than ever before, and hundreds of them went across the Equator or the Pacific International Date Line. All our servicemen who went to the islands and atolls beyond the "Line" had their bit of fun on board ship, and were admitted to the Order of the Golden Dragon.

The Golden Dragon is to the Eastern waters what Father Neptune is to the Western. Now, old King Neptune's the figure about whom all fuss is made when travellers come into his region for the first time; he's the reason that the victims must be lathered, and shaved and dunked in salt water — following the "custom" of those who had been there before.

Those who don't know that a Pollywog's never crossed the Equator had better not admit it; those who don't know what goes on at the International Date Line (or 180th Meridian), had better keep quiet, too. But here's a slight hint: Watch for the fatal gleam-in-the-eye. It's the sign of someone who knows all about it — and you're in for trouble.

This is the story of the tradition of Neptune — and the "how" and "why" of it all. May it not discourage prospective Shellbacks from leaving home, and may it find favor with the real "shell-headed ones" and with the gods of the Eastern and Western waters.

(Henley E. Combs. Shellbacks: Sons of Neptune. Illustrations by Dave Lyons. New York: Pageant Press, 1951.)

1951, continued

The " 'how' and 'why' of it all" are here told in a book of some 23 pages with lively illustrations and some blank pages for autographs. It opens with general remarks about King Neptune, and then goes on to say: "thus begins one of the strangest ceremonies ever recorded in a ship's log, the crossing of the Equator, and the initiation into the royal service of King Neptune. . . . And so the traveller learns that mercy is unknown in the region of the Equator."

Recorded incidents in the long life of Neptunus Rex make up the bulk of this account, with special attention given to the crossings of: van Linschoten in 1583, a Swedish traveler in 1751, Woodes Rogers in 1712, Hauser Martingale in 1817, James Brady on the USFS *Lancaster* in 1877, the Duke of Windsor when Prince of Wales, King George and Queen Elizabeth in 1927, USS *Indianapolis* in 1936 with President Roosevelt on his way to Rio, the Truman family in 1947 (also bound for Rio), the USS *Pennsylvania* in May 1936, etc., etc.

1952

(All Hands: The Bureau of Naval Personnel Information Bulletin. October and November 1952)

The above two issues come to sight with words about the "crossing" well worth noting.

November gives pages 31 through 34 to "Are you a Whale Banger? A Blue Nose?" telling of nearly twenty clubs in our navy with membership more strictly limited than in any Social Register. Halftones of fifteen or more certificates given the rookie when he crosses the equator or has other like experience on sea or land are all "unofficial, but they carry the weight of tradition and growing customs with them." We know already how the Neptunus Rex certificate is given shellbacks when they cross the equator. Rounding Cape Horn makes you a Mossback. Some of us may not have known, however, that when you cross the line and round the Horn on the same voyage, you become a "Horned Shellback." Crossing the International date line westward bound lets you into the "Realm of the Golden Dragon." An "Arctic Circle" or a "Northern Domain of the Polar Bear" certificate tells that the owner has crossed the Arctic Circle. "The Royal Order of the Blue Noses" is limited to sailors who crossed the Circle in the Operation Nanook of July, 1946. From way down south comes the paper for "The Royal Domain of the Emperor Penguin, Antarctica" entitling one "to all of the privileges of this frozen realm of blizzards, including freezing, starving, shivering, and any other privileged miseries that can possibly be extended during his stay in this land of answer to a Well Digger's Dream."

A "Plank Owner's Certificate" gives the owner "clear and unencumbered title to one plank or section of plank" from the deck of his decommissioned ship if he has been a member of the commissioning crew. A variation is the "Shackle and Grommet Owner's Certificate" giving the owner title to "a half-inch shackle from any ship in which he has served for 15 years or three consecutive enlistments."

Pilots forced to parachute from a disabled plane are members of the "Caterpillar Club." If a pilot must ditch his plane at sea and take to a life raft, he may join the "Goldfish Club"; men forced to spend more than 24 hours on a life raft through no choice of their own may claim membership in "Sea Squatters." If a carrier pilot on his way back crashes into the emergency barrier because he failed to catch an arresting wire, he becomes an honorary member of the "High-floating Hook Bouncing Barrier Crashers," a distinction, it seems, if not an honor, he can scarcely escape. If you fly through a tropical storm whirling at 100 knots or better you may belong to the "Century Club" or the "Not so Ancient Order of Hurriphooners," conceived by hurricane hunters down Florida Way.

The "Royal Order of the Highjump" is for members of the U. S. Naval Antarctic Expedition in the winter of 1946–47, and is in much the same class as the "Royal Order of the Mushroom," open to men who saw the first atomic blast at Bikini atoll in 1946. The "Club of Honorary Submariners" is open to men who have been totally submerged in a submarine, and the "West of Shanghai-Manila Club" is made up of men who took part in the westernmost penetration of Japanese-controlled waters by any American task force since the fall of Corregidor.

Honors and distinctions vary, no doubt, but special note should be made of the "Royal Order of Whale Bangers," limited to crews of ships that track and attack whales mistaken for submarines. And two groups call for further notice: "The Royal Decree for Having Been Stationed in the Port of London" at Headquarters of our naval forces in Europe, and the "Railroaders' Union, the Exclusive Society of Korean Railbusters," this latter being confined to Marines.

Page 22 of the October issue tells the story of how "Shellbacks become Mossbacks on Cape Voyage." USS *Oriskany*, too large to go through the Panama Canal, was shifted from the Atlantic to the Pacific Fleet and made the voyage round the Horn in May, 1952, with USS *William C. Lawe* and USS *Power* as escorts. A halftone shows some of the crew of the *Oriskany* dressed in ceremonial garb on their way to the performance.

1953

Royal liner crosses the equator, Ceremony on escort. Aboard the *Gothic*, Friday the 4th [of December 1953].

The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh on their Pacific voyage to the Fiji Islands crossed the equator at about 11:30 a. m. today.

On a cloudy, overcast morning with a slight drizzle the Royal couple watched through binoculars the traditional crossing-the-line ceremony on the fore-castle deck of the escort cruiser *Sheffield*, two cables length (quarter of a mile) away on the *Gothic's* starboard beam.

The *Sheffield's* crew crowded on to her two six-inch gun turrets on the forward deck to watch "King Neptune," with his consort queen, "Aphrodite," dressed in red and white robes and wearing golden crowns, hold their court.

King Neptune, holding a trident, read a proclamation which was followed by the traditional "shaving" and ducking of those who had not crossed the line before. — Reuter.

(*The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, December 5, 1953. p. 7, col. 5.)

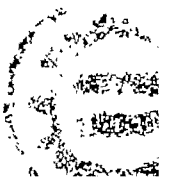
On Board the Liner Gothic, Dec. 5, (AP) — The Duke of Edinburgh, togged out in a butcher's apron, cut capers as assistant ship's barber in traditional ceremonies when this royal liner crossed the equator.

Queen Elizabeth II watched the antics yesterday from the bridge as King Neptune came aboard to hold court. Neptune — Inspector Frank Kelley, the Duke's personal body-guard — was quickly doused in the swimming pool, long white beard and all. But his green-robed Queen fought all attempts to snatch her cabbage bouquet.

Charges were read against more than a dozen members of the royal household and staff. The Queen and Duke were exempt from the shellback initiation, however, because they had crossed the equator before.

(*Daily News*, Greenboro, North Carolina, December 6, 1953.)

The Times of London seems to have chosen to pass over this incident, but it is a real pleasure to find at least one American newspaper judging it worth a stickfull or so. New York City newspapers were silent because of a strike.



Bernard Shaw: 1856-1950

An exhibition from the Berg Collection

By JOHN D. GORDAN

PART II

Bernard Shaw. *The Common Sense of Municipal Trading.* Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1904.

Though Shaw is remembered for his plays rather than his sociological polemics, he was active in the theater and in politics simultaneously. Despite his growing position as a playwright he continued to work indefatigably for the Fabian Society. At the turn of the century he sat for nearly seven years as vestryman and councilor for the old St. Pancras Vestry and the new Borough of St. Pancras, which had a population of some 250,000. In these capacities he worked on the Health, Parliamentary, Electric Lighting, Housing, and Drainage Committees. As a socialist who wanted to improve the community even if taxes went up, he learned the fighting methods of a vestry, on which a seat could be purchased for sufficient money, that worked to keep taxes down at any cost. When he stood for election in March 1904 as Progressive candidate for the Borough on the London County Council, he refused to pay for his seat and antagonized special-interest groups in the community. He was thoroughly defeated.

Shaw summed up what he had learned in *The Common Sense of Municipal Trading*, shown here. A vigorous advocate of participation by the municipality in the development and management of public utilities, he was enthusiastic about his new tract, calling it in June 1904 "the best and most important book I have ever written."

From the Reserve Division.

A photograph of Bernard Shaw current in 1904.

This photograph was brought out by the Rotary Photo Co. Ltd., London, and incurred the relentless enmity of the subject. The copy shown here was mailed on April 27, 1904, to Sylvia Pankhurst the famous suffragette, who seems to have sent it on to Shaw for authentication. Across the face he wrote the record of his implacable dislike of the photograph: "Not a bit like me. I tear up every copy that is sent me. It hurts my feelings extremely when anyone who knows me encourages the sale of the nasty thing by buying it."

Bernard Shaw. *John Bull's Other Island and Major Barbara: also How He Lied to Her Husband.* London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1907.

It was four years before Shaw published another collection of plays, all written after *Man and Superman* and all performed before publication. The volume was given no general title like its predecessors; from this time on the plays were offered in collections of three or more, as they were available for publication, without any attempt to suggest a relationship through a covering title. In this volume the playlet was placed between the two full length plays.

The copy of *John Bull's Other Island* shown here Shaw presented to the actress Janet Achurch on June 17, 1907. The most recent play of his in which she had appeared was *Captain Brassbound's Conversion.*

Royal Court Theatre [London] Programme for nine Vedrenne-Barker Matinées, beginning February 7 [1905] *John Bull's Other Island,* by Bernard Shaw.

John Bull's Other Island was written in 1904 because William Butler Yeats had urged upon Shaw his duty as an Irish man of letters to write a play for the Irish Literary Theatre. It was not merely the limitations of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin but the tone of the play itself which made Shaw turn it over to Vedrenne and Barker for the Royal Court Theatre, London. *John Bull* pits the conventional English conception of the Irish against what a perceptive Irishman sees in his

countrymen. Simultaneously the perceptive Irishman shows his own people a creativeness and energy in the English that the conventional Irish point of view does not recognize.

The play opened on November 1, 1904, for a series of six matinées and was a box-office success because it was taken up by the political and social world. The Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour, went four times, and took along the Opposition leaders, Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith. Another set of nine matinées was called for, of which the programme is shown here. On March 11, 1905, the play was performed by royal command before Edward VII, who laughed so uproariously that he broke his chair. *John Bull* was Shaw's first great comic success with the general public.

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. *To the Audience at the Kingsway Theatre [London] A Personal Appeal from the Author of John Bull's Other Island.* [New Year, 1913]

When *John Bull's Other Island* was revived in London at Christmas 1912 for the fifth time in five years, Shaw wrote the following plea to be distributed to the audience, doubtless harking back to the royal accident in 1905. In a series of fourteen questions, he appealed to the playgoers to control their laughter and their applause till the end, to give the actors an opportunity to do their uninterrupted best, and to show their pleasure by returning to see the play. The admonitions testify to the success of the play.

Royal Court Theatre [London] Programme for nine Vedrenne-Barker Matinées, beginning February 28, 1905. *How He Lied To Her Husband* by Bernard Shaw.

How He Lied to Her Husband, the playlet published in the same volume with *John Bull* and *Major Barbara,* was written in 1904 during "four days continuous rain" while Shaw was on holiday in Scotland. The playwright called this one-act light comedy, which thumbs its nose at the triangle situation in *Candida,* a "pièce d'occasion." The occasion was Arnold Daly's attempt to perform *Candida* and *The Man of Destiny* on the same programme. When Daly broke down under the strain, Shaw wrote *How He Lied to Her Husband* for him to combine with *The Man of Destiny.* It was a graceful way of showing appreciation for the start the American actor had given *Candida.*

The playlet was first produced in New York by Daly on September 26, 1904, and in England by Vedrenne and Barker at the series of nine matinées beginning February 28, 1905, of which the programme is displayed here. It was the first of Shaw's work to be filmed. It was produced in 1930 by British International Pictures, with Cecil Lewis directing, at the Elstree Studios and shown in London on January 10, 1931. It was also the first of Shaw's work to be telecast, on July 8, 1937.

From the Theatre Collection.

Royal Court Theatre [London] Programme for six Vedrenne-Barker Matinées, beginning November 28, 1905. *Major Barbara. A Discussion, in Three Acts,* by Bernard Shaw.

The discussion in *Major Barbara* derives from one of the most potent philosophical influences on Shaw's thinking, Samuel Butler (1835–1902), author of *The Way of All Flesh* and *Erewhon.* The playwright hammers in the idea that poverty is the great crime of our civilization. In *Major Barbara* he uses the armament and liquor industries to illustrate influences in capitalist society that lead to the waste of human capabilities. Yet he shows that these very influences have been more successful, through modern industrial management, in helping to eradicate the evil of poverty than government and religion have been through doles and promises.

The play, which was written in 1905, grew out of an offer on Shaw's part to write a play for the Salvation Army. Though the Army turned down his offer on grounds of propriety, they raised no objections to Major Barbara's activities and even lent uniforms to the actors. Adolphus Cusins, who passes from scholarship to the munitions industry by way of the Salvation Army, was modeled upon Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University, and the imperious Lady Britomart upon Murray's mother-in-law, the Countess of Carlisle.

Major Barbara was first produced by Vedrenne and Barker in a series of six matinées beginning November 28, 1905, of which the programme is shown here. The Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour,

attended the first performance and the play had a large success with political, social, and intellectual London. Vedrenne and Barker allowed it to run for six weeks from January 1, 1906, in contradiction of their usual repertory policy. Shaw was now the undisputed favorite of educated London audiences.

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. *Major Barbara. A Screen Version.* [Hammondsworth, England, and New York] Penguin Books [1945]

Major Barbara was the fourth of Shaw's plays to be filmed, under the direction of Gabriel Pascal at the Denham Studios, England, in 1940–41. Shaw found it necessary to write additional dialogue and scenes for film purposes. Inevitably he also revised the "Preface." Penguin Books first published the screen treatment in 1945.

A fragment of corrected proof for the screen version is shown below:

LADY BRITOMART. Good morning, Adolphus. Charles was just telling me that when you came home very late last night you were not quite yourself. May I ask what was the matter with you?

CUSINS [*taking his seat at the table*] Nothing~~ nothing~~ of any consequence. Blind drunk: that was all. [*To Morrison*] Coffee, please. Nothing to eat.

LADY BRITOMART. Blind drunk!!!

CUSINS. ~~I did not notice it until we came out into the cold air. I dropped on the flags. I should have been on them still or in a police cell if your husband had not kindly picked me up, put me into his car, and driven me home.~~

Sarah bounces in fresh from her morning toilet.

SARAH. Good morning. [*She kisses her mother, then kisses*

I went home with your husband. Have you ever tasted vodka, Lady Brit.?

LADY BRITOMART. Certainly not.

CUSINS. It looks exactly like spring water. The strongest spirits taste like milk after it.

Shaw kept up with contemporary spirits! In 1905 it was Temperance Spanish burgundy that proved Cusins' downfall; in 1941 it was vodka.

Bernard Shaw. "Passion, Poison, and Petrifaction; or, the Fatal Gazogene," *Harry Furniss's Christmas Annual for 1905,* London: Anthony Treherne & Co., Ltd., [1905]

The warmth of heart which Shaw tried to camouflage with cold logic and which he could never entirely conceal is reflected in the trifle called *Passion, Poison, and Petrifaction.* It was written in 1905 at the request of his friend Cyril Maude to be performed on July 14 at a garden party in Regent's Park for the benefit of the Actors Orphanage. The skit is a burlesque of popular melodrama, in which Maude and Irene Vanbrugh took the chief parts in a performance that was repeated throughout the afternoon. The lover who turns into a statue from swallowing

lime as an antidote for poison was developed from a tall tale about a cat which met the same fate. Shaw had concocted the cat story to entertain the children of William Archer. To the playwright's amusement the play was seriously treated by critics when it was produced in Vienna.

The farce was printed with satirical illustrations by Harry Furniss, the artist, in his *Christmas Annual for 1905*. Shaw and Furniss, who was three years the elder, had been schoolmates in Dublin. It was the first Shaw play to be broadcast, on January 13, 1926.

Bernard Shaw. *The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married, & The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1911.

The next volume of plays that Shaw brought out came four years after the preceding collection. The new volume, like its predecessor, carried two full length plays and a playlet. These were arranged in the title in the order in which they had been written and produced.

Royal Court Theatre [London] Programme for eight Vedrenne-Barker Matinées beginning November 20, 1906. *The Doctor's Dilemma. A Tragedy in Four Acts and an Epilogue,* by Bernard Shaw.

The way in which Shaw came to write *The Doctor's Dilemma* illustrates the combination of forces it frequently took to set him to work. William Archer had once stated that as Shaw had never depicted death on the stage he had not reached the highest rank of dramatist. Later, hearing a famous doctor inquire as to whether a certain patient was worth accepting for a cure that could not be given to all, the playwright had remarked that it was an excellent dramatic subject. When Granville-Barker begged Shaw for a new play in the summer of 1906, the mystery of creation brought these factors into harmony. The character of the artist Louis Dubedat Shaw modeled upon Edward Aveling, a man of ability and no integrity, who by his mistreatment drove Eleanor the daughter of Karl Marx to kill herself. The playwright also brought in characteristics taken from various medical men and observations on the profession that were not flattering.

The play progressed so rapidly that Vedrenne and Barker were able to present it at the Royal Court Theatre by November 20, 1906, as the programme shown here indicates. Granville-Barker played the artist who placed the doctor in the dilemma, and Lillah McCarthy played the beautiful Mrs. Dubedat, who was the real cause of the Doctor's deciding as he did.

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph postcard to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated Ayot St. Lawrence, Welwyn, Herts., May 17, 1910.

The postcard shown here discloses how carefully Shaw thought out the death scene in *The Doctor's Dilemma.* Dubedat "is in full possession of all his faculties until he dies." He is thoroughly aware of his death "as an artistic spectacle." The newspaperman represents the world, and "it is the presence of that spectator which has nerved him to the scene." The blend of artist and poseur is maintained to the last subtle moment.

Bernard Shaw. *The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married, & The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1911.

In 1908, under the influence of the translations of Euripides by his friend Gilbert Murray, Shaw wrote what he considered a play that observed the unities of classical drama and called it *Getting Married.* Though it observes the unities of time, place, and action, it is less a play than a discusion of varied aspects of marriage as an institution. As the sub-title found on the programme puts it, it is "a conversation (a disquisitory play)." Twice the conversation is interrupted by the lowering of the curtain — by custom in the middle of an actor's speech, which is resumed wherever it was cut off. The play runs an hour longer than the usual three acts demand.

Getting Married was presented by Vedrenne and Barker for some sixteen performances at the Haymarket Theatre, London, in May and June 1908. It had a moderate success with the intelligentsia. The production was part of the extension of scope that led the producers to move from the Court to the larger Savoy Theatre toward the end of 1907. Unhappily the Vedrenne-

Barker partnership had over-extended itself and failed. The failure cost Shaw "most of [his] royalties."

The copy of the collection shown here was presented by the playwright to Mary Rorke, the actress who played the wife of the bishop and the mother of the bride in *Getting Married*. Shaw's inscription, dated February 23, 1911, is a grave compliment to her abilities in the part: "No Bishop ever had a gentler and more dignified Lady. . . ."

Bernard Shaw. *Getting Married.* Stamped "Second Proof" and "R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Edinburgh, 11 Jan. 1909."

The seven gatherings shown here, [B]-G^8, H^4, present an interesting problem. They consist of the text of the play and are paginated [1]–103, the verso of 103 being blank. In 1911 R. & R. Clark produced the volume in which *Getting Married* was first published on pages 191–298. Because these second proofs were ready on January 11, 1909, the first proofs most probably were sent out in 1908, the year that the play was written and produced. The second proofs carry a few ink corrections, which are not in Shaw's hand.

What do the proofs indicate? Did Shaw have first proofs available for production purposes, as he so frequently did later, generally with a title-page and with printed wrappers? Did he plan to bring out in 1909 a volume containing *Getting Married* and *The Doctor's Dilemma*, both of which were available, and perhaps some other playlet like *Passion, Poison, and Petrifaction*?

Whatever these proofs represent, Shaw had opportunity between 1909 and 1911 to work on the text of *Getting Married*. He made changes. For instance, in the 1911 text eighteen lines of description of Mrs. George Collins were added and thirteen lines were cut from Hotchkiss' account of his love affair with her.

Bernard Shaw. Corrected typescript of *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet.*

Another example of Shaw's kindliness, *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet* was written in 1909 for Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree to use at His Majesty's Theatre at a charity benefit. Like *The Devil's Disciple*, it dealt with the difference between true and false religious feeling and it had an American setting. It is difficult to believe that *Blanco Posnet* was refused a licence by the Lord Chamberlain on the grounds that it was blasphemous.

The typescript shown here carries considerable corrections in Shaw's hand, from the very subtitle to which he added an adjective, making it read "a Sermon in crude Melodrama." The corrected text also differs from the printed version.

The Incorporated Stage Society, The Aldwych Theatre [London] Programme for December 5 and 6, 1909. *The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet. A Sermon in Crude Melodrama,* by Bernard Shaw.

Blanco Posnet was accepted by Lady Gregory for production at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, where the Lord Chamberlain's displeasure was of no practical import. When a minor official attached to the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin Castle attempted to make trouble, Lady Gregory acquiesced in the removal of the words "dearly beloved brethren" from a speech of Blanco's. She put the play on with great success for fifteen performances beginning August 15, 1909. As this was during Horse Show Week, it attracted considerable attention.

When the Abbey Theatre troupe visited London as guests of the Incorporated Stage Society, a private organization, Lady Gregory included *Blanco Posnet* in the program with her own *Workhouse Ward* and Yeats's *Kathleen ni Houlihan*. The programme is shown here. The Shaw play was not publicly presented in England until 1916 at Liverpool or in London until 1921.

Bernard Shaw. *The Shewing up of Blanco Posnet: A Sermon in crude Melodrama.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1909.

Almost at the beginning of his career as a dramatist Shaw began using extra sets of proofs of his plays for purposes connected with production. Such special sets of proofs were used for copyright performances of *You Never Can Tell* and *The Philanderer* in 1898; for rehearsals for Forbes-Robertson's provincial tour of *The Devil's Disciple* in 1900; for submission of *Man and*

Superman to the Lord Chamberlain in 1903. These sets of proofs do not seem to have had printed wrappers.

With *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet* Shaw started the habit of having extra proofs printed as a more or less regular thing and binding them in printed wrappers, which generally stated that they were rehearsal or proof copies and unpublished. These not only provided members of the production with the text but also the author with an invaluable opportunity to improve lines by what was learned during rehearsal. The name of rehearsal or prompt copies has become attached to these private printings that preceded publication. The same play may exist in several successive states of the private printing, and consequently the later states come more and more to resemble proof for the published text.

The copy of *Blanco Posnet* shown here is not the earliest state of the private printing but a later one, after a title-page and half-title had been added and the statement "printed for . . . rehearsals" omitted from the wrapper. There appear to have been four states altogether in 1909, two before and two after the Dublin production.

Bernard Shaw. *Press Cuttings: a Topical Sketch compiled from the editorial and correspondence columns of the Daily Papers, as performed by the Civic and Dramatic Guild at the Royal Court Theatre, London, on the 9th July 1909.* London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1909.

During a motor tour of Algeria in the spring of 1909 Shaw amused himself by putting into a one-act play called *Press Cuttings* some of the topics and personalities currently exciting British journalism. These included women's suffrage, war with Germany, Balfour, Asquith, General Kitchener, and Lord Milner. The Lord Chamberlain refused a licence on the grounds of the "personalities expressed or implied." The need of a licence was circumvented when the Civic and Dramatic Guild gave private performances at the Royal Court Theatre in London on July 9 and July 12, 1909. Shaw acted as director for the first time since *Caesar and Cleopatra*. Later in the summer the Lord Chamberlain passed the play on condition that the names of two characters, Balsquith (Balfour-Asquith) and Mitchener (Milner-Kitchener), be changed. *Press Cuttings* was then publicly performed in Manchester in September 1909 and in London in June 1910.

Similar playlets of Shaw's were given performances on special occasions. *The Interlude at the Playhouse,* written for the Cyril Maudes, was performed once only on January 28, 1907, so that Mrs. Maude could make an appearance on stage the night the Playhouse Theatre was reopened. Another such was *The Fascinating Foundling: A Disgrace to the Author,* which Shaw wrote in 1909 for a charitable enterprise of Elizabeth Asquith's, daughter of the Prime Minister whom he had lampooned that very year in *Press Cuttings*. No record of its original performance by the amateur group has survived. *The Glimpse of Reality: A Tragedietta* was also written in 1909 for Granville-Barker but not performed until 1927. In 1913 Shaw wrote *The Music-Cure: A Piece of Utter Nonsense* to be given as a curtain raiser on the occasion of the hundredth performance of G. K. Chesterton's *Magic* at the Little Theatre, London, on January 28, 1914.

Shaw's opinion of these trifles is expressed in the title of the collection in which *Press Cuttings, The Fascinating Foundling,* and *The Glimpse of Reality* were published. He called the volume *Translations and Tomfooleries.*

Bernard Shaw. *Statement of the evidence in Chief of George Bernard Shaw before the Joint-Committee on Stage Plays (Censorship and Theatre Licensing).* Printed privately. . . . July 1909.

The Lord Chamberlain seems to have been unusually arbitrary in 1909 about refusing production licences. Shaw, whose difficulties went back over a decade to *Mrs. Warren's Profession,* was refused a licence in March for *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet* and in June for *Press Cuttings*. When Maeterlinck's *Monna Vanna* came under the ban, public outcry grew so great that Parliament appointed a committee to explore the problems involved in the licencing of plays. The theatrical world had been waiting for such an opportunity. In 1908 Gilbert Cannan the critic had edited for a small group of dramatists a pamphlet entitled *The Censorship of Plays,* in which appeared a letter of serious protest by Shaw.

Shaw testified before the Joint-Committee on Stage Plays in 1909 with acumen and wit on the anachronism of the current laws. "A judge leaves the question of guilt to the jury," Shaw

pointed out: "the censor is jury and judge as well as lawgiver." Shaw's statement of evidence was printed privately by R. & R. Clark, Ltd., and marked "confidential." It was later published as "The Rejected Statement" in the middle of the "Preface" to *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet.* Little or nothing came of the efforts of the reformers.

Bernard Shaw. Original manuscript of a book review entitled "Chesterton on Shaw."

Shaw and Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874–1936) were created to be the friendliest of antagonists. The unorthodox Protestant and the orthodox Roman Catholic, the progressive and the conservative, found in each other a sounding board for calling attention each to his own excellencies. In 1910 Chesterton paid Shaw the unsurpassed compliment of writing a full length study of him. The two sentence introduction to the first edition gives the essence of the relationship between critic and subject: "Most people either say that they agree with Shaw or that they do not understand him. I am the only person who understands him, and I do not agree with him."

With a brilliant sense of opportunity the London *Nation* got the playwright to review Chesterton's *George Bernard Shaw* for the August 28, 1909, issue. His main object, naturally, was to demonstrate that Chesterton did not understand him. He insisted that "everything about me which Mr. Chesterton had to divine, he divined miraculously. But everything that he could have ascertained easily by reading my own plain directions on the bottle, as it were, remains for him a muddled and painful problem solved by a comically wrong guess." Privately he admitted that "the book is full of good things, and very generous into the bargain."

The manuscript of the review is heavily corrected.

Bernard Shaw. *Misalliance, The Dark Lady of the Sonnets, and Fanny's First Play. With a Treatise on Parents and Children.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1914.

Shaw let three years pass before he brought out another collection of plays. The volume follows the usual pattern of two full-length pieces and a playlet. The copy shown here was presented to Ellen Terry on May 17, 1914, with an inscription apologizing for its own baldness, "which leaves much unsaid." These were years in which Shaw was leaving much unsaid in his friendship with Ellen Terry: there is no letter from him in 1914 in the published correspondence.

The first of the plays in the new collection, *Misalliance* was written in 1909–10 and presented, with Shaw as the director, by Charles Frohman at the Duke of York's Theatre, London, on February 23, 1910. The play, principally concerned with the relationship between parents and children and men and women, was enlivened by considerable horseplay and a Super Woman. The piece was described as "a debate in one sitting," which was twice artificially interrupted by the lowering of the curtain, as in *Getting Married.* Here, too, Shaw had his eye on the unities of time, place, and action, but though the play supposedly takes place in one room in one day, somehow a lapse of a month is left unaccounted for. *Misalliance,* given a poor press by the critics despite the laughter it afforded them, ran for only 11 performances. It also failed on its first production in the United States.

Bernard Shaw. *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets: an Interlude, written for the Shakespear National Memorial Theatre, June 1910.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1910.

In June 1888 in a hoax letter vilifying the morality of *The Taming of the Shrew* and signed Horatia Ribbonson, Shaw initiated his entertaining trick of attracting attention to the merits of contemporary drama — and to himself — by applying ordinary standards of criticism to Shakespeare. His name for this sport was "blaming the Bard," and as a professional critic he had unusual opportunities of indulging himself. The more violent the reaction he created, the more extravagant became his statements. With mischievous intent he even declared, "I despise Shakespeare when I measure my mind against his." Few schemes have succeeded so thoroughly as Shaw's courting of publicity by his campaign against Bardolatry. The game went on all his mature life.

On the other hand his admiration of Shakespeare and the position that he held in world literature is clear from his having complied with the request of Edith Lyttelton, later a delegate to the League of Nations Assembly, to aid her in raising money for a projected Shakespeare

Memorial Theatre by writing a play. The result was *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*, dated June 20, 1910, in which he created an amorous incident involving Shakespeare, Queen Elizabeth, and her lady-in-waiting Mary Fitton, whom he identified as the Dark Lady. The humor and appropriateness of the playlet lay in the Bard's begging the Queen to establish a national theater for him.

The copy shown here is marked thus in Shaw's hand on the grey printed wrapper: "Rough Proof only. Unpublished" and "Original Ending." It has a few textual corrections in his hand and that of some unidentified person. It seems to be the earliest printing of the text for rehearsal purposes.

Bernard Shaw. *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets: an Interlude, written for the Shakespear National Memorial Theatre. Rough Proof — Unpublished.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1910.

The rehearsal copy of *The Dark Lady* shown here represents a second state of the private printing. The wording of the title-page and wrappers has been changed; and some of the indicated corrections have been made. Yet the playlet still ends with a dance performed by Shakespeare and Queen Elizabeth.

Inserted in this copy is a typescript of a new ending, with slight manuscript corrections made by Shaw. The playlet now closes with an exchange of naughty dialogue between the poet and the Queen. She declares that his wish for a national theater is her "prayer to posterity."

The copy contains other corrections in Shaw's hand and directions for details of production in an unknown hand.

Bernard Shaw. *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets: an Interlude, written for the Shakespear National Memorial Theatre. Rough Proof — Unpublished.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1910.

This rehearsal copy seems to belong to a third state of the private printing. The title-page and wrappers resemble those of the second state, but the new ending has now been added, though with a slight change of wording in the stage directions for the return of the warder from that found in the typescript in this exhibition. One of the corrections indicated by Shaw in the preceding copy was made; others were disregarded; and one had to wait until the published version.

The third state was presumably the one used when the play was presented for the first time at a charity matinée at the Haymarket Theatre, London, on November 24, 1910, on behalf of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Fund. The performance was repeated the next day.

Bernard Shaw. Original manuscript of "Materials for Shaw Interview re Frank Harris."

When *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* was first presented, Frank Harris, former editor of the *Saturday Review*, and Shaw engaged in a journalistic dispute over the identification of Mary Fitton as the Dark Lady. The dispute may have been genuine or it may have been worked up as publicity to help the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Fund.

The manuscript in Pitman shorthand shown here was for an article in the form of questions and answers which Shaw prepared for the *Daily News* for November 24, 1910, the day of the first performance of *The Dark Lady*. It appears that Frank Harris had already published a claim that Shaw had borrowed from him the identification of the Dark Lady with Mary Fitton. Here Shaw announced that both he and Harris had taken the idea from Thomas Tyler, an obscure Shakespearian scholar whom the Irish playwright had met at the British Museum. In 1890 Tyler had published a book entitled *Shakespeare's Sonnets* in which he advanced his theories.

Bernard Shaw. Incomplete typescript of the "Preface to the Dark Lady of the Sonnets."

The two rehearsal copies of *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* did not contain the preface which had become so much the hallmark of Shaw's published plays. When the playlet came to be published in 1914 in the volume containing *Misalliance* and *Fanny's First Play*, he inevitably prepared a preface for it. The corrected typescript shown here is from that section in which he discusses his own and Frank Harris' debt to Thomas Tyler. Some of the material had been

previously used in the article written in 1910 for the *Daily News*. Harris had pressed the attack in the introduction to his play, *Shakespeare and his Love*, published late in 1910. In the "Preface" to *The Dark Lady* Shaw reviewed the whole story of the controversy, analyzed the characters of Frank Harris and William Shakespeare, both of whom he admired, and repudiated Bardolatry. Ironically he has to reject the possibility of identifying the Dark Lady with Mary Fitton. The corrections on the typescript indicate how carefully he pruned his ideas and clipped his prose.

Bernard Shaw. Proof for *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* as published in the volume with *Misalliance* and *Fanny's First Play* in 1914.

These pages are stamped "First Proof" and "R. & R. Clark, Ltd, Edinburgh, 13 Jun. 1913" and cover only the "Preface to The Dark Lady of the Sonnets," not the play itself. Shaw continued to work on the text of the "Preface," as comparison of these proofs and the published version shows. The latter closes with some Shavian scalpel work, not found in the proof, as to the character of the English for failing to support the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Fund. His final cry is, "Why is Shakespeare made ridiculous by such a posterity?"

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to an unidentified correspondent, unsigned and undated.

The rough draft of a letter shown here is written on a canceled contract, dated October 12, 1926[?], between Shaw and the Charles Macdona Players for performances of his plays in South Africa. Perhaps Charles Macdona (1860–1946), the producer who from 1921 on presented Shaw to audiences from the United Kingdom to the Far East, is addressed in this letter, which deals with properties and music for *The Dark Lady of the Sonnet*. Shaw's care for the details of production is illustrated by his severity with the unintentional anachronism, though no playwright ever made more successful use of the deliberate one. "But Haydn's music is so characteristically XVIII century music, and German at that, that the introduction of a single bar of it in The Dark Lady would be a glaring anachronism. There is abundance of Elizabethan music to draw on; and you may go as far ahead as Purcell without incongruity."

The Little Theatre [London] Lillah McCarthy's Season. Programme for *Fanny's First Play*, dated July 7, 1911.

In *Fanny's First Play*, written in 1911, Shaw amused himself and large audiences at the expense of conventional respectability and of the London theatrical critics. The play proper is concerned with the revitalizing effect of imprisonment upon the young hero and heroine, and it is imbedded in an introduction and epilogue in which the critics find themselves unable to review a play unless they know who it is by. The play purports to be the maiden work of Fanny O'Dowda but the critics — who are lampoons of A. B. Walkley of the *Times*, E. A. Baughan of the *Daily News*, and Gilbert Cannan of the *Star* — argue heatedly as to whether it is by Granville-Barker, Pinero, or Shaw. This provides the playwright with a fully utilized opportunity to satirize current critical opinion of his work.

The play was directed by Shaw himself and presented as by Xxxxxx Xxxx at the Little Theatre, London, on April 19, 1911. Shaw's first great commercial success, it ran for 622 performances. The fiction of anonymity was an amusing publicity device and was maintained as a sort of public secret until the play was published in 1914.

[Bernard Shaw] *Fanny's First Play: An Easy Play for a Little Theatre.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1912.

Like so many of the plays found in rehearsal copies, *Fanny's First Play* exists in several states of the private printing. The copy shown here would seem to belong to the third: the first and second, both dated 1911 but otherwise distinguishable, were ready on March 25 and June 10, the third on February 5, 1912, and the fourth on August 25, 1913. The description "rough proof — unpublished" appears not on the title-page but on the wrapper of the third state. Shaw's name was entirely omitted, as part of the game of secrecy.

The difficulty in distinguishing between proof that was printed primarily for rehearsal purposes and proof that is merely a part of the process of publication is well illustrated by *Fanny's First Play*. In the first state of the private printing the text is numbered 1–81; in the copy shown

here, which was printed nearly a year after the play opened, it begins on page 103, an indication that *Misalliance* was already in Shaw's mind as the opening play in the pending volume.

Eugène Brieux. *Three Plays. With a preface by Bernard Shaw. The English Versions by Mrs. Bernard Shaw, St. John Hankin and John Pollock.* London: A. C. Fifield, 1911.

The influence of Shaw upon other dramatists, his contemporaries and his juniors, was strongly felt before World War I. Among English playwrights the effect of his example and to a lesser extent of his technique can be traced in the work of John Galsworthy, Granville-Barker, St. John Hankin, Stanley Houghton, Somerset Maugham. On the Continent he influenced Brieux, Hauptmann, and Wedekind.

Shaw himself was so much impressed by the work of Eugène Brieux (1858–1932) that he supplied an enthusiastic "Preface" for *Three Plays,* shown here. The introduction had already been published in 1910 as a separate pamphlet entitled *Brieux: A Preface.* He began by calling the Frenchman "the most important dramatist West of Russia" on the European continent, now that Ibsen was dead. He further described him as the most notable French writer since Molière. In detail he showed why the problems Brieux treated and the frankness with which he treated them made him the hope of the Continental theater. It is to be observed that the translator of *Maternity,* the first of *Three Plays,* was Mrs. Bernard Shaw.

Charlotte Frances Shaw. *Selected Passages from the Works of Bernard Shaw.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1912.

The whole-hearted devotion which Mrs. Shaw brought to forty-five years of married life gave the playwright the perfect atmosphere in which to work at his best. The couple were congenial in their intellectual pursuits, in their dedication to work, and in their interest in travel. In 1912 Mrs. Shaw made the volume of selections shown here from the playwright's published work and from private letters. This copy was inscribed by both the Shaws and presented in 1937 to Viscount Carlow, the Air Commodore who died in 1944. In his inscription Shaw called the volume facetiously "This Child's Guide to Knowledge (Modern Style)."

Bernard Shaw. *Androcles and the Lion, Overruled, Pygmalion.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1916.

Though the volume containing *Androcles, Overruled,* and *Pygmalion* appeared in 1916, all three plays had been written before World War I began. They are full of high spirits and lightness of touch that in no way anticipate the darkness of the time in which they were published, when the personal unpopularity of the playwright was one of the minor manifestations of the tragic confusions of the world.

Overruled, a one-act farce dealing with male and female flirts, was written in 1912 and presented that October under Shaw's direction at the Duke of York's Theatre, London, on a bill with playlets by Barrie and Pinero. It is the merest trifle in comparison with its companions *Androcles* and *Pygmalion,* which are among Shaw's happiest creations.

This copy of the collection was presented by Shaw on June 30, 1916, to one of his most distinguished Irish contemporaries, George Russell (1867–1935), who wrote poetry under the pen name of A. E.

Bernard Shaw. *Androcles and the Lion. A Fable Play. Rough Proof — Unpublished.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1913.

In *Androcles and the Lion,* which was written early in 1912, Shaw enjoyed mixing what to another might have seemed incompatible ingredients. "Here I take historical tragedy at its deepest: a point reached only by religious persecution," he explained. "And the thing is done as if it were a revue or a Christmas pantomime. . . ." Using the Christians and the Roman Empire to illustrate the plight of the individual in protest against the established order, he insisted that "my martyrs are the martyrs of all time and my persecutors the persecutors of all time."

As a warning to English critics not to write damaging reviews of his plays and reduce their chance for Continental performance, Shaw permitted *Androcles* to be presented for the first time in Berlin in German on November 25, 1912, nearly a year ahead of its first English production at the St. James's Theatre, London, on September 1, 1913. The private printing, of which

a copy is shown here, was available, it is believed, in March 1913. *Androcles* was the first Shaw play to be filmed in Hollywood.

[Bernard Shaw] *Pygmalion: a Play in Five Acts: by a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1913.

Though *Pygmalion* was not written until 1912–1913, Shaw had harbored a desire ever since the late 1890's to write a play for Mrs. Patrick Campbell in which she should appear as "an east-end dona in an apron and three orange and red ostrich feathers." Stella Campbell (1865–1940) was possibly the most beautiful, the most charming, the most regal actress of her generation. When he finally completed the play about the "rapscallionly flower girl," he was afraid at first to offer it to her. But take it she did and with it the author's heart. "I was in love for nearly 35 hours," he confessed at once to Ellen Terry, "and for that be all her sins forgiven her!" Once again he took to his pen and produced another extraordinary series of love-letters.

One of Mrs. Campbell's sins was the difficulty she gave her leading men. It required much ingenuity on Shaw's part to get Beerbohm Tree to play Higgins. In the meantime, as a second lesson to London critics, the playwright allowed *Pygmalion* to be first produced in German. The production in Vienna on October 16, 1913, was shortly followed by another in Berlin.

Shaw directed the play for the English production, using the 1913 rehearsal text, of which a copy is shown here. There is said to be a 1912 private printing which exists in only four copies. The playwright hid himself, apparently for the first time, behind the anonymity of Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, of which he had become a member in 1911. By concealing his connection with *Pygmalion* behind a dignified pen name, he hoped he could lead people to expect Mrs. Campbell in the classical role of Galatea.

The copy on exhibit was actually used in rehearsal and contains pencil notes for stage business largely for the part of Higgins. Perhaps it was used by the creator of the role, Beerbohm Tree. The first English production opened at His Majesty's Theatre, London, on April 11, 1914, and ran for one hundred eighteen performances. The closing was hastened by the catastrophic events of July 1914.

Bernard Shaw. *Pygmalion: a Romance in Five Acts. Rough Proof — Unpublished.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1914.

In the 1914 rehearsal copies, of which an example is shown here, Shaw dropped his pseudonymity. He gave the play a descriptive sub-title, "a romance." The legend "rough proof — unpublished," which had before been only on the wrapper, was placed on the title-page. He added enough new material in dialogue and stage directions to increase the text by five printed pages.

This copy of the private printing dated 1914 was used in rehearsal. It contains marginal annotations and on the verso of the last page of text a list of Eliza's pronunciation, partly in Shaw's hand. The same printing was used by Mrs. Patrick Campbell on her American tour of that year.

Bernard Shaw. "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts," Illustrations by May Wilson Preston, *Everybody's Magazine*, XXXI, no. 5 (November 1914)

The first complete publication of *Pygmalion* was in *Everybody's Magazine*, New York, for November 1914, which was put on sale on October 23. It also appeared — on the 20th of the preceding month — in the November and December numbers of *Nash's Magazine*, London. *Everybody's Magazine* bound up those pages of its November number containing *Pygmalion* in variant cloth and leather bindings, possibly for some promotional enterprise. The two examples shown here might therefore be considered as the first edition of *Pygmalion* in hard covers.

The story of Pygmalion and Galatea brought up to date by Shaw has had an enduring popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. Shaw's interest in phonetics — in his will he left his considerable fortune for the purpose of reforming English spelling — provided him with a delightfully comic surface beneath which to conceal the social meaning of the play: that what are accepted as natural and insurmountable social differences are in reality matters of training. The essential difference between a flower girl and a duchess, points out Eliza Doolittle, the subject of Professor Higgins' experiment in social equalizing, lies in the way she is treated.

The ending of the current musical success, *My Fair Lady*, would not have won Shaw's approval. Because Beerbohm Tree insisted on showing the audience that *his* Professor Higgins loved Eliza, the playwright wrote an entertaining narrative epilogue published with the play

in 1916. Here he insisted that Eliza would have married Freddy Eynsford Hill, whom she could dominate. As for Higgins, "Galatea never does quite like Pygmalion: his relation to her is too godlike to be altogether agreeable."

Bernard Shaw. Autograph postcard to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated "Touring in Yorkshire," July 23, 1921.

The desire to make a musical of the story of Eliza Doolittle is not new. Thirty-five years before *My Fair Lady* took New York by storm, Shaw heard that Ferenc Lehár (1870–1948), the Hungarian composer whose *Merry Widow* had set the world singing, was planning to make "an operetta of Pygmalion." On this postcard the playwright asked Trebitsch to warn Lehár "that he cannot touch Pygmalion without infringing my copyright, and that I have no intention of allowing the history of The Chocolate Soldier to be repeated." Lehár did not go on with the project.

Bernard Shaw. "Common Sense about the War," *New Statesman: Special War Supplement*, IV, no. 84 (November 14, 1914)

The emotional atmosphere in England during the early months of World War I, represented at its best by the 1914 sonnets of Rupert Brooke, was not conducive to self-criticism, rationalism, or plain speaking. These are the qualities, stiffened by careful study and observation of European power politics over many decades, which characterize Shaw's examination of the origins, ambitions, and actions of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente in *Common Sense about the War*. With an Irishman's "capacity for criticizing England with . . . detachment" and "with a certain slightly malicious taste for taking the conceit out of her," he brought to the "Special War Supplement" of the *New Statesman*, shown here, a point of view which was unendurable to the English in the first three months of the War and many years in advance of the times. It was not pro-German but neither was it "my country right or wrong." The essay was also published in the New York *Times*.

The outcry against Shaw was so great that he was literally bracketed with the Triple Alliance among the enemies of England. His mail was swollen with vituperative letters. He was attacked by old friends like Henry Arthur Jones, H. G. Wells, and Arnold Bennett and asked to resign from the Dramatists' Club. His contribution to such a war charity as *King Albert's Book*, 1914, was refused. The use made by the Germans of *Common Sense about the War*, especially in stirring up the Arabs, did not improve his popularity. Nor did his continued plain speaking — about some aspects of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, for instance, and the hanging of Sir Roger Casement. His popularity went into eclipse: during the war years he produced no important new play and no important old one was revived.

Bernard Shaw. Printed postcard addressed to Herbert J. Allingham, signed but undated.

So great was the number of letters, abusive and appreciative, written to Shaw about *Common Sense about the War* that he was finally driven to acknowledging friendly communications with the printed postcard shown here. "It is the best I can do," the card reads, "and I rely on the same kindness that prompted the letters and resolutions to accept my thanks in this indiscriminate but very earnest form."

Bernard Shaw. *Peace Conference Hints*. London: Constable and Company Limited, 1919.

The latter part of *Common Sense about the War* was primarily concerned, in constructive fashion, with "the terms of the peace." Disillusioned with power politics as practised on both sides of the Channel, he insisted that "the moral cleaning-up after the war is far more important than the material restorations." He feared that the Peace Conference would be "a repetition of the Congress of Vienna: that is, a crowd of diplomatists will gather round the booty, and try to secure as much as they can as best they can for their respective States."

In *Peace Conference Hints* he pressed for a "League of Nations . . . a combination of States with settled responsible governments of the modern democratic type [differing] from an alliance by having a joint legislature and tribunal for enacting and administering a body of international

and supernational law." President Wilson he regarded as "the great man of a great hour . . . king by divine right of character and personality, in western Europe."

Bernard Shaw. *Heartbreak House, Great Catherine, and Playlets of the War.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1919.

Shaw was keenly aware of the human disasters of World War I, as the preface, dated June 1919, to his next volume of plays, *Heartbreak House,* eloquently testifies. He understood the true meaning of the outcry against him: "Why, it may be asked, did I not write two plays about the war instead of two pamphlets on it? . . . When men are heroically dying for their country, it is not the time to shew their lovers and wives and fathers and mothers how they are being sacrificed to the blunders of boobies, the cupidity of capitalists, the ambition of conquerors, the electioneering of demagogues, the Pharisaism of patriots. . . ."

Though the first play in the volume, *Heartbreak House,* had been begun in 1913, it was not completed until the war was over. The last of the "playlets of the war," *Annajanska, The Bolshevik Empress,* was written in 1917. This "bravura piece," as the author calls it, was intended to give the actress Lillah McCarthy twenty minutes of farce as a revolutionary Grand Duchess who becomes the Bolshevik Empress. It was produced on a vaudeville program at the Coliseum in London on January 21, 1918, and ran for twelve performances. Shaw was the director.

The copy of *Heartbreak House,* shown here, was presented by Shaw on October 10, 1919, to Ellen Terry "(lest she forget him)." Though most of the first preface is unopened, there are marginal scorings in the last few pages and occasionally beside the plays. The section of the volume containing *Heartbreak House* is incorrectly bound up — pages 1–80, 97–110, 81–96. The confusion wrung a pencil scribble from the actress: "—— What does this mean? a page lost? or —— what?"

Bernard Shaw. *Great Catherine: a Thumbnail Sketch of Court Life in St. Petersburgh in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1914.

To provide Gertrude Kingston, the actress who had played in *How He Lied to Her Husband,* with a regal part in a modern comedy, Shaw created *Great Catherine,* a "harmless tomfoolery" dealing with "the Catherine whose gallantries provide some of the lightest pages of history." The playlet in four scenes was pre-war, having been written in 1913 and presented at the Vaudeville Theatre, London, on November 18. Directed by Shaw, it ran for thirty performances.

This copy of the private printing carries the information "rough proof — unpublished" only on the cover. It contains "The Author's Apology for Great Catherine," which here is not a third so long as it is in the published version. It also carries a notice of the first performance. From these details it would appear that the private printing was more a state of proof for the *Heartbreak House* volume than for rehearsal purposes.

Bernard Shaw. *O'Flaherty V. C. An Interlude in the Great War of 1914. Rough Proof — Unpublished.*

Though Shaw described *O'Flaherty V. C.,* written in 1915, as a "recruiting poster in disguise," the authorities at Dublin Castle considered it unsuitable for production when the Abbey Theatre planned to present it in November 1915. It is ironical that the first performance was by the officers of the 40th Squadron, R. F. C., on the Western Front at Treizennes, Belgium, on February 17, 1917. The first professional performance was in New York in June 1920. It has never been publicly performed in London, though it was privately presented by the Stage Society in December 1920 when Shaw acted as director.

The "slightly malicious taste for taking the conceit" out of England must have suggested to Shaw the humor that could be derived from the recruiting of Irish troops for the English army. In *Common Sense about the War* he had pointed out Kitchener's "mistake . . . in rebuking the Irish volunteers for not rallying faster to the defence of 'their country.' They do not regard it as their country yet. He should have asked them to come forward as usual and help poor old England through a stiff fight." O'Flaherty's mother thinks he has joined the French and the Russians to fight the English. But O'Flaherty has enlisted to escape the dullness of life in Ireland. The same dichotomy might be said to have existed in Shaw himself.

The private printing carries no imprint. It may have been printed for the abandoned production of the Abbey Theatre, and it may have been used for the performance on the Western Front.

It was *O'Flaherty V. C.* that Shaw read for his first broadcast on November 20, 1924.

[Bernard Shaw] *The Inca of Perusalem. An Almost Historical Comedietta. By a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. Rough Proof — Unpublished.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1915.

In *The Inca of Perusalem* Shaw extracted some rather mild fun from the characteristics of the Kaiser as a man and as a symbol of Prussian militarism. Like *O'Flaherty V. C.* it ran into trouble: the Lord Chamberlain objected to references to members of the royal family.

The playlet, directed by John Drinkwater, was presented at the Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, on October 7, 1916. It was also given on February 17, 1917, by the men of the 40th Squadron, R. F. C., at the time that the officers gave *O'Flaherty V. C.* Under the direction of Shaw himself it was performed by the Pioneer Players in London on December 16, 1917. It was not publicly presented in London until May 30, 1949, when it was used as a curtain raiser for *Candida.*

Rehearsal copies, like the one shown here, are said not to have been used for the Birmingham or first London performances, though perhaps intended for them. Again Shaw concealed himself behind the pseudonym, "a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature." This copy was presented by Shaw on April 4, 1917, to Michael Sherbrooke, who, as one of Vedrenne and Barker's actors, had made a specialty of the role of Major Petkov in revivals of *Arms and the Man* and had also played in revivals of *Man and Superman* and *The Doctor's Dilemma.*

[Bernard Shaw] *Augustus Does His Bit: an Unofficial Dramatic Tract on War Saving and Cognate Topics. By the Author of The Inca of Perusalem. Rough Proof — Unpublished.*

Written in 1916, this satire on incompetency and aristocratic connections as qualifications for military commissions lacks the good humor of the other playlets of the war. Though critics of Shaw condemned the play for lack of sportsmanship, the War Office is said to have been pleased at the attack on stupidity and arrogance in its personnel. Though it was directed by Shaw and presented by the Stage Society in London on January 21 and 22, 1917, it has apparently never been given publicly in England. Its first public presentation was on March 12, 1919, in New York, where it ran for one hundred eleven performances.

The rehearsal copies, of which an example is shown here, were ready on October 10, 1916. They bore no imprint. Shaw used neither his name nor a pen name.

The Garrick Theatre, New York City. The Theatre Guild, Inc., presents *"Heartbreak House." A Fantasia in the Russian Manner upon English Themes,* by Bernard Shaw.

Heartbreak House is the outcome of Shaw's desire to write a play "in the Tchekov manner," and, like Tchekov's own plays, it has pleased some of his admirers and bewildered others. Much of the bewilderment was caused by Shaw's growing lack of interest in the traditions of realism and by his use of the fantastic, which was to become dominant in his later plays. No other play took him so long to write — from 1913 to 1919. No other was written at a time of such personal isolation. He himself regarded the play as "not to be explained"; he felt "extraordinarily reluctant to let it go out of my hands." It was his major effort of the war years.

The conception of *Heartbreak House* began "with an atmosphere," the atmosphere of "cultured, leisured Europe before the war." The playwright's authorized biographer, Archibald Henderson, calls it "the tragi-comedy of the débacle of British society, character and leadership in the face of an imminent world cataclysm." It ends with an air-raid that kills some of the characters and leaves the others waiting — with pleasurable excitement — for the next attack.

The play was produced in New York by the Theatre Guild on November 10, 1920, nearly a year before the first London presentation — under Shaw's direction — on October 18, 1921. The English production ran for sixty-three performances, only half as many as the American, and was withdrawn for financial reasons.

From the Theatre Collection.

Bernard Shaw. Typewritten letter to Mrs. W. L. Courtney, dated 10 Adelphi Terrace [London] June 21, 1919.

Shaw seized every opportunity to express strong opinions on certain subjects of secondary importance partly because he felt strongly about them and partly because he liked stirring things up.

He was a teetotaler "because my family has already paid the Shaw debt to the distilling industry so munificently. . . ." He did not smoke as he did not regard "the blackening of one's lungs . . . a necessary part of manliness."

He was the champion of animals. He derided emphasis on sport and abominated killing in the name of sport. A violent vegetarian, he regarded meat-eaters as peripatetic "morgues." He was equally opposed to the use of animals in scientific experiments. Pavlov, the Russian physiologist, was his *bête-noir*. Vivisection he looked upon as self-indulgence by a profession that made large claims and produced small results.

The extent to which his fanaticism could drive him is illustrated by this letter on rabies written to Janet Elizabeth Courtney, wife of William Leonard Courtney, editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, and herself a writer. He attacked all arguments against muzzling dogs and ended with an admission about his own unmuzzled pet: "He is the village terror and I cherish secret hopes that someone will shoot him. . . ."

Bernard Shaw. *Back to Methuselah. A Metabiological Pentateuch.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1921.

Back to Methuselah, written during the years 1918 to 1920, was Shaw's detailed development of the theory of Creative Evolution which he had first stated more briefly in *Man and Superman*. In the evolution of a superior order of beings humanity must learn to lengthen its life span as an inducement to more rational behavior. Its present life span is so brief that it is tempted to the sort of conduct that will lead to extermination. The five parts that make up a superplay of eight full-length acts start in the year 4004 B.C. and close in 31,920 A.D. The span is sufficient for Shaw to demonstrate that mankind has learned nothing from Cain and Abel to Asquith and Lloyd George. Obviously the fantastic elements are dominant.

More extended in action and philosophy than any other Shaw play, *Back to Methuselah* had to be performed as a cycle. In the first production, by the Theatre Guild in New York beginning February 27, 1922, Parts I and II were given together, as were Parts III and IV, and Part V was given separately. When it was produced in Birmingham, England, beginning October 9, 1923, and in London, beginning February 18, 1924, each part was given as a separate performance.

The copy of *Back to Methuselah* shown here was presented by Shaw on December 8, 1921, to Sir Arthur Beverley Baxter "in grateful remembrance of his interposition on behalf of Heartbreak House." The recipient is a well-known drama critic and newspaper man.

Bernard Shaw. *Saint Joan: a Chronicle Play.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1924.

The finest of Shaw's studies of the religious temperament — widely considered his masterpiece — is *St. Joan*. For years he had wanted to write a play on an historical religious figure, especially Mohammed. Mrs. Shaw suggested the Maid of Orleans, who had been canonized in 1920. For his facts he relied on contemporary reports of the trial and of the rehabilitation, which he declared he had only to "arrange . . . for the stage." Before he began writing, he had decided upon Sybil — later Dame Sybil — Thorndike as the actress to play St. Joan. The play, which turns back towards the realistic tradition, was written in 1923 when the author was sixty-seven years old. Directed by Philip Moeller, it was first presented by the Theatre Guild in New York on December 28, 1933, with Winifred Lenihan as the Maid, and ran for two hundred fourteen performances.

The rehearsal copy shown here, presented by Shaw to Clement Shorter, the editor and scholar, on March 26, 1924, is the second state of the private printing; the first had been ready in 1923. The second state bears the legend "rough proof — unpublished" only on the wrapper. The text of the two states differs. That of the 1924 published version is more than two pages longer than the second state of the private printing.

New Theatre [London] Programme for March 26, 1924. *Saint Joan: A Chronicle Play in Six Scenes and an Epilogue,* by Bernard Shaw.

The first English production of *Saint Joan* was directed by Bernard Shaw himself and Lewis Casson, the husband of Sybil Thorndike. It opened on March 26, 1924, and ran for two hundred forty-four performances. The programme carries a "note by the author," to which this copy is

open. Here Shaw pointed out at length "how far the play . . . will depart from historical facts" and criticized the hostile accounts of the trial given by Mark Twain and Andrew Lang.

Like all of Shaw's religious heroes, the Maid is an individual in protest against the established order. Yet the playwright is so just in his balancing of the forces involved that the play is acceptable to both Protestants and Roman Catholics. "There were no villains in the tragedy of Joan's death," he insisted. "She was entirely innocent: but her excommunication was a genuine act of faith and piety; and her execution followed inevitably."

Bernard Shaw. Letter to Viscount Samuel in longhand, Pitman shorthand and typewriting, undated.

The reception given *Saint Joan* left no doubt of Shaw's international preëminence. In the years that followed he was singled out for honors of all sorts. When the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to him in 1925, he at first refused it, likening the prize of £7000 to a "lifebelt thrown to a swimmer who has already reached the shore in safety." To avoid an awkward situation, however, he accepted and instantaneously presented the money to the Anglo-Swedish Literary Alliance, which had been created to receive it and "to encourage intercourse and understanding between Sweden and the British Isles." His private joke was that he had been rewarded for not publishing anything in 1925.

Shaw is said to have been offered a peerage by the Labour Party in recognition of his services as a Fabian. He turned the recognition aside by saying that he could not afford to accept a dukedom and the Government could not afford to offer him less. Apparently he was sounded out more than once as to his acceptance of the Order of Merit, an honor of high rank and exclusiveness.

Once it was Viscount Samuel who unofficially approached him on the subject. The playwright replied, in the letter of which a rough draft is shown here, that he did not object to nonhereditary "red ribbons, orders, uniforms, titles" for the deserving. Yet he could not "admit that the Order of Merit in dramatic poetry can be determined by any mortal king or government." Though he was aware of the honor proposed, he was equally aware that genius needed no official recognition. "Either I shall be remembered as a playwright as long as Aristophanes and rank with Shakespeare and Molière, or I shall be a forgotten clown before the end of the century," he declared. "I dare not anticipate the verdict of history."

(To be continued)

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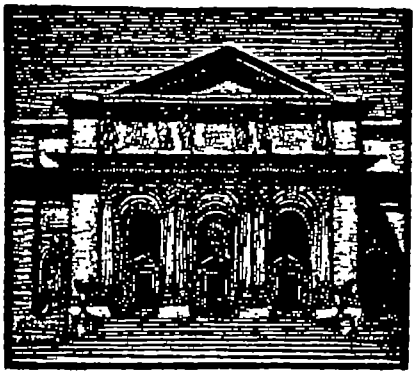

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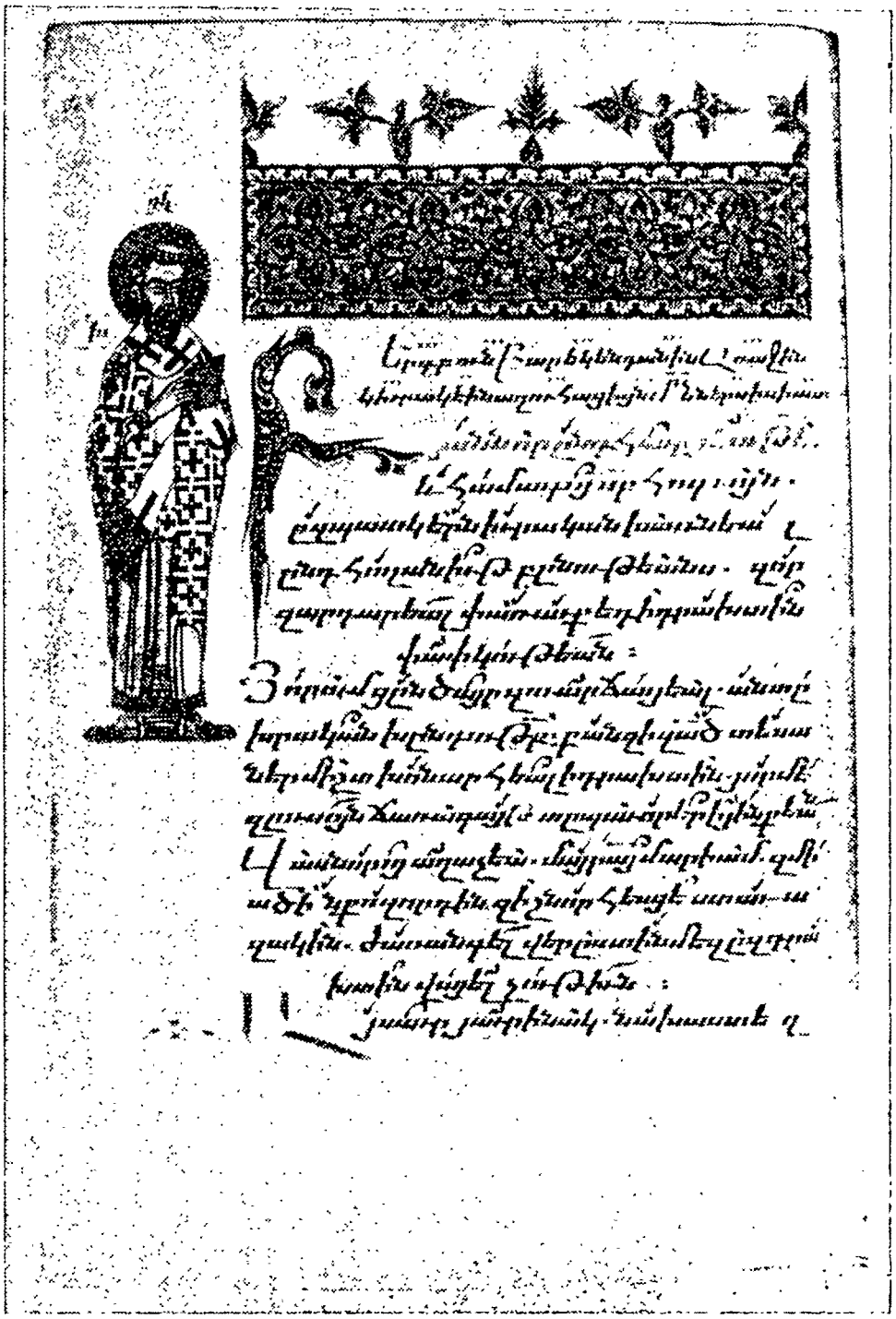

MS page of a Service Book of the Armenian Church, 1489

Spencer Collection

Front Matter

THE EDITORS of a commercial magazine in the middle of the last century, the New York *Galaxy,* faced rather different financial and literary problems from those of an institutional Bulletin in the middle of this one. Yet we must confess to some twinges while editing the pair of articles by Dr. Justus Pearson (beginning this month) on the editing of the *Galaxy.* At one stage the Church brothers felt driven to conduct a "never-ending" search for contributors; at another they were forced to cry out, "What can a poor devil of an editor do with more MSS than he can possibly print?" In our experience these two stages can occur almost next door to each other. Expected MSS fail to come in, or fail to stand up; unexpected ones descend like hail.

What touches us closest in the *Galaxy* correspondence is the struggle over alterations. Our turn of the screw has been to compel author Pearson himself to do his own editing and condense a treatise of many hundred pages into a two-part essay. Pearson's original job was itself a big order of condensation, winnowing the wheat from the Library's collection of "about 1,300 letters, from more than 500 individuals" (note 1).

Having helped Pearson cut out many of his choicest quotations, we find a bit of space here to recover two or three of them: the poet Helen Hunt declaring that she would "of course, rather get $5.00 for a sonnet than not sell it at all" but protesting against "sending my verses with a price ticket around their necks" . . . J. Brander Matthews exclaiming unhappily: "If the article does not suit you now, why was it accepted by the Galaxy over three years ago" . . . William D. O'Connor successfully urging the Church brothers in 1866 to give the people what they are clamoring for, Walt Whitman — whose work is selling "in the teeth of the generally hostile notice of the press."

What Shaw Would Have Said

In the concluding installment of Dr. Gordan's catalogue of the Shaw Exhibition we find Shaw emending the text of his *Geneva: A Fancied Page of History* to keep up with the evolution of Mussolini. But we find him hotly resisting a manager-producer's emendation of his directions for *The Apple Cart* with "a lot of scandalous business [including] a bed on the stage." Today's audiences take the scene on Orinthia's bed, as in the current Broadway production, to be a natural token of Shaw's modernity. Would Shaw, who *might* have lived so long, have accepted the London *Shavian's* acceptance of the *New Republic's* acceptance of this "hokum" as "good clean fun"?

Apropos, our back-cover listing of the Shaw exhibition as "in honor of the author of *My Fair Lady,*" intended half whimsically, has drawn a rebuke from the *Shavian's* editor, Eric J. Batson: "I hate to think what he'd have said if he'd ever heard himself called 'the author of *The Chocolate Soldier*'!"

Scrolls and Scriptures

"The Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls" and of a decade of published discussion of their discovery and commentary on their texts is told in photographs, facsimiles, and title pages in a current exhibition arranged by the Library's Jewish Division in the Second Floor Gallery.

This Library owns not so much as a crumb of the newfound scroll fragments — only the books *about* them — but an-

other current exhibition, "The Book of the Orient," in the Main Lobby cases, reminds us of some of the kinds of scriptural scrolls and volumes it does possess. Included in this choice selection of illuminated manuscripts and illustrated books from the Far and Near East are an early 13th-century Hebrew Pentateuch, written in the Ancient Samaritan characters; an 11th-century Chinese wood block used to print a Buddhist prayer-book; an 18th-century Coptic manuscript of the Four Gospels from Ethiopia; an Ottoman translation of the *Shah Namah* or Book of Kings; and a 15th-century Armenian Service Book, from which we have chosen a page for our May frontispiece.

Altogether this seems an excellent time for us to print the text of last winter's panel discussion of "The Dead Sea Scrolls" which originated in our Donnell Library Center and was recently broadcast during the spring Book Festival. We have been looking for an occasion to publish a sample of the popular and often pithy Monday evening symposiums in Donnell auditorium where "Readers Meet Writers." This one, on a subject of "enormous" current interest as the panelists agree, is a good representative example — if any single selection can be.

The winter series began with "Shakespeare Today," treated by three kinds of Shakespeareans, a biographer, a novelist, and a pundit (Redmond O'Hanlon); and then came two Johnson and Boswell scholars on "Boswell and Johnson": both programs were moderated by the critic Maurice Dolbier. The "Scrolls" discussion followed, with two experts and a professor of "communication arts" who sought to stump the experts. (When the first copy of this *Bulletin* comes from the press, we shall fold it open at page 238 and slip it into a corner of the exhibit on the Second Floor.) The series closed with four kinds of musicians — a composer, a music librarian, a biographer of musicians, and the editor of *Down Beat Magazine* — harmonizing on "Music and Musicians."

A second series in February and March brought still other kinds of authors and author-critics together to talk of "Modern Literature: China, India, Japan"; "Writers in the Family" (on this panel two McGiverns, two Cloetes, and a Van Doren); "Mystery Writers of America"; and "The Neglected Novel." As these Monday evenings gathered momentum, audience participation increased so that written questions had to be asked for, to save time. And books that got attention on the program were in such demand that arrangements were made for a sales rack from which individuals could purchase, for example, paperbound Shakespeares, for their own libraries.

Last month we interviewed Miss Katherine O'Brien, Donnell Librarian, for her rationale of this programming. For one thing, she explained, Donnell doesn't want to be "typed" as a library interested only in the theatre. "The programs are meant to reach the average reader — not the intellectual, not the specialist." Hence the variety of topics, to attract various strata of library users. "True," said Miss O'Brien, "Donnell's five thousand readers a day have about five thousand different interests. But a topic like 'Mystery Writers' will appeal to a large spread of readers; a topic like the Dead Sea scrolls has the appeal of timely importance." From the Library's point of view, she said, "perhaps the 'Neglected Novel' program was the most important, since it asked a question, 'Why doesn't a fine book become a best seller?' that promoted literature for library users." (This was discussed by two critics, a publisher's editor, and an unneglected novelist, B. J. Chute.) "But the programs are not slanted at improving levels of reading; reading at all levels

is felt to be worthwhile and to deserve lively treatment."

Pride of America

Authors themselves are evidently glad to be empaneled to speak to readers directly as well as through print. We are aware that many an author anxiously or hopefully follows his published work into the Library to see how it will fare — sometimes even before it has been unwrapped, let alone catalogued and shelved.

Last year one visiting author was so delighted with the Library's awareness of his writings that he made matter for his next book out of the visit, devoting a chapter to The New York Public Library as "the pride of America." The visitor was Valentine Chernovetzky, a Yiddish Argentinian journalist. He was impressed by our "great building," by its "simple inscription — 'Public Library,'" and by the thousands of people going in and out. But he was very personally impressed when he went into the Jewish Division and tried his fortune by asking "for their data on a 'certain' writer, V. Chernovetzky. Immediately," he reports, "the girl who was attending me took out a card and found all the data, including his whole journalistic and literary activity." He then, of course, introduced himself — and tried out "the system" on "eighteen more writers. She brought me data on each!"

He gave his new book the glad title *America Du Bist Grois* (America, You Are Great) (Buenos Aires 1956).

Wilde Enthusiasm

"These beautiful volumes . . . so admirably produced and edited . . . are a notable contribution to the literature of the English theatre. They give to the world not only unknown scenes and sparkling lines by Wilde, but a fine opportunity to study his methods of composition and revision." Thus *TLS* March 1, p. 136, reviewing *The Importance of Being Earnest . . . as Originally Written by Oscar Wilde,* ed. Dr. Sarah A. Dickson, Arents Publication No. 6 (2 vols. boxed $20).

Old Fi

In February the Music Division commemorated the 110th birthday of Thomas Alva Edison by holding a concert of Edison's greatest "Diamond Disc Recordings" or "Re-Creations," to use the inventor's own term for them. Guests of honor were several celebrated artists of early recording days, including Anna Case, one of Edison's favorite sopranos. Miss Case was a pioneer of tone-test recitals in which she stood beside the Disc and sang duets with her recorded voice to demonstrate the fidelity of the "Re-Creation."

Vowles is Willing

Professor Richard B. Vowles, whose *Dramatic Theory: A Bibliography* is now out of print, replies that he is more than happy to respond to the inner hunger of grateful readers (see March issue, p. 112). He plans to take about a year for thorough revision and augmentation of his lists and he invites suggestions.

Use and Additions April 1957

Visitors entering the Central Building, 276,164; readers in the Reference Department, 100,834; volumes consulted, 277,068. Volumes issued by the Circulation Department for home use, 1,150,207.

Received through purchase and gift

	Circ. Dept. Gift	Ref. Dept. Gift	Purchase and Gift
Volumes	584	4,078	41,951
Pamphlets	44	8,668	10,086
Maps	---	158	176
Prints	---	3	3
Misc.	97	---	97

BULLETIN OF THE
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MAY 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 5

Story of a Magazine: New York's *Galaxy* 1866-1878

A study based on the unpublished correspondence of its editors

By JUSTUS R. PEARSON, JR.
Emory University

PART I

IN the years immediately following the Civil War the long-standing literary rivalry between New York and Boston took on new proportions. At that time Boston's chief literary periodicals were looked upon by many as the best in the country, for they contained the work of New England's leading writers, men and women whose excellences were generally acknowledged. It was a common opinion that Boston's *North American Review* was the leader among the quarterlies, and that among the monthlies her *Atlantic* was the best. But in certain quarters the need was felt, after the war, for a magazine which should break the monopoly of Boston and especially of the *Atlantic*. Therefore when a new magazine, the *Galaxy*, began to appear in New York after April, 1866, it seemed to some to be New York's answer to Boston's claims to superiority. The *Galaxy* was edited by two New Yorkers, William Conant Church and his brother, Francis Pharcellus Church, and held a place among the first rank of magazines for a dozen years before it fell victim to the hard times. The following account, based substantially on manuscript letters and records, traces both the gathering together of the literary materials which filled the *Galaxy* and the wayward course of the

magazine's finances.[1] Behind the quiet pages of this almost-forgotten magazine lie many stories of personal hopes and ambitions, successes and frustrations. In studying the varied efforts which go into the making of a literary magazine, the *Galaxy's* dozen years offer a manageable span, in which literary and business plans can be observed in their formation, their coming to maturity, and their eventual defeat.

Writers in both the public press and private letters were glad to see the fresh competition of the *Galaxy* rising outside Boston. The *Nation*, New York's year-old weekly, reported (April 26, 1866) that it believed the new magazine grew out of two considerations, "a 'divine discontent' which prevails in these parts with regard to the *Atlantic Monthly*," and "the feeling, also widely diffused, that New York ought to have a monthly of its own, no matter how good the Boston magazines may be." The *Nation's* view, reflecting something of the local partisan spirit of New York, was a typical one. Both pride and resentment were prompting New Yorkers to wish the new magazine well — pride in local literary efforts, and resentment of Boston's attitude of exclusiveness.

Individual writers elsewhere were equally anxious to adjust Boston's view of herself. The Philadelphia author, Rebecca Harding Davis, privately criticized Boston for its regional isolation, and wrote to Frank Church (June 4, 1866) that she and her husband had been "interested in the *Galaxy* from the first issue, hoping to find in it that which would fill a vacuum in our literature more apparent every year — a national magazine — in which the current of thought in every section could find expression as thoroughly as that of New England does in the *Atlantic*." From near Winchester, Virginia, John Esten Cooke widened the area of criticism to include even established New York magazines (March 26, 1866): "I am glad to hear of your proposed periodical for which I think there is ample room — I have never known a period in American letters when there was so plain and unmistakable a *demand* for a good magazine — *Harper* being sectional and dull — the *Atlantic* a New England coterie altogether." These two writers, Cooke and Mrs. Davis, were hinting at the possibility of a national magazine. Thus the editors of the *Galaxy* had before them not only the challenge to produce a

[1] All letters, manuscript notes, and other documents referred to in this work are in the William Conant Church Collection, in the Manuscript Division of The New York Public Library. This collection includes about 1,380 letters, from more than 500 individuals. I am gratful to Mr. Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts, and his assistants for their generous help in making these papers available for my use. I wish to acknowledge also my indebtedness to Professor Lewis Leary, of Columbia University, and to Dr. David V. Erdman and Dr. Gerald C. McDonald of The New York Public Library, for their assistance in the publication of the present work. More detailed documentation and discussion than is given herein may be found in my dissertation, *"The Galaxy," 1866–1878*, published on microfilm (Ann Arbor: J. W. Edwards Company, 1955).

fine magazine for New York, fit to compete with Boston's *Atlantic*, but also the call to publish a periodical which should fill a national need. It was an opportunity to be succeeded in only by careful labor and good fortune.

The Church brothers, William and Frank, though young men when they undertook to edit and publish the new *Galaxy*, were not wholly inexperienced in the work. They were sons of Pharcellus Church, a clergyman from Rochester, New York, who moved his family to New York City in 1853 and became, in 1856, editor there of a Baptist newspaper, the *Chronicle*. The older son, William, assisted his father for five years in editing this paper; Frank attended Columbia College until he graduated in 1859. For a brief time before the war, William was publisher of the New York *Sun*, and during the early years of the war served as a correspondent for the New York *Times*. Frank's experience was limited in these early years to some work for the *Chronicle*. In 1863, however, the brothers began a partnership to publish the *Army and Navy Journal*, a weekly paper for men in military service, and it was the success of this venture, in part, which emboldened them to try their hands three years later at a literary magazine.[2] Credit for the *Galaxy's* accomplishments belongs to the Church brothers jointly. They worked together efficiently and harmoniously, sharing the editorial responsibilities of the magazine, and sharing also much of the routine labor of correspondence with contributors and the preparation of accepted manuscripts for the printer. William Church was occupied part of the time with his duties as editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*, published from the same offices; Frank gave his full editorial attention to the *Galaxy*. The exact division of their labors for the latter magazine lies permanently hidden behind the formal title, "The Editor." No suggestion remains in print or in manuscript letters that one brother was in reality editor-in-chief while the other served as an assistant or managing editor. They shared equally the direction of the *Galaxy*, and worked together for twelve years without disagreement over policy.[3]

[2] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines* (New York, Appleton; Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1930–38) II, 547, lists William Church alone as editor of the *Journal*. Donald N. Bigelow, in his *William Conant Church and the Army and Navy Journal* (New York, Columbia University Press 1952) 121–122, says that Frank Church controlled two-fifths of the interest in the *Journal*, was a proprietor of it in partnership with his brother from 1863 to 1906, and was an editor until 1874.

[3] Whether Frank Church remained an active editor until the magazine's end cannot be settled with the evidence available. Mott, *History*, III, 362 (note) states that Frank appears to have dropped out of the management some months before the end. One contributor (James T. McKay, October 15, 1877) wrote to William Church: "I am sorry to miss my former friendly correspondent, Mr. F. P. Church, from the magazine." Frank later joined the staff of the New York *Sun*, where he wrote (anonymously) the well-known Christmas editorial, "Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus."

Despite the New York-Boston rivalry, the editors did not look primarily to New Yorkers in selecting their contributors for the magazine, nor was a New England background a barrier to a writer's being accepted. Roughly one-third of the contributors came from New York, another third came from New England, and the remaining third had their ties outside the northeastern section of the country.[4] The southern and central states were well represented, and a few of the contributors lived in the west. In contrast to this, it has been estimated that during the first fifteen years of the *Atlantic* about two-thirds of its contributors were from New England, and more than two-thirds of its pages were filled with their writings.[5] The *Galaxy* did not limit its interest chiefly to one section of the United States; moreover, toward the close of its career the New York magazine was receiving manuscripts from all over the country. It was probably more representative of the country at large than its Boston rival. But the *Galaxy* was nevertheless glad, from the beginning, to print contributions from New England as well as from writers who lived south and west of New York. The editors, seeking "light" and "fresh" articles, showed no sectional bias in their efforts to secure contributions by capable writers.

The Search for Contributions

MANUSCRIPTS came to the *Galaxy* largely by invitation, the editors soliciting contributions by private letters and, for a time, by notices directed to the public at large. As might be expected, solicitation was heavier in the first year or two than in later years; after the magazine was well known and had established its reputation for good articles, writers offered their manuscripts freely. Eventually, however, the editors found they could use but a small portion of the manuscripts which were accumulating in their files. They were obliged to become more and more adamant in their rejections, until a point was reached where contributions from writers who were once sought

[4] Of some 539 contributors who signed their names, I have been able to identify 340, or about two-thirds of the total. Selecting from this group of 340 those writers who have had their biographies recorded in the standard American reference works, a firm core of 260 contributors is available for comparisons. The *Galaxy* contributions written by these 260 authors account for 1,162 items out of a total of 2,049 signed items, or 57 per cent of the whole. The figures represent almost half of the roll of authors and more than half of the amount of material which appeared in the *Galaxy* in its twelve years. There were only 150 unsigned contributions.

[5] Mott, *History*, II, 495–496. See also James C. Austin, *Fields of the Atlantic Monthly: Letters to an Editor, 1861–70* (San Marino, California, The Huntington Library 1953) 43. Professor Austin estimates that, during the editorship of both Lowell and Fields (to 1870), 40 per cent of the most important contributors to the *Atlantic* made their homes in or near Boston, and another 20 per cent lived in New England. Of those writers who were from outside New England, only three contributed more than a dozen times before 1871. He concludes than an overwhelming proportion of the magazine was written in Boston and New England.

out had to be returned apologetically. These changes, coming over a period of years, may be followed in the *Galaxy's* files of correspondence.

The editors concentrated in two campaigns their early efforts to seek out articles by favored writers. The first array of invitations was sent during the months of January and February, 1866, some three months before the magazine appeared, and the second fell in the following May and June, the latter invitations often timed to arrive with a complimentary copy of the *Galaxy* fresh from the presses. Rose Terry, living near Hartford, Connecticut, was probably one of the first to be asked to contribute. She acknowledged on February 12 a letter from William Church dated January 20, and said it was the fifth such application for manuscripts she had received in two months. Her response promised nothing more than good wishes; nevertheless, a poem by her was printed in the second issue of the *Galaxy*, on May 15. Of this contributor, Harriet Prescott Spofford wrote (May 24) from Boston, after seeing the new magazine: "I was particularly pleased to meet once more with the name of Rose Terry, who, if I may say so, seemed to me in the old *Atlantic* days to be the best storyteller in our language." Donald Grant Mitchell ("Ik Marvel") wrote from his farm near New Haven on February 21 that other engagements would forbid his contributing at present, though he hoped to be able to do so at some future time. Caroline Chesebro, a popular writer of short stories, was addressed at Canandaigua, New York, and replied (February 21) that she would not be able to send anything as early as the first of March, apparently the date suggested in William Church's request for contributions. Her first story was printed in the *Galaxy* for September 1.

William Dean Howells reflected his own unsettled circumstances when he responded from Boston on February 24 to a letter asking for contributions. He had gone from New York to Boston in January to work with James T. Fields on the *Atlantic*. Although the request came at a time when his hands were full, he attended to it readily: "The only poem which I have ready (and I have nothing in prose), is one in hexameter verses, which would occupy two and a half pages of your magazine. This is now in one of my trunks at New York, and I could not let you have it before the end of next week. Would the poem be too long, or the time too late? Pray let me know, and if you wish it, I will send it to you. The poem is a sort of idyl, and perhaps would please you. If its being in hexameters is at all against it, I would rather not offer it. I ought to, and do, apologize for not replying immediately to your favor. House hunting, and the consequent despair and death are my excuses." Howells' letter was answered by return mail, on February 26, and on March 5 he sent the hexameter verses which he had mentioned. He wrote, self-con-

sciously, "I find it odd . . . enough to shake off for the nonce my awful dignity of judge, and come myself into court before you a culprit, or contributor, which is as bad." Three more letters from Howells, before the poem appeared in the magazine, showed his interest in the prospect of its publication. After receiving a check for $50 in payment, he called Frank Church's attention to two details: "If it should be advisable to use my name with it, will [you] please note that the name is W. D. Howells and *not* W. B. Howell as you write it?" and "I enclose an illustration for the poem, made sometime since, which you can have at your own valuation if you care to use it." [6] The illustration was not printed. On July 15, Howells submitted another poem, entitled "Forlorn," but it was not used.

The four writers just mentioned were located in New England and New York. Established writers in other areas, too, were being invited to submit manuscripts. Anne Moncure Crane wrote the Churches from Baltimore on February 22 that she regretted she must say no to them just as she had said no to the *Atlantic;* her physician would allow her no more literary labor than a novel in progress, and that had already been promised to Messrs. Ticknor and Fields. She did have two poems, however, which were accepted and printed in the third and seventh numbers of the *Galaxy*. Later she was able to offer a prose story, which was printed almost at once. Bayard Taylor, the Pennsylvania poet, replied briefly, and in a tone devoid of encouragement (February 24), that he had not a single unpublished poem on hand, "and what is worse, no material for one in my head." Nevertheless, a poem of seventeen stanzas, called "Day and Night," was drawn from him for the May 15 number. The *Galaxy's* editors' efforts to get the promise of a novel out of Taylor, in October, 1866, were useless; but after returning in 1869 from an extended stay in Europe, he volunteered some of his poems for the magazine, several of which were accepted.

John Esten Cooke, of Virginia, apologized for a delay in answering caused by an absence from home, and promised (March 26) to look over his manuscripts. His "Story of the Opequan" was published in the May 15 number. In the next four years he offered more pieces than the editors could accept. Whitelaw Reid, who had been an Ohio newspaper correspondent during the war, wrote (May 14) that he had no leisure for writing at present, for he was trying to make "health and cotton" in Alabama. He would be glad to write in the summer, he said, but nothing of his was ever printed. Moncure

[6] May 11, 1866. The poem was titled "Clement" and was published in the *Galaxy* 1 (June 1, 1866) 210–212.

Daniel Conway wrote (March 21) from London that he was glad to hear of another monthly being started in New York, but that as yet he had had no time to "inquire of my friends the Leweses and others" for contributions. William Church's trips abroad in 1867 and 1868 for the purpose of acquiring manuscripts for the *Galaxy* were successful. Whether Conway was instrumental in obtaining some of them from English writers cannot be answered, but the Churches' correspondence with him indicates the width of their search for material.

Since writers often had to be appealed to more than once, and replies were slow to come in, the search for contributors was a never-ending task. The time and energy expended in sending out a letter — handwritten of course — might be a total waste, or it might bring results from an unexpected quarter. For example, William Church's letter of May 16 to Evert A. Duyckinck, in which subject matter was left to the author's choice and a fair compensation was promised, produced no direct result. Duyckinck declined (May 21) to make any engagement of the kind, though he wished the *Galaxy* every success. Still, the editor's efforts were not entirely wasted: Duyckinck was an important figure in the American literary world, and this was seeding time. Six weeks later (July 4) he forwarded to the *Galaxy's* editors a poem sent him by William Gilmore Simms, the South Carolina novelist, whom he called "the leading representative of our Southern literature." Simms was staying for a month in Brooklyn while seeking literary connections with New York magazines, and Duyckinck was glad to recommend him to William Church. Nothing came of the introduction, however; no work of Simms's was published. But this was not discouraging. The editors' experience was that the fairest promise might come to nothing, and yet, as frequently, a letter saying no might be followed by a very desirable manuscript.

Such a turn for the editors came from a tentative approach to Rebecca Harding Davis. Her popularity had begun with a story, "Life in the Iron Mills," which had been printed in the *Atlantic* in April, 1861, and she had frequently published serials and short stories in that magazine. On June 4, 1866, she wrote to Frank Church: "I received your letter one day last week with much pleasure. . . . In regard to the long story, which I am writing, it was intended to be published in book form but I will send it to you to read when finished and probably we can make some arrangement about it. I am so pressed for time just now that I could not engage to become a regular contributor during this year. But I will, if I can, send you one or two short stories, during the summer, to be contained in one number." This cast brought the *Galaxy* one of its best serial novels, *Waiting for the Verdict,* which was begun

in the number for March 1, 1867, and which was the magazine's first serial novel by an American writer. Half a dozen short stories also came from Mrs. Davis' hand, the first one published just as the year 1866 closed. Such were the opportunities for a hit or miss in seeking out manuscripts.

The patriarch of New York letters, William Cullen Bryant, sent (May 26) a wistful note to William Church: "I should have answered your note earlier, had I known precisely what to say. I have carried it about in my pocket, that I might answer it at any time, but to little purpose. . . . At my time of life I fear that facility of literary execution, at least in verse, deserts one along with the faculty of invention. You see, I have written only a letter of excuses, but it is the best I can do." Bryant, like so many others, was committed to the *Atlantic*, and told Church he did not even have anything to send to that magazine. The *Galaxy* had to contend constantly with promises made by writers to its Boston rival. Nevertheless, it dared even to beard the lion in its den, as it were, seeking contributions right in the *Atlantic's* parish. The editors tried to elicit contributions from some men active in public life in Massachusetts, men who were known for their articles or speeches on current events.[7] Invariably the reply was that they hoped to be able to send something at a future time, but that, for the present, other obligations prevented.

Beyond the difficulties of acquiring desirable contributions, there were also, of course, doubts over the worth of some of the manuscripts which were tendered. One of the *Galaxy's* most noteworthy contributors was admitted with considerable reluctance, and only after others had pleaded at length in his behalf. The contributor was Walt Whitman; the persons who supported him were William Douglas O'Connor and John Burroughs. O'Connor wrote William Church on August 24, 1866, that he had not acknowledged a note of June 13, inviting him to contribute, because he had hoped daily to be able to send some manuscript: "But if I cannot, as yet, be witty myself in your service, I can be the cause of a better wit in others, as you will see by the enclosed MS., which I have persuaded Mr. John Burroughs to extract and adopt for your columns from his forthcoming volume on Walt Whitman." The largest part of O'Connor's long letter was given over to an appraisal of Whitman's work and a notice of his reception abroad. Burroughs' article on Whitman was believed by O'Connor to be one of genuine public interest, and

[7] See letters from George Stillman Hillard (Boston, May 17, 1866), United States District Attorney for Massachusetts, an editor of Edmund Spenser's works, and a contributor of 23 articles to the *North American Review;* Edmund Quincy (Dedham, Mass., May 24, 1866), a reformer and writer, the son of a former president of Harvard, and a member of one of Boston's old families; and Arthur George Sedgwick (Cambridge, Mass., July 3, 1866), a lawyer and journalist, the son of Theodore Sedgwick and a brother-in-law of Charles Eliot Norton.

he urged the *Galaxy's* editors to accept it. After an initial rejection, they did. Later they published nine more contributions from Burroughs, printed half a dozen from Whitman, and settled upon two of the several poems offered them by O'Connor. In terms of the literature of the period, their first invitation to O'Connor was an important letter.

Authors' Refusals; Editors' Rejections

IT was a matter of *Galaxy* policy to ask from time to time for contributions even where the answer was consistently no. It was also a bold policy to ask in unlikely quarters. Henry James, Jr., had supplied a short story, "A Day of Days," for one of the early issues of the magazine. The editors wanted more stories from him. In a tone bordering on exasperation, James finally wrote to William Church: "I recd. your letter some days ago; but the accumulation of a number of letters upon my hands has prevented my answering it earlier. I am surprised that you should be disappointed at not hearing from me; inasmuch as I had endeavoured to be very explicit in my last note — written to you in the beginning of the summer — as to my inability to write anything for the *Galaxy* at present. I am compelled, with regret, to repeat this assurance. My literary labour at the present moment is almost null and I do not hope to add to it for some time to come. I should otherwise be very glad to do my best in your service." [8]

At just about the same time James Russell Lowell was writing to the Churches to decline an invitation to contribute to the *Galaxy*. As one of the most sought-after Boston writers of the day, and himself the former editor of the *Atlantic*, Lowell must have seemed an unlikely prospect. Some hint of a novel in the making apparently had reached the Churches' ears, and they had asked Lowell whether it would be available. He wrote:

> There is not the least truth in the story. I suppose I must have mentioned to some indiscreet person the fact that so long ago as 1853 I had planned a story of moral life (so to speak) in New England, had sketched the characters, and even written the first chapters — but something happened during that year which broke forever the continuity of my life and left all my literary schemes at loose ends. I am just now trying to knit some of them together again — but I altogether doubt my ability to write a good story, least of all one calculated to be popular, which is what *you* want. I begin

[8] Swampscott, Mass., October 7, 1866. Almost invariably, each of James's letters to the editors of the *Galaxy* complained that the parts of his preceding letter in which he had tried to be most explicit had been misunderstood. He seemed to lack assurance of having written what he wanted most particularly to say.

> to feel that I belong too much to the last generation. Meanwhile, I beg you to understand that I am very sensible to the compliment of your offer.[9]

Lowell never had anything printed in the *Galaxy*, and it is not known that he ever offered anything for publication. Henry James contributed throughout the life of the magazine, and would have been glad to see at least two of his novels in its pages. In 1866 the editors could not foresee the results their letters would bring, but they did not despair of success when they wrote them.

The use of a third person's services to obtain a manuscript was not always the best means, for it tied the editors' hands more than was to be desired. One such embarrassing situation is reflected in a letter from Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, the Norwegian-American writer:

> I confess I was unprepared for your answer in regard to the novel, as it was at your suggestion that I wrote Tourgueneff about it. However, I suppose there can be no difficulty about disposing of the work of the author who has at present the reputation of being the greatest novelist living. If you positively do not wish it, then do me the favor to inform me at once, as I shall in that case offer it to some other magazine. Of course you know your public better than I do, and I can have no opinion about the probable success of the story. But according to the author, who has considerable more self-criticism than gentlemen of his profession usually have, [he] is convinced that it is superior to anything he has ever written.[10]

Turgenev's work had appeared in the *Galaxy* as early as 1871, and was still being accepted as late as October, 1877, but his contributions never extended through more than two issues at a time. His longer stories, as in this instance of the novel offered through Boyesen, seem to have been unable to compete, in the editors' eyes, with the work of other novelists.

Writers' names did not count for everything, when it came to soliciting serial fiction. The *Galaxy* was willing to print well-written material, and let the author's popularity follow if it would.[11] The editors were pleased with a series

[9] Elmwood, Cambridge, Mass., October 17, 1866. Lowell doubtless referred to the death of his first wife, Maria, in 1853.

[10] Ithaca, N. Y., June 10, 1874. On June 17 he wrote that he should want about $4 per printed page to translate Turgenev's novel. "However, if you are still of the opinion that it would be likely to hurt the *Galaxy*, I should be very unwilling to take such a responsibility. . . . Here Tourgueneff is the rage among the students, and professors and even liberal ministers are daily burning incense on his altar. If such a man is to be compared with Mrs. Edwards or J. W. DeForest, weighed and found wanting, I willingly withdraw his name, even if it be with pecuniary loss to himself and to me." The novel may have been *Virgin Soil*, which was published in an English translation in 1877.

[11] For example, *Galaxy* v (April 1868) iii: "Intrinsic merit is and will be the only rule for accepting and publishing articles in the *Galaxy*. The application of this principle in its editorial supervision has met with wide approval by the public and the press. Literary fame is, accordingly, not indispensible before a writer can appear in the pages of the Magazine. It is hoped, however, that literary reputation will necessarily accrue to those who shall appear there. The unknown writers are those whom the *Galaxy* hopes to introduce with a future of prosperity for themselves and for the Magazine."

of three installments of "Letters from Havana," signed "Laure d'Hauterive" but written by Miss S. F. Hopkins, of Germantown, Pennsylvania. They proposed that she write a serial novel for the magazine. She confessed (March 12, 1870) that the prospect frightened her, though she felt secure enough as to the materials for a novel. It was the serializing which troubled her, and the hurry; but she was willing to try. "I wish earnestly to undertake it if I may reasonably hope to achieve a success that shall justify us both, but I can promise only, negatively, that you shall be spared the stilted and false; affirmatively, my best effort in the handling such stores of experience and fancy as I may possess." Although no further mention was made of the novel, her short stories and articles, signed "E. de M." or with her own name, appeared intermittently in the next seven years.

A similar instance may be seen in a *Galaxy* contributor who introduced himself soon after the magazine first appeared. He was James Franklin Fitts, a lawyer who lived in Lockport, New York. Some of his work had appeared in the Boston weeklies, he explained (May 21, 1866), and he had had poems published in *Harper's;* but he thought he could write original stories which would be acceptable. Four years of experience in the army had supplied him with interesting ideas, and he would like to send an article for the editors' examination. The result was that more than a dozen stories by him were published in the first few years. His name does not appear in any of the biographical collections; we know nothing about the man beyond what is indicated in his stories, probably autobiographical in part, and half a dozen letters. Yet his contribution to the *Galaxy* was not an insignificant one, for only Henry James, Jr., matched him in the number of stories printed in the magazine. Another unknown, James Thompson McKay, a Huntington, Long Island, writer whose stories were printed in the *Galaxy* between 1868 and 1874, wrote on September 19, 1877, that of late he had been sending nearly all his work to *Scribner's* because they always sent him proof, "but I have not forgotten that you were among the first to find something in me." *Scribner's* printed his stories regularly, starting in July, 1872. In common with Miss Hopkins and James Franklin Fitts, he had no reputation when the *Galaxy* first accepted his work. The editors printed his stories solely on their merits as entertainment.

The acceptance or rejection of unsolicited manuscripts demanded that the editors use diplomacy, together with a many-faceted critical faculty. Fortunately, a whole cluster of indistinct reasons for rejection could be grouped under one term, "availability." Writers understood its meaning, and by its use editors were spared giving details which might prove embarrassing. Horatio Alger, Jr., played the game honorably. Upon the return of his poem,

"Friar Anselmo's Sin," with a "polite note," he congratulated the editors of the *Galaxy* on the success of their first number, and wrote agreeably "I understand 'availability.'" [12] If his poem had been accepted, he said, he would be tempted to offer something else soon. The editors did not tempt him; his poem was not "available," that is, they did not choose to print it, or did not have space for it.

Naturally enough, rejections increased as contributions became more plentiful. The largest traffic was in poems, even from the beginning. Richard Henry Stoddard sent in five poems just after the magazine started, offering them for the purpose of "filling up the short pages." If other writers did not send in five poems at a time, they did keep a steady flow of them moving across the editors' desks. A backlog of unprinted poems started to build early. Walt Whitman, whose five-page poem, "A Carol of Harvest, for 1867," was appearing in the September issue that year, forwarded another poem on September 7. He gave it the title "Ethiopia Commenting," and, in his businesslike fashion, reserved the right to publish it in a future book. Fourteen months later (November 2, 1868) he wrote: "As you have not found the little piece 'Ethiopia Commenting' available, allow me to withdraw it—indeed I have already sent it to another quarter." It strikes us as odd that the editors made no effort to publish the poem while they had it in their hands. The author was a poet of sufficient reputation, and the price of $25 was modest enough. But we do not know for certain the form and substance of the poem, and we can therefore draw no conclusions in respect to the editors' judgment.[13] Apparently Whitman was displeased over the long wait; he may or he may not have sent the poem elsewhere. In any event, its appearance under that title has not been noted.

Although poems were flooding the market, there was no oversupply of prose articles or short fiction until 1877. The first decade of publication of the *Galaxy* found no surfeit of these shorter prose items, but the editors usually had more long prose works than they could print. The plentiful supply of

[12] New York, April 23, 1866. He explained that his name might not be familiar, though he had written poems and stories for the Harpers. He was now engaged in writing juveniles and other books for a publisher in Boston, he said, and "have established myself in New York with the intention of devoting myself solely to literary pursuits and increasing my acquaintance with publishers."

[13] This poem may have been substantially the one published later as "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors," which is one of the most metrically conventional of Whitman's poems. Emory Holloway, in the Nonesuch edition of Whitman's poems, indicates that "Ethiopia" was composed, or at least first published, in 1871. It is printed among "Drum Taps" in *Leaves of Grass*. See also Edward F. Grier, "Walt Whitman, the *Galaxy*, and *Democratic Vistas*," in *American Literature* XXIII (November 1951) 337.

serial fiction created a special hardship for American authors, already plagued with the competition of the cheaper prices at which the English writers usually offered their fiction. For example Charles Astor Bristed ("Carl Benson"), a grandson of John Jacob Astor II and one of the *Galaxy's* most valued contributors, submitted in 1866 a serial novel of eight chapters with the title *Miss Mainwaring's Marriage.* It was not rejected, strictly speaking, but was withdrawn on October 1 of that year by the author, who thought he could find elsewhere "an opening for my young lady before you get through with your English serials." Even English novelists found it difficult to enter the competition. Edmund Yates tried in vain, in 1867 and again in 1872, to have his novels accepted for printing in the *Galaxy* from advance sheets. An English writer named Katharine S. Macquoid, who said she liked the *Galaxy* and wanted to write for it even though *Harper's* and *Scribner's* sought her work, complained (June 24, 1873) that she was caught between the price offered by the *Galaxy* and their refusal of some of her stories. The ones they liked she would not sell at the price they offered to pay. "I cannot afford to take a small price and it is very unpleasant to have my stories refused as you have refused them." The *Galaxy* preferred to continue with their old stand-bys, Mrs. Annie Edwards and Justin McCarthy. The others sought entry in vain.

After the middle of 1877, the policy governing acceptance or rejection turned almost solely upon the matter of supply. The need to use up accepted materials before adding to the store became urgent. At the end of July, William Church was obliged to defer acceptance of an article on the Continental Congress — an article he thought interesting and usable — until the press of materials already accepted should abate. In August alone there were about twenty rejections of prose articles or stories; this was approximately half the number of rejections of similar pieces during the whole period of the first eleven years.[14] September was a little less harried, but about twenty rejections each were recorded for October and November. Although the reasons were not given in every instance, it is safe to assume that the answer was consistently one of "too many manuscripts accepted already."

William Church wrote George Parsons Lathrop in early September that he could not publish his story, "The Too Soon Dead," early enough to precede its issuance in a collection, as Lathrop had stipulated. Lathrop's wife, Rose, Hawthorne's daughter, offered on November 23 a story called "Sea-Drift on

[14] The figures given do not include the rejected manuscripts for which no title or subject matter was recorded, but the numbers may be taken as fairly representative of the totals for the different periods. The manuscripts themselves were returned or destroyed, according to directions. In some instances the subject matter, rather than the title, was recorded, these notations being made on the letter itself.

Missique," which she explained "was suggested by a lost ship, driven upon shore without due cause, at Nantucket." At any other time, this story very probably would have been printed at once, or at least it would have been held for the first opening. The story, however, did not appear in the final (January, 1878) issue of the *Galaxy*, the earliest use which could have been made of it, and was returned to Mrs. Lathrop in mid-January. The editors' predicament is shown in William Church's response to a letter (October 30) from an old *Galaxy* writer, Charles Wyllys Elliott, who had been contributing to the magazine off and on since the first volume. Elliott had returned from Europe and was ready for some work: "Do you want 2–3 articles about the Hard Times — say (1) 'What can the workingman do?' (2) 'What can the capitalist do?' (3) 'How can the deadlock be freed?' " Church replied briefly: "I am so occupied with deciding 'What can a poor devil of an editor do with more Mss than he can possibly print' that I don't like to enter into any engagements just at present. Aside from this I think your conundrums are good ones and you are the man to solve them."

During its twelve-year course the *Galaxy* rejected many interesting-sounding pieces, including works by persons now better known. Eugene Benson sent in a satire on Harriet Beecher Stowe (1868), and John Burroughs offered an article on Victor Hugo (1870). Paul Hamilton Hayne had six poems refused, one after the other (1867). Several poems by Helen Hunt were returned to her (1867–1868). Brander Matthews' "Theaters of Paris" was accepted in 1874, held for three years without printing, and then returned to him. Jane G. Austin's short story, "Lost in a Labyrinth," (1868) was rejected. Christopher Pearse Cranch submitted an article on "Reminiscences of a Landscape Painter" in 1877. Two of Edward Bellamy's stories, marked as "intended for the *Galaxy*," were returned (1876–1878). They were called "A Victim of Circumstance" and "Ahmed's Experiment." [15]

Other and even lesser lights added to the list of offerings — contributions of fiction, history, social customs, humor, travel, politics, the arts, translations from other languages, and of course an occasional "heavy" article, on

[15] Joaquin Miller, in a letter dated only September 3 [ ], from Highland Falls, N. Y., mentioned a novel he had written, but neglected to give its title. "I accept the terms and conditions offered by the publishers of the *Galaxy* and you and I will depend on your publishing the Novel. Of course you must not let it be known that the consideration [?] price is so small. That would not be best for either of us. Still it is quite enough under the circumstances and I am really much obliged to you. But I *do* wish you could begin it before New Year's. I of course will hold back the publisher on the other side. Still I should rather it was to be begun in this year. Have it begun early as you can anyway." He may have been referring to his story, *First Families of the Sierras*, later dramatized, which was brought out in London in 1875, or possibly to his *The One Fair Woman*, published in 1876.

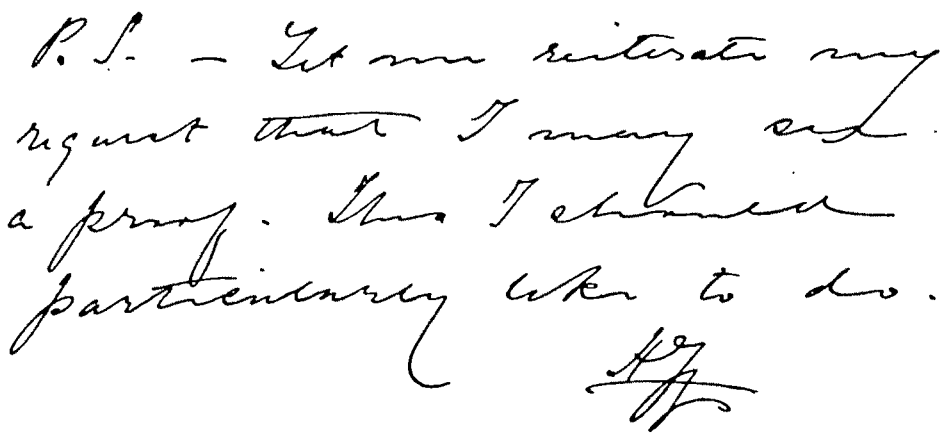
such a subject as "Instinct and Reason." One gentle soul, if she had succeeded in breaking into print, might have turned the course of local-color literature to purer channels, at least on the West Coast: "I am writing a story depicting some of the peculiarities of California life in a style perfectly *unique*. I should like Eastern people to know that all Californians are not like Bret Harte's dreadful characters. I am laboring to make it sell like *Helen's Babies* and I think it will. . . . I am no school girl, but am wide awake in these literary matters, and for the past year have been studying the popular light literature." Fortunately for the *Galaxy*, no decision had to be made in this instance; the letter was dated April 1, 1878, and the magazine had already closed it files. William Church did not need to strain his diplomatic resources to phrase an answer. He replied simply that he was no longer editor, and that the *Galaxy* had been merged with the *Atlantic*.

Editorial Alterations of Manuscripts

MANUSCRIPTS which were acceptable as to their substance often had to be altered before they could be used, or perhaps cut down to fit an allotted number of pages. These alterations might be made by the author under editorial direction, if there was time, or by the editors with the author's approval. But all too frequently the trimming was a matter of surprise and dismay to the author, who saw the changes only after the magazine was published. Most of the experienced writers, such as John Burroughs, Rebecca Harding Davis, John William DeForest, and Richard Grant White, asked to see proof of their articles and stories, as a matter of course. Walt Whitman, a printer himself, knew the details of the craft and could specify more pointedly than most: "Please, after correcting, let me have a good proof in time." [16] He wanted a corrected proof, and he wanted time to consider it. Henry James, Jr., also knew how important it was to examine the printer's work. Of an early story of his, he wrote (October 23, 1867) in a postscript: "Let me reiterate my request that I may see a proof. This I should particularly like to do." The editors themselves were anxious to turn out correct copy, and they wanted to satisfy their contributors' wishes. But the process of checking consumed time, often interfering with the schedule of the print shop, and it was not always possible to hold to ideal conditions. An editor or staff proofreader would have to assume, therefore, in respect to changes and corrections in the text, the author's responsibilities.

[16] Washington, D. C., September 7, 1867. In the same letter he thanked them for having sent him six proof-impressions of his poem, "A Carol of Harvest, for 1867." Of all the *Galaxy's* correspondents, Whitman was undoubtedly the most direct and efficient.

William and Frank Church did not start their editorial alterations for the *Galaxy* on any note of timidity, yet neither man was a tyrant with the blue pencil. A policy of persuasive suggestion produced at times the results they sought, and they as often had the author's thanks for their trouble. Henry James's first *Galaxy* story was printed with the title, "A Day of Days." It appeared in the fourth number of the magazine, dated June 15, 1866. James wrote to William Church on May 21, several days before publication: "I have at your request added 5 M.S. pages (as few as I could) to my story. I agree with you on reflection that it will be better for them and I enclose them herewith.... P. S. Suppose (if it is not too late to make a change) you call the story: 'Tom Ludlow's Letters,' instead of the actual title. Isn't it a better name?"



Postscript of letter of Henry James to F. P. Church, Oct. 23 [1867]

Manuscript Division

There is no way of knowing whether it was actually too late to change the title, for the first pages of the story may already have been in type. However, it is possible the editors thought "A Day of Days" more suitable. Theirs was necessarily the final opinion.

The following year, in discussing another of his contributions, titled "The Story of a Masterpiece," James wrote (October 23, 1867) to Frank Church: "I am sorry the story is not a little shorter but I am very glad that you are to print it all at once. As for adding a paragraph I should strongly object to it. It doesn't seem to me necessary. Silence on the subject will prove to the reader, I think, that the marriage *did* come off. I have little fear that the reader will miss a positive statement to that effect and the story closes in a more dramatic manner, to my apprehension, just as I have left it." Neverthe-

less, a paragraph was added to the story when it appeared in print, explaining that the marriage took place the following day. Also, the story was printed in two installments instead of one, and appeared at least two months after the letter of instructions had come from James. The delay in publication, together with the probability that James saw proof sheets, suggest that he was persuaded by the editors to write the additional paragraph and break the dramatic close he had originally fashioned. It was no demand of the printer for space which dictated this alteration, but rather the Churches' literary judgment and ability to persuade their contributor.

Men usually approached their literary productions tentatively, willing to leave most questions of changes up to the judgment of the editors. If the men fussed over some points, they made few demands. Charles Astor Bristed, for example, urged William Church not to "make too free with my phraseology," saying (in a letter dated only "Mardi Gras" [1866?]) that "Godkin prunes and prunes at the articles in the *Nation* until he emasculates them and drives me half crazy." John Esten Cooke assumed (September 10, 1866) that it was the "inevitable want of space" which caused the editors to omit two or three paragraphs from his story, "Along the James," paragraphs which he had considered the best writing in the paper. But women writers had a more protective view of their literary creations. Though gentle, they could be firm; if roused to anger, they could speak their minds and make amends later. The editors, on their part, though they might not change the ladies' views, were masters of the art of palliation. Harriet Prescott Spofford, in a letter (April 25, 1868) which commenced with some remarks about her disappointment over the rate of pay she had received, burst forth in a ventilation of her feelings about editorial alterations: "I am going to ask you to return to me the concluding portion of the manuscript of 'The Black Bess' [;] if I should ever republish it in any collection, I should wish to have it in its natural state. . . . For in order to be as disagreeable as possible in this note, you must let me tell you that I was exceedingly vexed to have it appear in print over my name altered from the original and the best passages altogether omitted. If I should ever again be a contributor to the *Galaxy*, I shall beg that no such liberty may be taken with my manuscript, as I would by far prefer withdrawing a story entirely than to have it suffer such a ruinous mutilation." Frank Church was obliged to respond to this letter, for his brother was in Europe. He was able almost to double the rate of pay which he sent for "The Black Bess," and this quieted Mrs. Spofford. She in turn (May 25) expressed regret for her hasty letter, calling her excitement "really an affair of no consequence."

Anne Moncure Crane, referring to her story called "My Courtship," published in the number for July 15, 1866, expressed some of her feelings about alterations:

> I very much regretted the necessity your brother was under to abridge my story to suit that particular number of the *Galaxy*. You must remember it is the author who is held responsible for failure in artistic effect; and the omissions in this case seemed to me not only to injure that seriously, but to alter the whole purpose and idea of the story. If any further contributions I may have the pleasure to send you should require curtailing, you would greatly oblige me by returning them to me for that purpose; as, if you will let me know the desired dimensions, I can obtain them and yet preserve what is essential to my idea. Any possible delay in publication would be preferable to me to the slightest sacrifice of artistic proportion.[17]

Miss Crane, the mentor, was twenty-eight years old. William Church was thirty at this time, his brother twenty-seven. Her reprimand did not offend them, for she was able to write them a short time later (September 7) that their promise she should do her own editing in the future "reassures me on a point which, I admit, I feel very deeply." Some advances in American literature, imperceptible but significant in their gradual accumulation, may be owing to just such quiet, firm insistence on the part of little-known writers. The women who "scribbled" for the magazines have been much maligned, and their stories condemned; but their correspondence with editors, if the *Galaxy* files are representative, may have had an effect in confirming the principles of editorial respect for an author's intentions.

If it was generally true that the male writers were timid before the editorial throne, leaving the women to assert their rights as authors, Eugene Benson was a noteworthy exception. He not only objected to the alterations with which his words and phrases were threatened, but also was brought into immediate action by any suspicion that his views were being toned down or tampered with. There was to be no editorializing, no normalizing, of his views when his articles were printed. "Are articles to be written for magazines so that Flory McFlimsey shall wonder how Mr. Galaxy finds time to write so many?" This was Benson's friendly but biting question to Frank Church, in a letter of April 2, 1869, about an article he had prepared on Godkin, the editor of the *Nation*. "By running your pen through my personal

[17] Baltimore, Md., August 9, 1866. There is no indication which brother did the abridging. An earlier letter (April 21) about her poem, "Unbelief," which was being prepared for publication, gave a hint of her firmness: "I have several times rewritten the verse you have marked, but each version lost in strength what it gained in smoothness. I have therefore concluded to let it remain in its present form."

convictions you reduce me at once to the level of any magazinist or journalist. It is by such means that we have so many mutilated magazinists; and those not mutilated by editors have pruned themselves down to conformity or consistency — about which Emerson says some shining things. Why should you take away all distinctive and arresting characteristics from a man's written expression? Better exclude the whole. I am sure I would rather have my article thrown out than have all my personal reflections excluded." He rallied the editors for their timid policy whenever the Philistines of magazine literature came into view. But of course as long as Benson insisted upon writing as he did, about George Sand and de Musset and Swinburne, or in attacking Mrs. Stowe, or in discussing too frankly such topics of the day as the "woman question," he was bound to find the editors weighing their responsibilities, moral and financial. Outright favorable mention of Walt Whitman, for example, or forthright criticism of New England puritan womanhood, could bring material harm to a magazine's subscription list. Eugene Benson had his eyes on a better future; the *Galaxy's* editors were obliged to attend to more immediate considerations.

A distinction deserves to be made between a conservative editorial policy in respect to such subjects as Whitman's poetry, and the personal judgment or preferences of William and Frank Church. It has already been mentioned in another connection that William Douglas O'Connor, Whitman's friend and partisan in Washington, recognizing early that the Churches might be approachable, urged them to consider printing John Burroughs' article on Whitman's *Drum Taps*. He wrote William Church (August 24, 1866) that "as an observer of your hospitable treatment of compositions which you cannot editorially endorse, I venture to hope . . . you will extend . . . a welcome to this estimate of the quality and purport of Mr. Whitman's war poems." O'Connor thought the opinions of critics and the preferences of the public were two distinct and unrelated currents. A writer should ignore critical opinion and go straight to the people; in nine instances out of ten, he believed, the verdict of a literary person upon the merit of a book would be reversed by the public. Church should consider this, he said (September 30). "I can't help thinking that the personal interest you express in Mr. Whitman's writings and in whatever appertains to him, would be safer ground to go upon than the judgment of your associates, because I think, and have good reason to know, that your feeling is the feeling of a great mass of the public." The encouragement to independence, to step outside the opinion of the New York literati respecting Whitman, apparently was effective; within two weeks the *Galaxy's* editors had decided to print the Burroughs article. In this

instance, the policy wavered, as it swung between personal approval and editorial judgment.

The fact that the *Galaxy* was published in New York did not remove its contents from the watchful eye of Mrs. Grundy in far places. A correspondent named F. Winsor, sex unknown, wrote (March 2, 1877) to William Church on behalf of the trustees of the Town Library of Winchester, Massachusetts, to protest against a poem in the number for April, 1877, entitled "Cleopatra's Soliloquy." The poem's tone was "gross and voluptuous," the correspondent noted; maybe it was true of the Cleopatra of history, but such a character was not fit to have vivid dramatic expression given to it in modern periodical literature. "We shall prefer to stop any periodical in whose pages our children and friends are liable to encounter poetry or prose like 'Cleopatra's Soliloquy.'" Alas, the poem was probably very suggestive fare for children — if any child could be found who would read seventy-eight lines of hexameter couplets without being set at it by a prude. "Circling arms" and "glorious woman's charms" are not entirely self-explanatory phrases, however, nor are "queenly power" or "woman's glorious dower." The poem was written by Mary Bayard Clarke, a Raleigh-born contributor to the leading magazines, who was a descendant of Jonathan Edwards and of Dr. Samuel Johnson of Connecticut and New York. Mrs. Clarke wrote Sunday-school hymns for $5 each, and had translated a French novel. This poem was her only contribution to the *Galaxy*. The editors had, in 1877, an endless supply of poetry on hand which they might have printed in its stead, and they had no obligation to its author. Editorial judgment alone was the fault, and that proved to be questionable in the eyes of the Winchester Town Library's trustees.

Thus, Eugene Benson was prodding the editors in 1866, and the unnamed trustees of a small town library were chiding them in 1877. These two forces, at the beginning and near the end of the magazine's career, abetted by many others during the intervening years, made an upper and nether millstone for grinding out an editorial policy. The Church brothers appear to have exercised a minimum of editorial control over opinions as set forth in articles. There can be no conclusive statement to this effect as long as there is lacking a knowledge of those manuscripts they declined to print. But authors' complaints about changes in their manuscripts were almost entirely traceable to the demands of space; if the sense of an article was changed, it was usually because of structural changes, not through the pressure of editorial opinion.

The announced policy of excluding discussions of partisan politics and sectarian theology, although it was not followed to the last letter, eliminated much of the need for editorializing to which some other magazines were

necessarily subject. Also, the policy of signing all articles with the authors' names placed responsibility for opinions where it belonged. The *Galaxy* had no opinions, officially, outside its editorial departments. The magazine could afford, if necesary, to comment editorially on an article without interfering significantly with the article itself. Occasionally, too, an article could be "answered" by a subsequent contributor, to preserve the balance of opinion; but of course this liberal policy was also subject to the limitations of space.

Once supplied with a store of manuscripts, selected for their "availability" and revised according to the measures of space and propriety, the editors' task of making up their magazine became a matter of larger considerations. There were problems to be faced, of balance between articles and fiction, prose and poetry; there were also considerations of seasonal and topical emphasis, and sidelong glances at the current shape of competing magazines. At times, no doubt, there were even choices which had to be made between less expensive and more expensive items, since the editors were working within the limits of a budget. The Churches met successfully most of the challenges to their aesthetic and judicial faculties, and became masters of almost every aspect of producing a good magazine. It was finance which proved to be their master, blue-penciling their plans. The twelve-year story of the *Galaxy* may be seen in perspective in two patterns, that of the successful shaping of a literary magazine, full of imaginative and entertaining materials, and that of an uphill struggle against costs and increasingly hard times. These two patterns, encompassing the functions of the editor and the publisher, gradually became separated and fell eventually into a fatal contest.

(To be continued)

A Panel Discussion of

The Dead Sea Scrolls

By MILLAR BURROWS, *Yale Graduate School*
THEODOR H. GASTER, *Dropsie College*
and ANNE FREMANTLE, *Fordham University*

Transcribed from a tape recording of the program of Monday evening, December 3, 1956 in the series "Readers Meet Writers" in the Auditorium of Donnell Library Center, The New York Public Library. (The program was subsequently broadcast over Station WNYC, April 7, 1957, during the Fifth Annual Book Festival.)

PROF. BURROWS: The first Dead Sea scrolls discovery was accidental. Early in the year 1947 an Arab boy came upon a cave perhaps three quarters of a mile from the northwest corner of the Dead Sea, and in that cave he and a companion found a number of old leather scrolls which had been deposited there in pottery jars. These scrolls were taken to Bethlehem and the collection was divided: part of them were sold to the Hebrew University at Jerusalem; the others were sold to a little monastery in the old city, the Syrian Orthodox monastery of St. Marks. In that way, the original find of scrolls was divided for several years. But the Syrian archbishop brought his collection to this country where for several years he tried to find a buyer without success, and finally in the spring of 1955 they were bought on behalf of the Hebrew University and taken to Israel, so that the whole collection of scrolls found in 1947 is now together at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

But that was only the beginning of the discoveries. The debate which the announcement of this first discovery aroused led to the investigation of the cave where they had been discovered. That cave was rediscovered after quite a search and was thoroughly investigated in 1949 with the result that hundreds of further fragments of manuscripts were found. The debate still raged and it was decided to excavate a little ruin about a mile, perhaps, from this cave. That ruin turned out to be the central building or headquarters of a religious community which had produced these manuscripts. But while that was being done other bits of manuscripts were brought in by the Bedouins. They had found them in other caves in the vicinity. Therefore in 1952 a thorough search of these caves in the neighborhood was made, and a whole new collection of fragments from a different century, a whole century later, having nothing to do with the first collection, was found. Also in several caves they did find many hundreds of further early fragments, some

of them very tiny, some of them amounting to a column or parts of two columns of a manuscript. Also in one of the caves was found a copper scroll, about which a good deal has been said in the papers. Now I'm going to ask Professor Gaster to tell you what was in those documents.

PROF. GASTER: These documents fall into a number of different categories. In the first place, there were manuscripts of the text of the Hebrew Bible. Sometimes, these took the form of a whole book of the Bible like the Book of Isaiah. Sometimes they were merely small fragments. And we've now got fragments representing every book of the Old Testament, except the Book of Esther. And the text of these documents, while generally in agreement with that which has been received in Jewish tradition for centuries, does have some important and significant variants and carries back the history of the text of the Hebrew Bible to an age which we couldn't trace it to before.

Apart from the biblical manuscripts are the documents of the sect itself, and they are in many ways perhaps more remarkable and more interesting. In the first place, we have *The Manual of Discipline* of this strange brotherhood which was centered around the monastery of Qumran. It's an ascetic brotherhood which went away from Jerusalem thinking that they were going to reconstitute a true community of the faithful to God, and they constituted themselves from the model of their Old Testament ancestors who had gone into the desert to receive the revelation. There are many parallels with the constitution of the early Church in these documents. There are rigid penalities for violation of the rules of the sect: a man must suffer a penalty if he takes a nap in a public session of the community. And then there is an analogous document which was known already some fifty years ago because a very late copy of it was found in a synagogue in Cairo. At that time we didn't know where it came from or that it had anything to do with the Dead Sea scrolls. But now so many affinities have been found between this document and the main *Manual of Discipline,* and furthermore so many further copies of this document have been found at Qumran, that we have another copy of the rules of the order. Then we have a number of commentaries on parts of the Bible, principally the Prophets. The most remarkable of these is possibly the commentary on the minor prophet Habbakuk, in which the words of the Old Testament writer are manipulated to refer to a contemporary or recent condition of the sect, showing that Scripture is being fulfilled. Then we have what I think is the most interesting of all the documents — a Book of Hymns in the style of the Old Testament Psalms, made up very largely of a mosaic of quotations from the Psalms, but breathing an intense passion

of these people living in the desert and feeling that they had been especially enlightened of God. And lastly we have a very remarkable and fascinating document, a kind of GHQ military manual for Armageddon, describing exactly how the army of God's faithful is to be drawn up to fight the army of the Devil or of Gog and Magog, what the signals for battle are to be, what the ages in the army are to be, and giving a picture which looks as though it was something the Pentagon had cooked up for the final battle against the Evil One. It's modeled after Roman military manuals and is a kind of skit on the military manuals and handbooks the Roman armies were actually using. Then there are a few commentaries and little bits of what I call sermons on the Last Day, when God's faithful army of celestial hosts will come and join the earthly to rout the forces of evil and when there will be a molten fire which will consume the evil and when in fact everybody is going to have a rather unpleasant time. Those are the main documents.

There is also one scroll which was inscribed on copper so that it took a lot of trouble to cut it into strips and to fit it together so it could be read. It appears to give an account of some kind of treasure that has been hidden. You know the kind — take five paces to the left and you will find the pot of gold, and so on. It's very difficult to know whether this is a mythical and fairy-tale account of hidden treasure or whether it really does give records of some kind of treasure which this community hid. It's remarkable that it should be considered sufficiently important to preserve on copper. There is also an Aramaic scroll which gives a kind of legendary paraphrase of certain passages of the Book of Genesis. For example, there is an account of the miraculous birth of Noah. It tells that his father thought he might have been born from one of the angels and reproved his mother for such goings-on. And then his mother had to defend herself and say No, this is a perfectly natural birth, the boy is simply a bright boy. And then there is an account of the beauty of Sarah which reads almost like an advertisement from Chanel. It is said that she had beautiful tapering fingers and that no woman on earth was more beautiful than she, including all brides about to go under the canopy for the wedding ceremony. Then there are a few comments about Methusaleh and a few comments about the journeyings of Abraham. But it's a very fragmentary thing and it is only just now being published.*

PROF. FREMANTLE: This discovery, I am sure you will agree, is the most exciting thing of our time. I know that most people think so, because there

* Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, eds., *A Genesis Aprocryphon; A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judea* (Jerusalem 1956).

have never been such sales of scholarly books as of the books about the Dead Sea scrolls. The *New Yorker* edition which came out with an account of this * sold out within two or three days. I know because I tried to get a couple of extra copies. And Dr. Burrows's book has sold well over 50,000 copies and it's a very expensive book.† The amount of books coming out almost daily on the Dead Sea scrolls is just a symptom of everybody's enormous interest in it.

The first question that is on all our minds, I think, is What light do the scrolls throw on the life of Jesus Christ and John the Baptist and on early Christianity? Is there any evidence of any connection between the New Testament and the scrolls? Are there parallels in the language of the New Testament and the language of the scrolls? Do they sound alike? Does it sound as if the scroll writers were acquainted with the Qumran monastery, for instance?

PROF. GASTER: I have found almost a hundred parallels of expression between familiar phrases in the New Testament and phrases in the scrolls. But I believe the attempt to trace direct affinities between the scrolls and the New Testament is gravely mistaken, simply because the New Testament, on the one hand, and the scrolls, on the other, reflect an idiom of thought and an idiom of religious language which you can find in Jewish literature of the time and which is less familiar to some of the scholars who have been dealing with the scrolls. So that an impression has grown up that you take a phrase in the scrolls and say, "Oh I remember that from the New Testament! Isn't that in Galations?" And you call, "Snap!" And you do that a hundred times and you think you've traced a peculiar affinity between the Dead Sea scrolls and Christianity and that you've got something like Jesus's pocket diary in your hands. Well, you have nothing of the kind. All you've got is simply another attestation of the same kind of familiar ideas that the New Testament used in one way and these people used in another. They are another evidence of a climate of thought, but I don't think there's any direct relationship.

PROF. FREMANTLE: May I ask another question along these same lines? The Jewish writer, Josephus, mentions that there were three Jewish sects: The Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. And the New Testament is full of rather uncomplimentary references to the Pharisees, and not such quite rude references to the Sadducees, but no references at all to the Essenes. Is there any possible reason for this rather curious silence? Is there any reason why

* By Edmund Wilson, May 14, 1955.

† *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Viking 1955).

Jesus's disciples should have been completely unaware of something that happened no farther off than the Bronx from Manhattan?

PROF. GASTER: The Essenes aren't mentioned in any Hebrew literature at all. One often wonders whether Josephus writing in the first century wasn't merely using the word "Essenes" to denote nonconformists in general.

PROF. BURROWS: Josephus does, of course, give descriptions of their practices and beliefs. He describes the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes as three different schools of philosophy. I think Dr. Gaster and I agree that it's a little risky to assume that these people of Qumran who produced the Dead Sea scrolls were Essenes, unless you use the word in a very general sense to cover a great many very similar sects. But as to why they are not mentioned in the New Testament, I just don't know.

PROF. FREMANTLE: Is there any evidence that at the time of the Qumran monastery, it was the thing to do to spend time in the wilderness, as nowadays every young Buddhist, even the King of Thailand, has to spend a certain time of his life in one? Was there any one time during which pious young men retired to a monastery as they might today? And was there any one time when such retirement was so general that the Essenes would cover a large number of places, of which Qumran was only one of many?

PROF. GASTER: Pliny does tell us that in his day, in the first century, people who were fed up with the town life and the urban civilization did repair in large groups, apparently in numbers as large as four thousand, to various settlements in the desert. And in the scrolls themselves there is reference not only to one community but to whole camps and settlements, so apparently it was quite common. But I hope it wasn't too common because otherwise it would have defeated the ends of these people.

PROF. FREMANTLE: I gather there were about a thousand plates or cups found in the monastery — pieces of crockery. There must have been quite a large settlement.

PROF. GASTER: Or else they might have drunk a lot.

PROF. BURROWS: There was also a large cemetery attached to the settlement.

PROF. FREMANTLE: The question I'm leading to is this. Is there ever any evidence that the mysterious years between the age of 12 and the age of 30 in Jesus's life could be accounted for by periodic visits to such a monastery as Qumran?

PROF. BURROWS: There's no reason why he couldn't have done just that, but there's no evidence that he did. Of course those so-called silent years have always been a little blank that people like to fill in romantically. We have legends that he visited a Buddhist monastery in Tibet and studied there. A great many stories have been made up to account for them. From the New Testament there's no reason to suppose that he did anything but to go down to Nazareth with his parents and be subject to them until he appeared when John the Baptist was preaching at the Jordan.

PROF. FREMANTLE: Early Christianity seems to have spread so very quickly — mass conversion, you know. Would it be possible that many of the early Christians were conversant with the Qumran or the Essene doctrines from the various cities they visited — for instance Damascus, where St. Paul was sent? Is it possible, since Damascus was one of Christianity's centers and was where the Essenes retired, there might be a link there to account for the quick conversion? That is, were the people already familiar with the doctrines and were they therefore receptive to the Christian ideas when they came?

PROF. GASTER: We ought not to think that the doctrines of the Qumran sect were necessarily the exclusive property of these people in Qumran. They were an exclusive community, but their doctrines may have been held by non-normative Jews in the cities generally and I don't think that in order to have these kind of doctrines spread or adopted into Christianity you would have to assume that there was any direct contact with this particular community in Qumran. The community of Qumran, in other words, is merely one community exemplifying in a drastic fashion ideas which were by no means confined to them.

PROF. BURROWS: It's the only one from which we have direct, firsthand evidence. We know there were other groups and other religious associations. We don't have their particular documents. If we had, we might find just as striking connections. In fact, I can't see why members of this sect would be any more inclined to join the Christian church than members of any other group in Judaism. I don't see that they're any more closely related to the early Christian church.

PROF. FREMANTLE: I wasn't thinking so much theologically, but simply as a way of life and as a general climate of ideas whether such monasteries and such institutions as Qumran and such people as the Essenes weren't part of

the preparation for and part of the climate in which the New Testament took such quick root.

PROF. BURROWS: If people from this group became Christians they would have had to change very radically many of their ideas and practices. This was a very strict ascetic group which had very strict puritanical rules. It was a legalistic group which was very strict in its interpretation of the law. Evidently the impression which Jesus made was just the opposite. He was not ascetic in any sense or to any degree, and he was very free in his interpretation of the law. They were a ritualistic group. They were very strict in their observance of their religious calendar and very particular that it must not be changed. They must observe the festivals at just the right times. Jesus wasn't interested in that sort of thing at all. They were a very exclusive group, also. They did not try to make converts or give a gospel for the world. They were quite different, actually.

PROF. FREMANTLE: I think that's one of the reasons why a lot of Christians have been unnecessarily alarmed by the Dead Sea scrolls. A lot of people have been afraid that the scrolls would mitigate the uniqueness of the New Testament, even as a document. But I think rather the contrary is true. When you read the two together, it's very interesting that though the language is the same in many instances, the spirit of Christianity was a very different one from the beginning. It was not at all exclusive and it was very different in its emphasis theologically, so that I think that the early fears have been allayed by the scholarship, rather than excited by it.

PROF. BURROWS: I don't see why anyone should be afraid that something was like what they have in the New Testament. Why should it be any less true if someone has said it before? Or why should it be any less valuable if somebody had done it before? We find that the laws of Moses have various parallels in Babylonian laws. Or we find that in the Epistles of Paul the language is very much like what we find in the Greek mystery religions. That's a fact with which students of the Bible are long familiar. But they're still true or false, or partly true or partly false, regardless of who may have said them before, or where they may have been found.

PROF. FREMANTLE: In fact, I think it proves their truth if they're built on what went before. The New Testament says, "I come not to destroy the law but to fulfill it," and St. Paul talks about sundry times and places and the revelation coming before. In regard to that, how much connection is there between the Qumran documents and the Parsees, the Persian religion?

PROF. GASTER: I've been working on that. But before I answer, I'd like to throw in an observation about what we've just been saying. I think we must not fly to either extreme. It may be perfectly true that Christianity has adapted or changed the current ideas of Judaism at that time as they are represented in the Dead Sea scrolls. On the other hand, we shouldn't fly to the opposite extreme and say that there is no affinity between the Dead Sea scrolls and Christianity. That would be a mistake. The Dead Sea scrolls do have ideas which are the seedbeds of Christianity and which Christianity developed: the idea of the final war in the Book of Revelation; many of the ascetic ideas. I would say, as I did in my book,* that the Dead Sea scrolls give us the backdrop of the first stage of the Christian drama, that they are the rude clay as yet unmolded by Christian hands. But they are the same clay which Christian hands did mold.

Then as to Mazdaism, or the ancient Zoroastrian religion of Iran. I've often been tempted to put the problem this way. Supposing the Dead Sea scrolls had first fallen into the hands of Parsee scholars, and not of Jews and Christians — people familiar with the Avesta and not with the Old and New Testaments. They would have been able to find parallels in exactly the same plenitude. I have been able to establish more than forty or fifty close parallels. For example, the idea of a dualism between good and evil is a central doctrine of the Zoroastrian religion. The idea that there will be a final war in which the Fravashees or the Angelic hosts will participate is Mazdain or Zoroastrian. The idea that there will be a river of fire consuming all the wicked is Zoroastrian. The idea that the source of all things lies with a god of knowledge is Zoroastrian. The idea that the Righteous will eventually come and sing together in a celestial choir is exactly the same phrase as occurs in Zoroastrianism. But we have to remember that it has long been suspected that Judaism of the inter-testamental period, that is between the Old and New Testaments, was saturated with angelology and ideas of the Last Day which are parallel with Zoroastrianism. And yet we must not imply any direct borrowing. It was simply that the ideas which come into Zoroastrianism also have found a place in Judaism.

PROF. BURROWS: I'd like to ask you a question, Dr. Gaster, as a professor of comparative religion. Long before the Dead Sea scrolls were discovered, the question was discussed whether the Essenes with their monastic type of life were influenced by Buddhism. What do you think of that?

PROF. GASTER: No. I simply think it's the same kind of ascetic ideas. That's all.

* *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (Doubleday 1956).

PROF. FREMANTLE: Early Christianity was exceedingly strong in Persia. Most of the well-known Christian martyrs were in Persia. Even the King of Persia, I believe, was the first royal figure to become a Christian. I wonder if there was any connection there again. Whether the Essenes or people of Qumran had connections with Persia even at that time so that it was easy for the Christians to go there? Any possibility there?

PROF. BURROWS: I think again we're dealing with possibilities on one hand and evidence on the other. I know of no evidence of that sort, do you, Dr. Gaster?

PROF. GASTER: No. And these Persian ideas, I ought to say, are found in the pseudepigraphic and apocryphal literature also. Books like the Testament of Levi are full of this kind of thing.

PROF. FREMANTLE: So they derived from that time, did they?

PROF. GASTER: The literature would be roughly about 200 BC to about 100 AD and saturated with the same ideas you would find in the Avesta, showing that it was quite common in Palestine.

PROF. BURROWS: And all through the 5th, 4th, and 3rd centuries BC those ideas might have been coming into Judaism.

PROF. FREMANTLE: The Qumran community as far as I gather we know was not strictly celibate, is that right? There were married people there and children?

PROF. BURROWS: That's a debatable question. In some of the documents there are certainly references to family life. There are references to women and children. And there were a few women's skeletons found in the cemetery. The problem seems to be why, since any of them were there, there weren't more. But some of the documents make no reference at all to them.

PROF. GASTER: The reason why women weren't there was because these people were trying to reach heaven. And the references to women and children, I think mainly, are in that document which says this is the legislation for the future community, the end of days.

PROF. FREMANTLE: To go back to the community, were there any evidences that there was an ascetic life in Judaism? Was it the usual thing for people to live celibate lives? This idea of celibacy, which was so strong among the early Christians, did it come from either the Persian or the Judaic background?

PROF. GASTER: Definitely not Judaic. Judaism regards asceticism, or celibacy, I should say, as a crime against nature. And Judaism says that people should be married at the age of eighteen.

PROF. FREMANTLE: Then where did the Qumran people get this idea of celibacy?

PROF. GASTER: There's a kind of mystic tendency in this sect. I find that in their literature. And I think it goes with mysticism, this kind of withdrawal from the world and from nature. It's a religiously pathological condition.

PROF. BURROWS: But it occurs at other times. When you have a kind of transition and general breakdown of standards and dissolution of familiar institutions and loyalties, people who are discouraged with the world and don't feel that they can do anything about it have a general tendency to withdraw into the wilderness.

PROF. FREMANTLE: I wish to make a plea for celibacy as having been at all times and in all religions a discipline just like giving up smoking or drinking while training for the Olympic games. Was there something of that sort in the Qumran idea — that they were in training?

PROF. GASTER: You must remember that these people thought they were on the edge of the end of the world, and for that reason they had the same attitude as a lot of people today who think the atomic bomb is going to blow us all to blazes tomorrow.

PROF. BURROWS: And they felt that their own particular mission was to withdraw to the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord, which was the study of the law. They felt that by intense devotion to the study and interpretation of the law, they were making their preparation for the coming judgment.

PROF. FREMANTLE: I believe there's a difference of opinion among the scholars as to whether the Teacher of Righteousness was a specific person who was killed, who lived at one time and suffered, whether death or ignominy or whatever it was, or whether "Teacher of Righteousness" is simply a term for the leader of the community or the leader of a particular group. That is, perhaps twelve or thirteen people had their Teacher of Righteousness in each community. Could you explain some of the differences of opinion there are among scholars about the Teacher of Righteousness?

PROF. GASTER: There is a mention of a certain character called the Teacher of Righteousness, and in some documents he is a person who has been in

the past, at the beginning of the foundation of this particular sect, way back in antiquity. And then in one document he is referred to as someone who is coming in the future. Scholars have tended to add together all the references to this Teacher of Righteousness and to try and trace a kind of career, and since he has been said in some places to have been persecuted, and in other places to be awaited, the assumption has been that he was a kind of precursor of Jesus who was put to death and whose second coming was awaited. There are many scholars who, even if they don't go to these lengths, will say that he was an historical character and the founder of the sect. I cannot frankly see this. I can only see that the title "Teacher of Righteousness" was a title like "Chief Rabbi" or "Leader of the Community," and it was derived from the words of Moses which said that the priestly tribes of Levi were going to teach judgments to Israel. I think that some references refer to Ezra and some references refer to other teachers of righteousness, and finally there is the great Teacher of Righteousness identical with the prophet with whom Jesus was identified.

PROF. BURROWS: I would agree that the one who is coming at the end is not the same as the one who is spoken of who has been persecuted by the wicked priest, and I would not feel at all sure that every time we have this title used in different documents it always refers to the same one. But where you have in the commentaries, and particularly the Habbakuk commentary, a number of different interpretations of the prophecy as referring to the Teacher of Righteousness who did this and that, it seems to me *more likely*, and I wouldn't go any farther than that, that those references all do refer to the one man who was possibly the founder — if not the founder, at least a very prominent leader of the group who had been given, as they believed, the divine insight into the true meaning of the prophet. I do, however, admit the possibility of the other idea.

PROF. FREMANTLE: When do you date this Teacher of Righteousness? Could you give him a specific time, say around Alexander Jannaeus [c. 76 BC]?

PROF. BURROWS: That's thoroughly possible. It might be as early as that, it might be earlier, it might be in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes [175–164 BC]. Or it might be way down near the beginning of the Roman period, but hardly later than that.

PROF. GASTER: I'm quite certain that the future one was a person who was expected precisely in the year 41 BC, because we have any number of references in classical literature to the belief that 41 BC was going to be what was

called the Great Year when a miraculous child was going to be born and it was going to be the beginning of a new cycle of the world. And we have one of the hymns which describes the birth of such a child as being imminent. The paleographers tell us that the scroll in which that hymn is written is probably to be dated in the last part of the 1st century BC. And Virgil, the Roman poet, wrote a poem in 41 BC from his point of view, also celebrating the imminent birth of such a child. And I believe that these things all add up together to indicate that in 41 BC the future teacher was expected.

PROF. BURROWS: That's a very interesting idea. One of the most recent books on the scrolls, by a British scholar named Schonfield, argues that the reason we have so much trouble identifying this Teacher of Righteousness with any person known in history is that he hadn't come yet.

PROF. FREMANTLE: It would look again as if the Christians might have taken that idea or at least traded on it perhaps.

PROF. BURROWS: Well, again, they wouldn't have to go there to get the idea. We have the whole Messianic hope with its very elaborate history. The New Testament derives its ideas from the Old Testament, from current Jewish thought. It combines some of them, it alters some of them, but they all have very complicated historical backgrounds.

PROF. FREMANTLE: Well, my last question is a very mundane one about that copper scroll and the treasure. Would it be possible that it was either the treasure of David or Solomon which they sort of inherited in some way?

PROF. BURROWS: One guess is as good as another on that. Some scholars who have been working on this scroll are thoroughly convinced that this is a purely fictitious deposit and that there wasn't any such treasure at all. Others believe that it may have been the temple treasure at the time when the Romans destroyed the temple. In both cases the question is how the list happened to be in the custody of this particular group way down there by the Dead Sea. But on the other hand, if it was a purely fictitious idea, the question is Why did they take the pains to record it on copper? Do you have any theories about that, Dr. Gaster?

PROF. GASTER: We have in Jewish literature any number of legends about where the temple treasures were buried. But I cannot see why an ordinary legend should have to be punched out on copper, which is a very elaborate business.

(Discussion involving the audience followed but could not be recorded.)

Bernard Shaw: 1856-1950

An exhibition from the Berg Collection

By JOHN D. GORDAN

PART III

Bernard Shaw. *Translations and Tomfooleries.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1926.

Of the seven plays which make up this collection, six had been written before World War I and passed over for publication in earlier collections. In the "Contents" to which this copy is opened Shaw listed them as "Trifles and Tomfooleries." They have been briefly mentioned earlier in this exhibition.

The translation — for there is only one — is *Jitta's Atonement.* The basis of the play is *Frau Gittas Sühne,* a play in German by Siegfried Trebitsch, which had been published in 1920. The man who had translated so much of Shaw's work into German and had worked so hard to get him a hearing on the German-speaking stage was caught in the post-war depression that overtook the countries of the former Triple Alliance. For the sake of an old friendship Shaw now translated a play of his translator's. He began working in 1920 and completed the play in 1922. The first production was in the United States, in Washington, D. C., on January 8, 1923, and in New York on January 17. The first production in England was by the Partnership Players in Fulham, London, in 1925. It has never been given a major public performance in London.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated Parknasilla, Kenmare, Co. Kerry, Ireland, September 15, 1920.

Frau Gittas Sühne was a romantic play of tragic tone dealing with infidelity, undying jealousy, sudden death, and lifelong expiation. *Jitta's Atonement* is not a translation but a free adaptation. Because it is by Shaw it is comic in tone, the tragedies are not permanent, the ending is happy. Trebitsch's comment on Shaw's finished work is a masterpiece of Continental politeness: "It is a marvelous translation; but you have changed my tragedy into a comedy."

The Austrian dramatist must have been on his guard after receiving the letter shown here in 1920. Shaw advises him that he has been translating *Gitta* in "scraps" and with difficulty. "The difficulty has been partly that I do not know German, and mainly that apparently you do not know it either, for not one of your words could I find in the little pocket dictionary I travelled with . . . and I had to guess what it was all about by mere instinct. It is therefore possible that you may find the whole thing absurdly wrong from beginning to end." The humor of this letter is echoed in the "Translator's Note" which Shaw contributed to *Translations and Tomfooleries.*

Bernard Shaw. *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1928.

For more than five years after he completed *Saint Joan,* Shaw put aside writing for the theater in order to give final shape to his concept of socialism. He had made an earlier and briefer formulation in *The Case for Equality,* delivered before the National Liberal Club in London in 1913 and published as a 25 page pamphlet that same year. The final development of his ideas was expressed in 470 pages in *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism,* published in 1928.

The book has been described as a survey of our civilization, a summary of what Shaw had been thinking and saying for forty years. The argument is advanced in a series of suggested answers to the question of how the spare money — the capital — of the world should be disposed of. Shaw's conclusion is that mankind cannot "estimate the merits of individuals in terms of money": an equal income to all is his solution. Critics have found it hard to understand how a man with Shaw's social philosophy could have desired to die a millionaire or have applauded the methods of totalitarianism either capitalist or communist.

The copy of *The Intelligent Woman's Guide* shown here was presented to Kate Dickens Perugini, the last surviving daughter of the novelist whose work first aroused in Shaw a sense of protest against the existing order.

Bernard Shaw. *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism.* London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1928.

From the pains he took with the production of the book itself, Shaw seems to have regarded *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* as one of the landmarks of his work. He sent the typescript to half a dozen friends, including the Webbs, for criticism of the thought and correction of technical details. He gave the volume a much more decorative binding, designed by Douglas Cockerell, and dust-jacket, drawn by Eric Kennington, than he had given any of its predecessors. They are both displayed here.

Advertising leaflet for *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* by Bernard Shaw issued by Constable & Co. Ltd., 1928.

To the date on the first page of this four page leaflet Shaw has added the year in manuscript: "To be published June 1st. 1928." From the care which he took with the production of the book it seems probable that he also wrote the text of this advertisement. The style also seems characteristically Shavian.

The Intelligent Woman's Guide is described as "virtually Mr. Shaw's declaration of faith — political, social and ethical," undertaken at the request of "a circle of ladies . . . living in a highly Conservative and mainly rural county. . . ." The purpose of the book is not "to make proselytes" but to provide "an understanding of Capitalism . . . as necessary as an understanding of Socialism, and . . . just as rare." The author knows "by experience as well as by common-sense that if people are to be converted they must convert themselves. They react against propaganda; and all any writer can wisely do is to put them in a position to make their own choice."

Bernard Shaw. Corrected typescript and galley proof of article entitled "The Censorship."

Shaw's battle with the forces of censorship in matters artistic — though unfortunately he did not always recognize political oppression — continued throughout the years. Shown here is an appeal, dated October 20, 1928, to the Irish people and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland protesting against an Irish bill of censorship which, aimed at suppressing information on birth-control, could be extended to affect all artistic expression. The article was published in the Irish *Statesman* for November 17, 1928.

On July 16, 1929, the Irish Parliament, however, passed a Censorship of Publications Act. The act made provisions for the prohibition of the sale and distribution of unwholesome literature and for the establishment of censorship of books and periodical publications. The board set up under the act was primarily concerned with the suppression of literature on birth-control.

Bernard Shaw. *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God.* London: Constable & Company Limited [1932]

At the very end of 1931 the Shaws visited South Africa, and in February 1932 while recuperating from a motor accident, the playwright started work on *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God.* He completed it in England that October. In a sort of Platonic dialogue built around the search of a primitive soul for a deity, he continued the religious discussion carried on in the prefaces to *Androcles and the Lion, Back to Methuselah,* and *Saint Joan.* Among the symbolic interlocutors of the Black Girl he introduced himself as the Irishman and Voltaire as the old philosopher. Though the Black Girl seems to express her convictions in her desire to marry the old philosopher, she accepts the Irishman as her mate. As for the Irishman, "nothing would ever persuade him that God was anything more solid and satisfactory than an eternal but as yet unfulfilled purpose, or that it could ever be fulfilled if the fulfilment were not made reasonably easy and hopeful by Socialism."

The Black Girl was published late in 1932 in a format that matched the charm of the fable. The wood engravings were by John Farleigh, who developed the rough sketches which Shaw himself made for the illustrations. The amusing touch of representing the Irishman in the tale as a likeness of the author was Shaw's own idea.

Bernard Shaw. *The Political Madhouse in America and Nearer Home. A Lecture.* London: Constable & Co., 1933.

The spirit in Shaw which delighted in "taking the conceit" out of the English also enjoyed working on the complacency of the Hundredpercent American. The earliest stricture which the public and private life of the United States received from him was in 1907 in an article entitled "A Nation of Villagers" in *Everybody's Magazine.* There he gave a surprised, infuriated, and amused country his conception of its capitalistic economy, its Fundamentalist religion, its moral tyranny, and its demagogue politics. Though some Americans took up the cudgels, others were amused at the Eagle-baiting

Shaw did not visit the United States until 1933, when on his world cruise he touched at San Francisco and at New York. In the latter city he lectured on April 11 at the Metropolitan Opera House under the auspices of the Academy of Political Science. Later that year the lecture, with a preface, was published in pamphlet form in England under the title *The Political Madhouse in America and Nearer Home.* Though Shaw frankly deplored the depression that our capitalism had plunged us into, the anarchy of our lynch law, the cumbersomeness of our Constitution, he told his audience that the Hundredpercent American "is a harmless and well-meaning child compared to the Hpc Englishman, Frenchman, German Nazi, or Japanese."

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. Manuscript of article entitled "Edgar Allan Poe."

Shaw's opinion of American culture — "extremely short of men of genius" — was made emphatically clear in the article on Edgar Allan Poe of which the manuscript is shown here. Writing for the London *Nation* for January 9, 1909, on the occasion of the centenary of the poet's birth, he hailed him as "this finest of fine artists, this born aristocrat of letters" and pitied him for being born among the Philistines. The only American writer whom he classed with Poe in the first rank was Walt Whitman. He found Twain a writer of less philosophic depth and extended his comparison to include such English writers of Poe's time as Dickens, Thackeray and Tennyson. He pointed out with relish that Poe was not represented in the American Hall of Fame (established in 1900) but was "explained away as a drunkard and a failure." He must have chuckled when the poet was installed in that "Pantheon," as the Irishman called it, the very next year.

The manuscript and the two stages of galley proof on display are heavily corrected.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph note to [Sir John Collings Squire?] dated April 18, 1921, written on a letter to Shaw, dated April 4, 1921, from Judge Henry Neil of Hinsdale, Illinois.

The naïveté, harmless though bumptious, which made Shaw call the United States "a nation of villagers" is amusingly illustrated by the note shown here. Judge Henry Neil, who at best seems to have been only slightly acquainted with the playwright, wrote him proudly that "America's greatest living poet," Edwin Markham, would soon visit England; the judge assumed that Shaw would consider it an honor to arrange a welcome for him. Shaw's comment on the suggestion, jotted on the letter in the form of a note to Squire, is a deft though supercilious example of deflation: "I wouldnt. I never heard of him. Did you?"

Bernard Shaw. *The Apple Cart.* Stamped "Second Proof" and "R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Edinburgh, 21 Mar. 1929."

More than five years passed before a new play by Shaw was offered to a world in which his every quip had become news. *The Apple Cart,* written in six weeks in 1929, inaugurated the Malvern Festival, which had been organized that year by Sir Barry Jackson, founder of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, to perform Shaw plays. The Malvern Festival flourished for a decade until it was suspended during World War II. Though its scope was enlarged to include work other than Shaw's, he continued to dominate it with his plays and presence.

The Apple Cart, which had received its first presentation in Warsaw in Polish on June 14, 1929, was performed for the first time in English at Malvern on August 19, 1929. The London critics went all the way down to Worcestershire to witness the dress rehearsal. It was the specialty of the first season, which also saw revivals of *Back to Methuselah, Heartbreak House,* and *Caesar and Cleopatra.*

The Apple Cart, described as "a political extravaganza," is a plea for justice, for freedom, for efficiency in government. King Magnus maintains his power not through royal privilege but by threatening to upset the apple cart by resigning his high office, in which he helps to cover the inefficiencies of the party system, and winning a seat in Parliament as a commoner. Some critics assumed that Shaw had turned his back on socialism.

The second proofs of *The Apple Cart* shown here were sent on March 22, 1929, by Shaw to his German translator. In the note written on the first page he cautioned Trebitsch as to the meaning of the title — "spoiling a project or wrecking an enterprise" — and warned him that Floryan Sobieniowski also had a set of proofs for his Polish translation. The Austrian was indignant that Warsaw should have been allowed to have the first production.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph letter to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated 4 Whitehall Court, London, November 29, 1929.

Shaw's most violent rift with Max Reinhardt grew out of the Berlin production of *The Apple Cart* in 1929. This letter explains in detail how, in the playwright's opinion, the Austrian producer had flouted his intentions. His text was cut and eighty interpolations by a poet-protégé of Reinhardt's were put in. Orinthia was made up like "a flapper-cocotte," and "a lot of scandalous business, with a bed on the stage," was introduced for laughs. "No doubt he sincerely believes his changes are improvements," Shaw conceded. "But that is not how I want my plays handled; and he will not get a chance of doing it again if I can help it. . . . I am — for a wonder — almost surprised, though I thought that no extremity of folly, vulgarity, and disloyalty on the part of a manager-producer could surprise me."

Bernard Shaw. *Too True to be Good, Village Wooing & On the Rocks. Three Plays.* London: Constable and Company Limited [1934]

In the 1930's Shaw brought out two collections of plays, of which this volume is the first. Of the three plays it contains, *Too True to be Good* is full length, and for it the playwright provided a preface. *Village Wooing* is a short playlet without preface. *On the Rocks* is in two acts and has a preface. The plays are shown here in the Standard Edition of the collected works.

From the general collection.

Colonial Theatre, Boston. Week beginning Monday evening, February 29, 1932. The Theatre Guild Inc. presents *Too True to be Good. A New Play* by Bernard Shaw.

Some critics hailed *Too True to be Good,* which Shaw wrote in 1931, as a stirring valediction and others as a confession of despair and an example of mental disintegration. It was certainly not his last play, and he himself insisted, "I have not recanted, renounced, abandoned nor demolished anything whatever." Calling the play "a political extravaganza," he preached therein a series of sermons on such familiar themes as the emptiness of riches, the inadequacy of democracy, the destructiveness of war. Progress away from the realistic tradition of playwriting toward the fantastic is emphasized by the appearance of a microbe-like monster in a speaking part.

To enliven proceedings Shaw introduced characterizations of his friends: Private Meek, the efficient enlisted man, is T. E. Lawrence of Arabia, and the Elder is William Ralph Inge, the "gloomy" Dean of St. Paul's. Shaw's opinion of the bankruptcy of contemporary morality — but not of his own beliefs — is found in the curtain speech of the hero, a "rascal who happens also to be a windbag": "We have outgrown our religion, outgrown our political system, outgrown our own strength of mind and character." But the playwright has the last word in a final note in the published text: "The author, though himself a professional talk maker, does not believe that the world can be saved by talk alone."

Too True to be Good was first presented on February 29, 1932, by the Theatre Guild of New York on tour in Boston. Of this performance a programme is shown here. The first presentation in England was at the Festival Theatre, Malvern, on August 6, 1932, as the feature of that season.

From the Theatre Collection.

[Thomas Edward Lawrence] *Seven Pillars of Wisdom, a triumph* [London] 1926.

The Shaws met T. E. Lawrence (1888–1935) through their friend Sir Sydney Cockerell, who was then Curator of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. They formed a close friendship,

though the real intimacy was between Mrs. Shaw and Lawrence. The copy of the privately printed *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, 1926, shown here belonged to Charlotte Shaw, whom the playwright identified as "the First Subscriber." The binding was executed by Charles McLeish, who had been connected with the Doves Bindery and was selected by Lawrence to do the work. Lawrence later gave Mrs. Shaw the manuscript of *The Mint* now in the British Museum.

After his wife's death, this copy of *Seven Pillars* came to Shaw, who wrote a six page note on the front flyleaves. He recorded that he discussed the book in detail with Lawrence and even rewrote certain passages that he thought libelous. On the moot question of Lawrence's veracity the Shaws disagreed. The playwright called him an actor, whereas Mrs. Shaw took a more emphatic and less kindly view. When Shaw questioned him specifically about one chapter in *Seven Pillars*, Lawrence admitted that his account did not follow the facts.

Shaw described Lawrence's "great abilities and interests [as] those of a highly gifted boy" and emphasized his opinion by saying, "He died, not as a great thinker but as a boy tearing along on a motor bicycle at 80 miles an hour." The playwright particularly noted that Lawrence "liked the portrait of him in my play Too True to be Good."

From the Arents Collection.

[Bernard Shaw] *Village Wooing: An Unladylike Comediettina for Two Voices in Three Conversations by a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. First Rough Proof — Unpublished.* Privately Printed 1933.

On December 16, 1932, the Shaws set out on a world cruise. The voyage gave the playwright plenty of time to work, and the first fruit of his labors, *Village Wooing*, was finished on January 27, 1933. The first conversation of the comediettina reflects a common cruise experience: the talkative lady in the next deck chair. In reality Shaw had perfected a method of obtaining privacy on a crowded deck by appointing as his watch dog some "lady . . . ripe for a friendship with a celebrity" and under her protective glare writing away in peace.

Village Wooing, an "unladylike" light comedy dealing with his pet subject of the helpless male in flight from the female, was first produced by the Little Theatre Company in Dallas, Texas, on April 16, 1934. It was presented in England at Tunbridge Wells on May 1, 1934, and in London on June 19 with Shaw as director.

The private printing was called "first rough proof." Once more Shaw used the pen name of Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. This copy was presented to Charles Macdona, the theatrical producer, on October 5, 1933.

[Bernard Shaw] *On the Rocks: A Political Fantasy in Two Acts by a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. First Rough Proof — Unpublished.* Privately Printed 1933.

In *On the Rocks*, which was written in 1933, Shaw presented a situation in which, during an economic and political crisis caused by unemployment, a man of action is needed to get democracy off the rocks. The play has been interpreted by critics as a reflection of the admiration evinced by Shaw for totalitarian government by a ruthless dictator as he had observed it in the régimes of Mussolini and Lenin. Hitler he rejected for his anti-Semitism.

The rehearsal copy of *On the Rocks* shown here belongs to the first state of the private printing, which was ready by September 26, 1933. It was this state, no doubt, which Charles Macdona used for the first production of the play at the Winter Garden Theatre, London, on November 25, 1933.

Bernard Shaw. *On the Rocks: A Compendium of Contemporary Politics in Two Acts. First Revise after Rehearsal — Unpublished.* Privately Printed 1933.

The copy of *On the Rocks* shown here is a second state of the private printing. Described as a "first revise after rehearsal," it presents innumerable differences from the first state, notably in the final scene of the play, and may constitute a complete resetting of type that would make it a second edition of the private printing. Shaw has acknowledged authorship and has significantly changed the sub-title from "a political fantasy" to "a compendium of contemporary politics." The second state of the private printing is believed not to have been ready until after the play opened.

Bernard Shaw. *The Simpleton, The Six, and The Millionairess. Being Three More Plays.* London: Constable and Company Limited [1936]

In due course Shaw brought out another collection of plays containing *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles, The Six of Calais,* and *The Millionairess.* These had been written in 1934 and 1935. The volume appeared in the collected works, and the Standard Edition is shown here. For the first and last plays Shaw provided prefaces of some length. The playlet, however, has a brief prefatory note.

From the general collection.

[Bernard Shaw] *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles.*

Written in 1934, *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles* is a free fantasia on subjects like Creative Evolution, the Superman, and religion that Shaw had been handling in dramatic form for decades. The ideas are treated like musical themes which the playwright interweaves with a freedom unhampered by the tradition of the realistic theater.

The play was first presented by the Theatre Guild in New York on February 18, 1935. That summer it was the attraction of the Malvern Festival, where it was given its first English production on July 29.

The copy of *The Simpleton* shown here has no title-page and a dark brown unlettered wrapper.

[Bernard Shaw] *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles: A Vision of Judgment by a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. Proof (Unpublished).* Privately Printed 1934.

The rehearsal copy shown here appears to belong to the state of the private printing that was ready on November 24, 1934, for the Theatre Guild production. The wording of the light gray wrapper repeats that of the title-page. Apparently the text was not revised once it was set up in type.

The Open Air Theatre, Regent's Park, London. Programme for Tuesday, July 17, 1934. *The Six of Calais. A Medieval War Story in One Act* by Jean Froissart, Auguste Rodin and Bernard Shaw.

The inspiration for *The Six of Calais* had come to Shaw before World War I when he saw Rodin's heroic statue of the six burghers in the market-place at Calais and reread the account of them given in Jean Froissart's *Chronicles.* "Nothing remained for me to do," he declared, "but to correct Froissart's follies and translate Rodin into words." This he did in 1934, and the result is another entertaining Shavian interpretation of a famous historical incident. According to the playwright, there was "no moral whatever" in the piece, only "the spectacle of a medieval soldier monarch . . . behaving himself like an unrestrained human being in a very trying situation instead of like a modern constitutional monarch on parade keeping up an elaborate fiction of living in a political vacuum and moving only when his ministers pull his strings."

Though critics objected to this interpretation as a violation of high tradition, audiences enjoyed *The Six of Calais* when it was produced in the Open Air Theatre in Regent's Park on July 17, 1934. A program is displayed here, showing that the one-act play was a curtain raiser for *Androcles and the Lion.*

From the Theatre Collection.

[Bernard Shaw] *The Millionairess. A Jonsonian Comedy in Four Acts by a Fellow of The Royal Society of Literature. Rough Proof: unpublished.* Privately Printed July 1935.

The Shaws' second visit to South Africa in 1935 provided the playwright with the opportunity to write *The Millionairess,* which he described as a "Jonsonian Comedy." The reference is doubtless to Ben Jonson's method of creating his characters according to the theory of a dominant trait or humor. The play, which contains lively elements of the fantastic, is concerned with the problem of the aggressive personality in the modern world. The boss type can enslave others by financial domination. When he dominates politically, he can even destroy personalities of inestimable value to human progress — as Hitler attempted to destroy Einstein. The boss personality is exemplified in the play by a woman — and Shaw even suggested to his friend Lady Astor that "people will say you are the millionairess. An awful, impossible woman. . . ."

Shaw is believed to have had Edith — later Dame Edith — Evans in mind for the title role for England and Katharine Hepburn for the United States. If Miss Evans had not turned it down, *The Millionairess* would have been performed at Malvern as the specialty of the 1935 season. As it was, it was first presented in Vienna in German on January 4, 1936. The first English production was in Melbourne, Australia, on March 7, 1936. It was not presented in London until May 1944, and Katharine Hepburn did not appear in it until the London production of June 1952.

The earliest form of the private printing, described as "rough proof: unpublished" and dated "July 1935," is shown here. Once again Shaw ascribed the play to "a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature." The Melbourne production may have been rehearsed from such copies.

Bernard Shaw. *The Millionairess: A Comedy in Four Acts. Second Proof before Rehearsal: unpublished.* Privately Printed July 1936.

The copy of the private printing shown here bears a date exactly a year later than the preceding one. Shaw put his name on the title-page and changed the sub-title. He also revised the text, which is a page shorter than previously. The so-called Russian ending had not yet been added. It is possible that the first production in England, which was put on by the Matthew Forsyth Repertory Company at Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex, in November 1936, was rehearsed from this state of the private printing.

[Bernard Shaw] *The Millionairess: A Jonsonian Comedy in Four Acts by a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. Rehearsal copy.* Privately Printed March 1940.

The copy of the *The Millionairess* shown here belongs to the third state of the private printing, on which first appeared the words "rehearsal copy." It was produced almost four years after the preceding state and the published version.

Shaw went back to the old sub-title and pseudonym. He revised the text again and added the Russian ending to provide "an edifying moral" for audiences "in countries with Communist sympathies." He reworked the text to make the millionairess a judo expert because of the special abilities of the actress who was to play the part in a projected 1940 revival. This revival never took place.

Bernard Shaw. *Geneva, Cymbeline Refinished, & Good King Charles.* London: Constable and Company Limited [1946]

Though the last collection which Shaw brought out during his lifetime contained plays written before World War II, the volume did not appear until after the war was over. The playwright was ninety years old; yet he provided prefaces for all three plays. The volume was published in the collected edition. The Standard Edition is shown here.

From the general collection.

[Bernard Shaw] *Geneva: A Fancied Page of History by a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. Rehearsal Copy — Unpublished.* Privately Printed June 1938.

After writing *Cymbeline Refinished* in 1937 to provide "a variation on Shakespeare's ending," Shaw set himself in 1938 the task of writing a play about the fascist dictators. Of necessity, the mood of the play had to be fantastic. Mussolini and Hitler, in the persons of Bombardone and Battler, were brought before the Court of International Justice at The Hague. General Flanco was also introduced to testify. Though *Geneva: A Fancied Page of History* is not so fantastic as to bring the dictators to book, Shaw seems to indicate that such supranational tribunals may some day provide a check upon the boss personality.

Geneva was first presented on August 1, 1938, at Malvern as the feature of that season. The play was presumably produced from the first state of the private printing, ready in June 1938 and called "rehearsal copy — unpublished," of which an example is shown here. Shaw appears on the title-page only as "a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature." The front wrapper carries the note "*private and confidential.*"

Bernard Shaw. *Geneva: A Fancied Page of History in Three Acts. Second Rehearsal Copy, Revised After Bombardone's Conversion to Anti-Semitism. Unpublished.* Privately Printed 1938.

Before the first London production of *Geneva* opened at the Saville Theatre on November 22, 1938, Mussolini had begun to imitate Hitler's anti-Semitic policies. To keep the play abreast

of the political situation in the dictatorships, Shaw had to revise his text, as he points out on the title-page. The revisions he dated September 14, 1938. The new text is three pages shorter than the old. Presumably the London performance was rehearsed from "second rehearsal" copies, of which an example is shown here.

Bernard Shaw. *Geneva: A Fancied Page of History in Three Acts.*

This state of the private printing carries the date 1939 only on the wrapper and has no note about rehearsal copy. Obviously it was prepared after the Malvern and London productions. The text differs considerably from the first and second states of the private printing dated 1938, as it is fourteen pages shorter than the former and ten pages shorter than the latter. It shows changes which suggest that it was late proof for the text of the first published edition. This appeared in June 1939 with illustrations by Shaw's young friend Feliks Topolski, the Polish artist. Because the text is printed around the illustrations on many pages, type had to be completely reset.

[Bernard Shaw] *"In Good King Charles's Golden Days."* Stamped "First Proof" and "R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Edinburgh, 12 [13 and 17] May. 1939."

Many readers have found *In Good King Charles's Golden Days* the most satisfying of Shaw's latter-day plays. Written in 1939 in the tradition of realistic characterization, it presents in Newton, George Fox, and Charles II the greatest scientific, religious, and political minds of mid-seventeenth century England. Comedy is provided by Charles' relationship with three of his mistresses, Nell Gwynn and the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth, and with his wife, to whom he turns for protection from other women. Some critics have thought of the play as a rough sketch, since the first of the two acts is sixty-one pages long and the second, twelve.

The set of first proof shown here was extensively corrected by Shaw and returned to the printer on May 22, 1939. With it is shown a slip from William Maxwell, of R. and R. Clark's printing house, inquiring as to certain inconsistencies in Shaw's manuscript. The proof shows how much trouble Shaw took over Newton's mathematical calculation of Charles' unfaithfulness.

The playwright presented these proofs to William Maxwell on June 2, 1939. He provided them with a wrapper which he lettered by hand as copy for the printed wrapper of the "first rehearsal" copies. He added the note, "Please print 50 rehearsal copies."

[Bernard Shaw] *"In Good King Charles's Golden Days."*

The private printing for rehearsal purposes, of which an example is shown here, was presumably ready early in June 1939. It has no title-page, though the printed wrapper presents the information usually found on the title-page of the private printings: " 'In Good King Charles's Golden Days.' A History Lesson by a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. First Rehearsal Copy. Privately Printed 1939." It also carries the note "strictly private." Most of the corrections indicated by Shaw in the proof have been incorporated into the text.

The private printing was undoubtedly used for the rehearsals of the first production of *King Charles*, which was opened at Malvern on August 12, 1939, as the attraction of the season, after a pre-Festival tour. The play was presented in London at the Streatham Hill Theatre in April 1940. It was revived at Malvern on August 8, 1949, at the first Festival held after World War II.

[Bernard Shaw] *"In Good King Charles's Golden Days."* Stamped "First Proof" and "R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Edinburgh, 6 Oct 1939."

The proof shown here is for the first published edition of *King Charles*. This was illustrated by the Polish artist Feliks Topolski, who produced the illustrations for *Geneva* that same year. This set of proofs consists of a copy of the private printing with proofs of the illustrations pasted into the position on the page which presumably they were to fill. In almost every case, however, the illustration has been shifted in the published text to another position on the page or generally to another page altogether. The full page illustrations are not present in this proof. There are a few corrections in the text in an unknown hand.

Bernard Shaw. *In Good King Charles's Golden Days: a history lesson illustrated by Feliks Topolski.* London: Constable & Co Ltd [1939]

A copy of the play as first published is shown here. Topolski represented Shaw on the front cover at work with a quill pen presumably on the manuscript of *King Charles*. On the title-page

he placed the playwright and the king profile by profile on a medal. Beneath it is a motto, "Favente Deo" — so to say, "Favored by God."

Bernard Shaw. *Everybody's Political What's What?* London: Constable and Company Limited [1944]

In World War II Shaw was again associated in the public mind, though less than in 1914–1918, with forces hostile to England. This time it was not because of any attempt to talk plainly about the conflict but because of his tolerance for dictatorships. During the war he gave up the writing of plays and devoted himself to summarizing a half century of observation — political, economic, social, scientific and aesthetic — in the volume entitled *Everybody's Political What's What.*

Shaw concludes this recapitulation of his experience, which has been compared to a manual for the education of the ideal statesman of the future, with a description of the book: "My Everybody's What's What is only an attempt by a very ignorant old man to communicate to people still more ignorant than himself such elementary social statistics as he has managed to pick up by study and collision with living persons and hard facts. . . ." The last word is contained in a parenthesis — "(to be continued by them that can)."

From the general collection.

Bernard Shaw. Autograph correspondence card to Siegfried Trebitsch, dated Ayot St. Lawrence, Welwyn, Herts., September 28, 1945.

Shaw could not escape the sorrows that accompany the honors of great age. On September 12, 1943, Mrs. Shaw died after a long and disfiguring illness. In the mood of unreality and vivid perception that descended upon him he continued to talk to her body and noted a transitory beauty in her face in death that had not been there since she was a young girl. Her cremation did not give him the feeling of exaltation that had filled him at his mother's. After his wife's death his solution of the problem of loneliness, as he indicated to Trebitsch in the note shown here, was to protect himself with work, "with literary work and the business connected with it and with the arrangement of my affairs after my death, which may occur at any moment."

At the threshold of ninety he became afraid of London. He mistrusted the "many mistakes" he made. He could walk only "a mile, very unsteadily and leaning on a stick." He urged Trebitsch and his wife not to visit him. "I dont want anyone to see me as I am now; and I dont want to see anybody. My regard for you and Tina is undiminished; but you must write me off as dead."

[Bernard Shaw] *The Buoyant Billions.*

During World War II Shaw wrote little, and none of that little seems to have been in dramatic form. The first post war play, *Buoyant Billions,* he began in 1946 especially for the projected Malvern Festival of 1947. At first it was in three acts only, and he described it as "an intentionally unfinished comedy." Marxism, education, the relationship between men and women and between parents and children provide fantastic comedy.

Though the first state of the private printing has no title-page, it carries the usual information on the wrapper: "The Buoyant Billions. An Intentionally Unfinished Comedy by a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. First Rehearsal Copy. Private Edition 1947." Shaw uses his pen name and adds words of limitation, *"strictly private"* and *"for use in the theatre only."* When the 1947 Malvern Festival was postponed, Shaw, it is believed, had most of the first rehearsal copies destroyed that August.

[Bernard Shaw] *Buoyant Billions: A Comedy of No Manners by a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. Rehearsal Copy for the Malvern Festival on the 26th July 1948. Not for publication.* Privately printed 1947.

When plans were made to reopen the Malvern Festival in 1948, a date — July 26 — was set for the performance of *Buoyant Billions.* Shaw revised the text of the first three acts and added a fourth entitled "The End." This second state of the private printing was ready in October 1947, but the Malvern Festival was again put off. Shaw kept his pen name. He now called the piece "a comedy of no manners."

Buoyant Billions was first performed in Zurich in German on October 21, 1948. For rehearsals of the Swiss production the third state of the private printing, dated 1948, may have been used.

There was also a fourth state, dated 1949, which may have been used to rehearse the play for the Malvern Festival of 1949, where it was finally given on August 13, 1949.

The Watergate Theatre [London] Programme for Wednesday, September 6, 1950. *Farfetched Fables* by Bernard Shaw.

Farfetched Fables was the last play Shaw completed and the last play to have its première during his lifetime. Though *Shakes versus Shav: A Puppet Play* that takes ten minutes to perform was written in 1949, it was not presented until after his death. *Why She Would Not: A Comedietta* was left unfinished.

Farfetched Fables was put on by the Watergate Theatre for the Shaw Society, which had been founded in July 1941 by F. E. Loewenstein, Shaw's bibliographer. The programme was designed by Feliks Topolski. Written in 1949 and 1950, the six fables deal with a world in which most of the inhabitants have been killed by poison gas and the survivors are vegetarians who strive to eliminate the body in order to live in a state of pure mind. The fables might be called postscripts to *Man and Superman* and *Back to Methuselah*.

The play was first performed on September 6, 1950, almost two months before Shaw's death on November 2.

Editor's note: The separate pamphlet publication of this *Catalogue* is already out of print.

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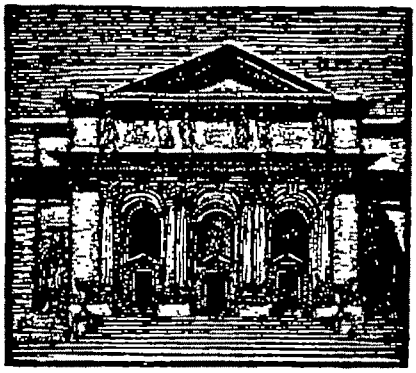

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Front Matter

SUMMER occupancy of the Library steps and outdoor benches is reaching its normality. The plane trees in Bryant Park are in full leaf. And the reference and rare collections have begun to receive the first gentle tide of summer research visitants.

Summer Guide to New Accessions

For many a teacher vacation time means library time. Having graded the last bluebook, having pronounced verdict on the last term paper, he puts off the teacher to don the critic, the bibliographer, the historian. At one stage this means camping in a trailer near San Marino or in a North Side room near the Newberry or in a Village sublet within walking distance of the Newspaper Annex. At another it means crossing the Atlantic. Even the global scholar on the way to Heidelberg or the British Museum stops in at 42nd Street to verify a reference (and to pick up a copy of the *Bulletin* Style Sheet). Peril to the contemplated voyage if he discovers the editions or the manuscripts he needs right here in Manhattan.

This June *Bulletin* is calculated to reach most teaching scholars' desks before sailing time. In it Dr. Dickson calls attention to some of the contents of the six categories of rarities and oddities in the new Arents Collection of Books in Parts. (In the autumn this survey will be reprinted with a briefly descriptive checklist of the entire collection.) On display in the collection cases is a tempting selection of "Great and Rare Works in Parts" for the special delectation of summer guests.

In what we may call our companion feature Dr. Gordan provides a descriptive sampling of manuscripts and books "New in the Berg Collection" during the last half decade. This sampling is to be continued in July, but visitors will see the whole array laid out in the exhibit cases, and at the front of the printed list (page 304 below) we have placed an analytical table of contents for those who wish to know at once just which authors are included between "Adams, Henry" and "Zangwill, Israel."

Eighteenth century scholars will see that the already large collection of Burney family material has been substantially added to and will note the Garrick-Colman correspondence. Romantics will find Coleridge, Scott, and Southey on the list. For Victorian scholars the foison includes another Dickens prompt copy; much new Gissing; much new Galsworthy, including the evidence of his labor in boiling down a bulky "pot-boiler"; the evidence of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's endeavor "to do for the boys' book what Sherlock Holmes did for the detective tale"; the record, in printer's proofs, of Browning's alteration, for stylistic and then legal reasons, of his *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country* — but this is already being "written up" for a forthcoming *Bulletin* article. New Americana in the Berg include records of Samuel Clemens as a touring lecturer and a vast collection of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne letters.

Storytelling

Last autumn we became interested in the Library's storytelling program when we were working on *Reading without Boundaries*, the symposium of essays on library work with children that filled our November – December *Bulletin*. Our curiosity was both whetted by the enthusiasm of the storytellers we came to know (Mrs. Augusta Baker and staff) and piqued by the information that

adults are not permitted to break the spell of the children's story hours. We were advised that we must wait until spring. In May would come that one day of the year (shades of Pippa!) when we might enter the magic circle — the day of the Storytelling Symposium, when children's librarians gather from branches all over the city to hear the latest masters of the art.

Last month the day of the 26th Annual Symposium came — and the invitation. Our staff assistant went to the feast of tales and returned aglow.

She had risen at dawn, had traveled on two subway trains, a ferryboat, and finally a bus that wove up and down and around the hills of Staten Island, and with other storytelling aficionados she had arrived at the West New Brighton Branch in time for the opening candle-lighting ceremony. The effect of the storytelling was difficult to report, directly, but is discernable in the especially vivid impression our neophyte retained of the physical setting of the occasion. The West New Brighton Branch, a fine example of the residential type of branch library, is a red brick colonial building on a rolling green surrounded by tall maples. The day was warm and the windows along either side of the children's room, where the symposium was held, were open to the new green outdoors. The stories, told by five new raconteurs selected for their dramatic ability, enthusiasm, and skill in holding young audiences, dealt with golden oranges, billy goats gruff, a frog prince, an "ashypet," and a white bird. To close the séance a doyenne of telling climaxed with a tale of dancing shoes. What imprinted itself on our listener with vivid sensory photism, to use a term employed by students of mystic and essentially ineffable experience, was the large dome-shaped window at the front of the room which framed the storytellers, with their traditional lighted candle, their vases of flowers and great burnished copper urns of green and white dogwood branches reaching up the fresh white walls, and was completely filled with a vista of new grass and tall green trees.

Musical Noise

The current Music Division exhibit (see back cover) briefs us on the practice and theory of the new sounds we have begun to hear on our radios. Having got rid of static noise, weeded out by the technician, we open our ears to dynamic noise, scored in by the composer. Controversy makes some of the din, but actually the new music *is* built of "noise," from hums and hisses to electronically generated pure tones without fundamentals or overtones.

The exhibit indicates a diversity of approaches. In France natural sounds are used *(musique concrète);* in Germany and Italy pure tones; in the U. S. a base of familiar musical tones (piano, flute, etc.) reorganized by the tape recorder.

Lecture - demonstrations have been given here, in connection with the exhibit, by Edgard Varèse, Otto Luening, and Vladimir Ussachevsky, leading American composers in the electronic mode.

Use and Additions, May 1957

Visitors entering the Central Building, 265,245; readers in the Reference Department, 92,691; volumes consulted, 233,942. Volumes issued by the Circulation Department for home use, 1,029,721.

Received through purchase and gift

	Circ. Dept. Gift	Ref. Dept. Gift	Purchase and Gift
Volumes	723	1,839	34,846
Pamphlets	515	5,149	6,578
Maps	—	136	148
Prints	—	3	21
Misc.	76	—	76

BULLETIN OF THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
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JUNE 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 6

The Arents Collection of Books in Parts and Associated Literature

A Brief Survey

By SARAH AUGUSTA DICKSON
Chief of the Arents Collections

AFTER he had assembled an important tobacco collection, George Arents, as a veteran bibliophile, started to collect books in parts. His reason for doing this can be given in his own words: "A collector of gems has much in common with the collector of books. A man may buy a beautiful diamond. . . . If it has a bad flaw, every time he looks at it he will think of that flaw. If a collector has a first folio of Shakespeare with the title in facsimile, every time he shows it to someone he thinks about that title-page. Neither the book nor the gem can be improved. Books in parts, however, are like a pearl necklace. If some of the pearls are off color or not perfectly shaped, it is possible to replace them. If you have a set of *David Copperfield* in parts and one of the issues is defective — a torn page, some missing advertisements or not the first edition — it is possible for you to pick up a very defective set, but one which has that part in perfect condition, and so to complete your good set." [1]

So far as has been ascertained this is the only library assembled on the principle that the books therein appeared serially in separate numbers and are still in their original state. Since the collection is now housed in The New York Public Library in a room adjoining the Arents Tobacco Collection and may be visited by interested persons, it is appropriate to give a short account of the books and other material contained in it.

[1] George Arents, "Book Collecting — As I Have Found It," *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, LVIII (April 1954) 162.

Books in parts may be defined as works by an author or authors which are published piecemeal over a period of time, each unit having its separate cover, usually paper or boards, and in many cases with the title-page and other preliminary matter for the volume or volumes at the end of the last part. Some books in parts, to be sure, were issued without title-pages or stitched without wrappers. But all were issued serially, at intervals of time. A novel in three volumes, although in three covers, is not a book in parts, for all three are issued simultaneously. On the other hand, a serialized novel appearing in a newspaper or magazine is not a book in parts, since considerable other material appears in each number, and the novel, when completed, is only a portion of the file of the periodical, and does not form a unit in itself.

R. M. Wiles, in his recent authoritative work on serial publications before 1750,[2] includes works appearing as supplements to newspapers or magazines in his list of books in fascicules or numbers, terms which he uses for books issued serially. I have employed the word "parts" as more suitable to the type of books described in this article, one class only of works published in instalments. Graham Pollard in his survey of serial fiction [3] makes the valid point that the collector of first editions should be interested in the printing of a novel in a magazine since it is so often the first printing, and since the work, when issued later in volume form, sometimes differs materially from the serial version. A commonly cited example of such a difference in the periodical publication and book edition of a novel is Du Maurier's *Trilby*. At first printed as a serial the story had an illustration and some text clearly satirizing the artist Whistler under the name of Sibley. This was changed when the novel appeared in book-form.

It is undoubtedly true that the earliest form of an author's work has great significance for the collector of that author's works and for the literary historian. But the criterion of choice for the inclusion of an author's work in the Arents collection is not that such a work is the first printing in a periodical or the first edition in book-form, but that it is a book in parts, in its original state. One example will illustrate this. The pieces in *Sketches by Boz* by Dickens appeared in various periodicals in London from December 1833 to October 1836. Then Macrone, who had become the owner of the copyright of the sketches, issued them in book-form, the first series in two volumes in February 1836 and the second series in one volume in December 1836. These two were reprinted several times. Finally Chapman and Hall issued them

[2] *Serial Publication in England Before 1750* (Cambridge 1957).

[3] "Serial Fiction," *New Paths in Book Collecting*, ed. John Carter (London 1934) 251–252.

in 20 parts from November 1837 to December 1839. This issue in parts is in the Arents collection; the earlier periodical printing and the volume editions are not.

It is generally agreed that the reason for issuing books serially was to attract more buyers; the majority of readers were better able to pay a shilling or less for a monthly or weekly part, than a pound at one time for the complete book. Wiles (p. 2) quotes the *Grub-Street Journal* of October 26, 1732: "This method of Weekly Publication allows Multitudes to peruse Books in which they would otherwise never have looked." Such readers were to become far more numerous a little over a hundred years later when the adventures of the immortal Pickwick achieved an unprecedented and stunning success as published in 20 parts.

Of the approximately 150 works listed by Wiles as issued in numbers before 1750 many are forgotten today. Some were never reprinted. On the other hand, editions of such great works as the plays of Shakespeare, *Don Quixote* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* were issued serially at this period. Of the books before 1750 on the list only one is in the Arents Collection of Books in Parts. The reason for this is simple: they do not exist in their original condition, i. e., in parts, unbound or in wrappers. When they are to be found — an infrequent occurrence — they are bound as books, and only the long-established and largest libraries have them. Several of these works in volume form are in the Arents Tobacco Collection. Among these are Ward's *The London Spy*, 1698–1699, and Ralegh's *The History of the World*, 1735–1736. This collection contains bound volumes of the original numbers of *The Tatler* by Steele and *The Spectator* by Addison and Steele, works many times reissued and still read today.[4]

Most of the books in the Arents Collection of Books in Parts were published in England and America; it was not the intention to collect works in foreign languages printed on the continent of Europe or elsewhere. But exceptions were made in the case of about a dozen titles; six are translations of Dickens into German and Swedish, the others are in French and mainly interesting for their plates. In the collection are twelve books in two parts and one book in 350 parts; the others range in between these extremes; the favorite number of parts for the Victorian novelists is twenty.

The earliest work in the Arents collection is *Musica Transalpina, Madrigales Translated of Foure, Five and Sixe Parts*, by Yonge, London, 1588.

[4] These books are excluded by Wiles, apparently because he classes them as newspapers or magazines. He does, however, list Ward's *London Spy*, a publication which some writers on periodicals have compared to Steele's and Addison's works, e. g., Walter Graham in *English Periodicals* (New York 1930) 51.

This copy consists of the *Bassus, Altus, Tenor,* and *Quintus.* This is a book in "parts," but in a very special sense, since the parts are to be used by singers and not by readers. The book, as far as the words in it are concerned, is the same work issued four times simultaneously. The first book in parts in the Arents collection is *An Apology for the Conduct of Mrs. Teresia Constantia Phillips,* issued by the notorious "Con" Phillips for blackmailing purposes in 1748. Mrs. Phillips was her own publisher (see reproduction of title-page) and sold it at her own house. Her signature appears on the title-page of each number to insure purchasers that they were getting the genuine issue and not a piracy. The author was apparently successful in obtaining money, as she went to Jamaica and married several times, by means of what she extracted from her victims, including her first husband. The example of the resourceful Mrs. Phillips was followed in the nineteenth century by Harriette Wilson, whose roster of wealthy and exalted admirers was even more extensive than her predecessor's. *The Memoirs of Harriette Wilson* are scandalous and frequently hilarious; the conversations reported therein and the incidents described are spirited and diverting.[5] Some of the author's highly-placed friends paid to keep their connection with her out of her book; others, including the Duke of Wellington, conqueror of Waterloo, did not. The book went through several editions at the time of publication and was translated and pirated all over Europe.[6] It made much money for its author and her publisher, John Stockdale, but he was sued for libel and convicted. The 1825 edition in parts is rare.[7] Three issues of this are in the Arents collection: nine parts in five, twelve parts in ten, and twelve parts in eight; all are in paper wrappers. The book was not reprinted in the later nineteenth century but there have been at least three reprints in the twentieth century.[8] But whether in print or not the work is undoubtedly a fascinating example of its type. To the male writers of gay reminiscences one can say *place aux dames.*

[5] In her *Tribute to Harriette* (New York 1936), based to a considerable extent on the memoirs, Angela Thirkell says (p. 9): ". . . the style is so dashing, the characterization is so true, the conversations are so vividly reported, that retelling gives a poor idea of her brilliant slip-shod impertinence."

[6] The Bibliothèque Nationale has English and French editions of 1825 and a Brussels edition in French of the same year.

[7] None of the seven editions in the British Museum is in parts. There is, however, a copy in parts in the library at Harvard University.

[8] *The Memoirs of Harriette Wilson,* 2 vols. (London 1909); another ed., London 1929; and *The Game of Hearts; Harriette Wilson's Memoirs,* ed. Lesley Blanch (New York 1955). It also formed the basis for a play, "The Demi-reps" by Gladys Unger and Stuart Walker, 1938, a transcript of which is in the Theatre Collection of The New York Public Library. It does not seem that this play was ever produced or published.

That works are still being published in parts is proved by the presence of twentieth century books in the Arents collection. The latest of these is still in process: *Old Garden Roses,* by Sacheverell Sitwell and James Russell, of which Part I appeared in 1955. To be sure this method of publication is now rare, especially as compared to its prevalence in the nineteenth century. Pollard ascribed the decline in popularity of English books in parts in the later years of the century to the emergence of cheaper magazines where such works could be serialized and which would give the purchaser more for his money. But in spite of the popularity of the serials in periodicals certain types of books in parts still sold to readers at a penny a number, as will be seen.

The most striking feature of the literature which was issued in parts is its great diversity. Almost every type of book and author is represented in the Arents collection. There are no works on mathematics or chemistry, but this lack may yet be filled. There are, however, works on theology, philosophy, and zoology. A large number of the great books of the past were reprinted in parts during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some of these will be noticed later. No edition of Noah Webster's famous dictionary was ever issued in parts in America but his unabridged dictionary was published, 1830–1831, in London in 13 parts. Only one imperfect copy of this has been located.[9] The Arents collection does, however, possess a copy of *A New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,* by G. Gregory, in 12 parts, London, 1806–1807, and also *The Oxford English Dictionary,* in parts, 1884–1933. The difficulty of using a dictionary in paper parts may account for the rarity of such books in their original state. The purchaser would immediately have them bound for preservation.

For the purpose of showing the many different kinds of books found in the Arents Collection of Books in Parts they are divided roughly into six categories. The first may be called general literature, including novels, poetry, and other works of belles lettres. This category includes older classics reprinted in parts. The second class is composed of caricature books, scandalous memoirs, sporting books (including fiction on this subject) and works of "high life," where the satiric verges on the slanderous and shocking. The third category comprises works on travel (including landscapes), architecture (including pictures of actual buildings), and art (including reproductions of paintings). The fourth class is composed of "shilling shockers" and

[9] I am indebted for this information to Dr. Edwin Carpenter, whose edition of Emily E. F. Skeel's *Bibliography of the Writings of Noah Webster* is being published at The New York Public Library in 1957.

"penny dreadfuls" where the chief interest is in sensational and criminal incidents sometimes based on real events. In certain cases these books might be considered ordinary fiction, but in general they have no pretentions as literature. They are among the rarest of works in parts. The fifth class contains informational works: biography, theology, philosophy, and science excepting the natural sciences. The sixth class comprises works on natural science, most containing colored plates, such as botany, ornithology, and zoology.

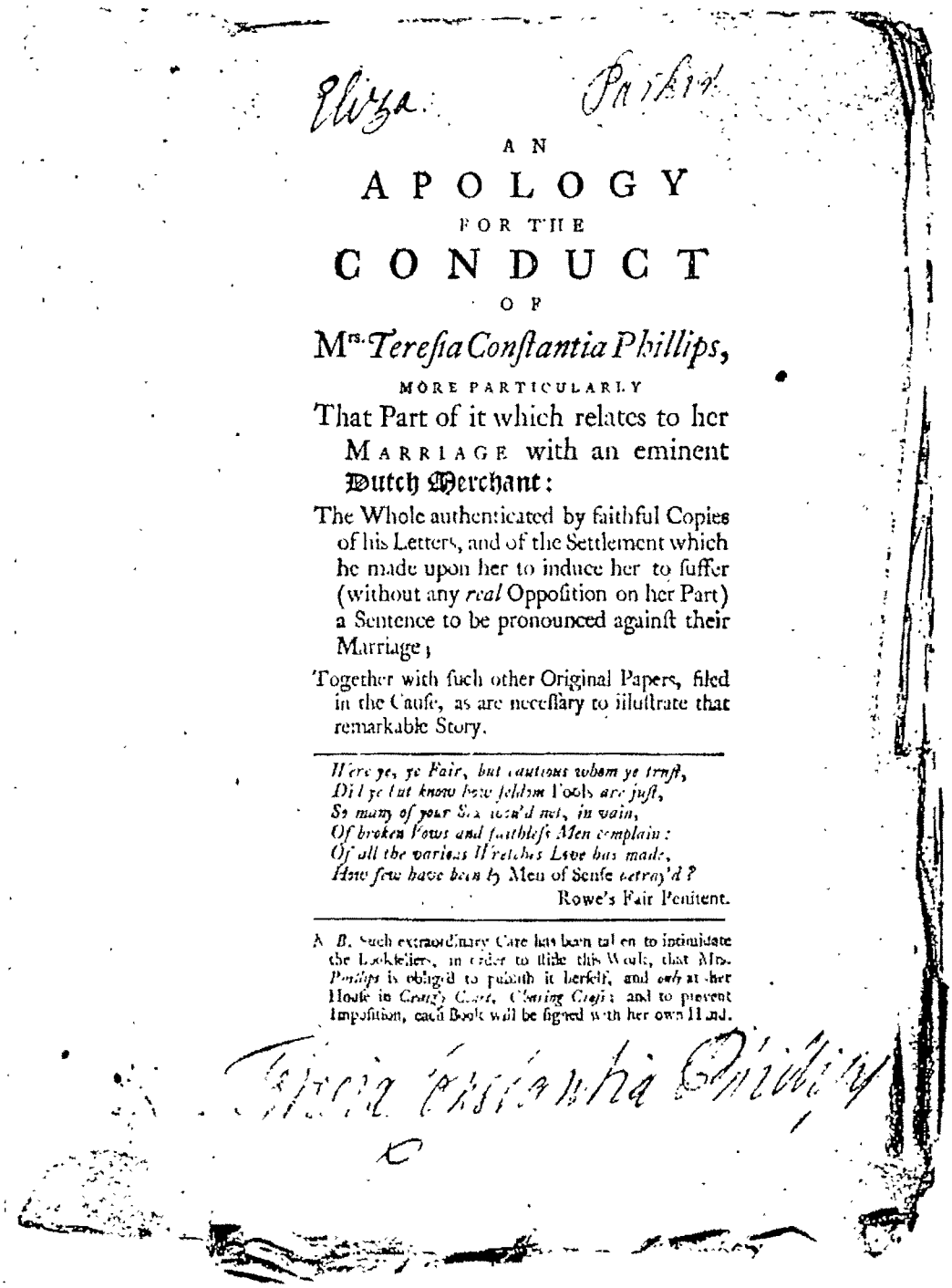
Even a person inexperienced in the intricacies of Victorian bibliography knows that Dickens and Thackeray published their works in parts. The first editions of those great novels *Vanity Fair* and *Pickwick Papers* were issued in twenty parts in nineteen. One of the fourteen "prime Pickwicks" [10] is in the Arents collection. The two contemporary American editions in parts are rarer than the English *Pickwick*. A superb copy of the Philadelphia edition, 1836–1837, in five parts in board covers, is in the collection, as is the best of the four known copies of the New York edition in 26 parts, published in paper wrappers in 1836–1838. All of the longer works of Dickens appeared in parts with the exception of *Great Expectations*, which came out in three volumes. All of the English as well as twelve American part issues are in the Arents library. Three of Thackeray's major novels were issued in parts; *Henry Esmond* was not. One of the finest copies known of *Vanity Fair* is in the Arents collection. It would not be an exaggeration to say that another copy in such fine condition could not be found. The first American edition in two parts, one of two recorded copies, is also present.

Of the seventy-odd works listed in Michael Sadleir's bibliography of Anthony Trollope only nine appeared in parts. These are in the Arents collection. Among these are such important novels as *The Prime Minister, The Vicar of Bullhampton, The Last Chronicle of Barset,* and *He Knew He Was Right.* The Anglo-Irish writer, Charles Lever, so popular about the same time, issued many of his works in parts. Fifteen of these rollicking tales of Irish and military life, with illustrations by Hablôt K. Browne ("Phiz") are in the Arents collection. The best known of these, *The Confessions of Harry Lorrequer,* 1839, was often reprinted. But it, like its author's other works, is no longer in print. *Handy Andy,* a popular work by another Irish writer, Samuel Lover, was first published in 12 parts in 1842, with illustrations by the author: each wrapper was adorned with a large hand. These were a shilling a part. At some time later a penny issue, in 48 parts without wrappers, was published. Apparently the publisher used the sheets of the first edition,

[10] John C. Eckel, *Prime Pickwicks in Parts* (New York 1928) 13–14.

Covers of *The Pictorial Shakspere,* in 55 parts, London, 1838–1843, and the Pickering (miniature classics) edition of *The Plays of Shakespeare,* in 38 parts, London, 1823–1825 (somewhat reduced).

Arents Collection of Books in Parts



AN

APOLOGY

FOR THE

CONDUCT

OF

Mrs. *Tereſia Conſtantia Phillips*,

MORE PARTICULARLY

That Part of it which relates to her MARRIAGE with an eminent **Dutch Merchant**:

The Whole authenticated by faithful Copies of his Letters, and of the Settlement which he made upon her to induce her to ſuffer (without any *real* Oppoſition on her Part) a Sentence to be pronounced againſt their Marriage;

Together with ſuch other Original Papers, filed in the Cauſe, as are neceſſary to illuſtrate that remarkable Story.

Were ye, ye Fair, but cautious whom ye truſt,
Did ye but know how ſeldom Fools are juſt,
So many of your Sex wou'd not, in vain,
Of broken Vows and faithleſs Men complain:
Of all the various Wretches Love has made,
How few have been by Men of Senſe *betray'd?*

Rowe's Fair Penitent.

A *B.* Such extraordinary Care has been taken to intimidate the Booksellers, in order to hide this Work, that Mrs. *Phillips* is obliged to publiſh it herſelf, and *only* at her Houſe in *Granſy's Court*, *Charing Croſs*: and to prevent Impoſition, each Book will be ſigned with her own Hand.

Title-page to Number I of *An Apology for the Conduct of Mrs. Teresia Constantia Phillips*, in 14 parts, London, 1748–1749.

Arents Collection of Books in Parts

Original drawing by Sir John Millais for Anthony Trollope's *Framley Parsonage*.
Arents Collection of Books in Parts

Wrapper of No. IV of *Yankee Stories*, by Henry Howard Paul, with illustrations by John Leech, in eight parts, London, 1852.

Arents Collection of Books in Parts

since the set-up is practically identical and the same printer's name appears on the last page. These two editions are in the Arents collection. The monthly issue is of great rarity and no other copy of the penny issue seems to be recorded. Lover was so versatile that he could set his own poems to music and illustrate his own works, as well as dramatize his own novels.

Only a very few of the voluminous works by Edward Bulwer-Lytton, first Baron Lytton, were published in parts. His popular novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* appeared in three volumes. Like Lover he was a versatile Victorian, for he wrote novels, plays, poetry, essays, and did translations. And of course he made speeches in parliament in connection with his political career. The most interesting of his works in parts is *The New Timon,* a poem issued in four numbers in 1846. In the first printing of this the author made fun of Tennyson, calling him "school-miss Alfred" and decrying his style of poetry. Tennyson replied in *Punch* with a poem abusing Lytton. Accompanying the first issue of Lytton's work in the Arents collection are excerpts from *Punch* and an unpublished poem in the hand of Lord Tennyson on the subject of Lytton's lampoon.

Seven novels by William Harrison Ainsworth are in the Arents collection. His works, though popular in the Victorian era, are almost forgotten today. Yet four, including *The Tower of London,* are still in print. Perhaps their historical background has helped to keep them alive. The illustrations of the original part issues, by George Cruikshank and Hablôt K. Browne, contribute greatly to the exciting and mysterious atmosphere of the romances. Those other immensely popular contemporary authors, Wilkie Collins and Charles Reade, did not publish their novels in numbers. It has been suggested the reason for this was the demand of the circulating libraries for three-volume works for their subscribers, who wanted something for their money, and wanted it all at once.[11] Their books were printed and reprinted on both sides of the Atlantic; *The Moonstone* and *The Woman in White* by Collins, and *The Cloister and The Hearth* by Reade are read today and will probably live on even outside of rare book collections.

Jane Austen published her novels 1811–1818 before the extensive publication of works in serial form. These famous books appeared in three and four volumes, in boards with paper labels, and are extremely rare in this condition. The reprints are as the sands of the sea, but, so far as can be ascertained, none has been issued in parts. It would seem incongruous to see *Pride and Prejudice* in twenty parts in nineteen, in pink paper wrappers, with Elizabeth Bennett

11 John Carter and Michael Sadleir, *Victorian Fiction* (Cambridge 1947) 5.

and Lady Catherine De Bourgh or other characters depicted on them.[12] Though they were publishing their novels during the heyday of the production of books in parts, the works of the Brontë sisters were issued in volume-form. So were those of Mrs. Gaskell, author of *Cranford.* On the other hand *Daniel Deronda* and *Middlemarch* by George Eliot appeared in parts. The first English edition of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was issued in parts with illustrations by George Cruikshank.

A host of lesser-known nineteenth century English novelists followed Dickens and Thackeray in bringing out their works in parts. To mention a few at random in the Arents collection: *Sunrise,* by William Black, *Glenaveril,* by the first Earl of Lytton, *Poor Jack,* by Captain Marryat, *Godfrey Malvern,* by Thomas Miller, and *Lewis Arundel,* by Frank Smedley, were so issued. Present also in the collection are two anonymous novels: *Saul Weir* and *A Modern Minister,* published in Edinburgh in parts in 1877–1878 and 1878–1879. These are ascribed to Valentine Durrant and are very rare.[13] This author's name is not mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* though a work *Inez the Queen, Thoughts on Poesy,* 1870, is given under his name in the catalogue of the British Museum; aside from this nothing about him seems to be recorded.

The first truly "national" American author, Washington Irving, brought out several of his early works in parts. The rarest of these, and it is exceptionally rare in original condition,[14] is his *Salmagundi* in parts, New York, 1807–1808, the earliest American work in the Arents collection. This portrays prominent people in New York under a fairly thin mantle of incognito, but in a gay and good-humored way. It is quite different in spirit from that scandalous English *roman à clef* issued a few years later, *The English Spy,* which satirized mercilessly the various levels of London society under George IV with the king himself as one of the most disreputable of the characters. Usually considered Irving's masterpiece, *The Sketch-book* first appeared in parts in 1819–1820; the first issue of these parts in the original brown paper wrappers, another superlative rarity, is also in the Arents collection. Also present are the same author's *Tales of a Traveller,* 1824, and *The Life of George Washington,* in 68 parts, 1857–1859.

Another great American rarity in the Arents collection is *Correspondence of the Late President Adams,* Boston, 1809, in ten parts. The complete set

[12] One feels that Miss Austen would not have approved such flimsy publication.

[13] They are not listed in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* and are not included in Michael Sadleir's *XIX Century Fiction,* 2 vols. (Cambridge 1951).

[14] It is said that five complete sets are known. This is certainly the finest.

appears to have been unknown to bibliographers; Sabin mentions only Part I, which he seems to have thought to be the only one published.[15]

During the nineteenth century contemporary authors whose works had already appeared in volume-form were reprinted in parts. The most important of this group in the Arents collection is *The Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* in 13 parts, London, 1834. This, the first edition of the collected works, was unauthorized and, in accordance with the wishes of Mrs. Shelley, efforts were made to stop the publication. A letter relating to this from William Godwin, Mary Shelley's father, to Edward Moxon, the poet's regular publisher, is still in existence.[16] The success of the suppression of the edition is evidenced by the fact that no other copy in parts is known. Two editions of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley Novels* in parts are in the Arents collection. The first, issued in 240 parts in 176, London, 1836–1838, has illustrations by J. M. W. Turner, with "comic" illustrations by George Cruikshank. This is rare in original condition.[17] The second of the two editions is in larger format, in 120 parts, with 118 views and portraits and many woodcuts in the text. That popular American authors also were reprinted in parts is proved by the presence in the collection of *The Complete Poetical Works* and *The Complete Prose Works and Later Poems of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow,* issued in Boston in 45 parts in 1880–1883. This is in 4to format and is profusely illustrated.

Many of the great books of the past were reprinted in parts during the vogue for periodical publication. A number of these are in the Arents collection. *Paradise Lost* was issued in eighteen numbers in London, 1825–1826, with striking engravings by John Martin. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was published in eighteen parts at sixpence each in 1833–1834, also with illustrations. *Aesop's Fables* appeared in thirteen parts in 1874, with very effective illustrations by E. Griset. Shakespeare was published at least twice in part-form in the nineteenth century.[18] *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin,* eight parts, New York, 1849, Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler,* 13 parts, London, 1896–1897, and Hans Christian Andersen's *Fairy Tales,* 14 parts, London, 1899, were some of the classics so issued. Among the finer and more

[15] Joseph Sabin et al., *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America,* 29 vols. (New York 1868–1936). There is a bound copy of parts 1–2, comprising 95 pages, in the general collection of The New York Public Library.

[16] In the Pforzheimer collection.

[17] It was not listed in the "Scott Century Exhibition," Edinburgh 1872, which included all the collected editions of the *Waverly Novels* since 1829. There is, however, a bound copy of this edition in The New York Public Library. It is listed in Albert M. Cohn's *George Cruikshank, A Catalogue Raisonné* (London 1924) 204–205.

[18] See illustration of wrappers.

luxurious examples of these works may be mentioned Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene,* with illustrations by Walter Crane, 19 parts, London, 1894, and the well-known *Le Morte Darthur* by Sir Thomas Malory, with designs by Aubrey Beardsley, 12 parts, London, 1893–1894.

A particularly noteworthy example of a great book in the Arents collection in parts is an American publication: *Harper's Illuminated and New Pictorial Bible,* with sixteen hundred engravings and initial letters to each chapter, issued in fifty-four parts at twenty-five cents each, New York, 1843–1846. It is said that the illustrations cost $20,000 before publication. It is probable that this was the reason for the part issue, as this method would attract more purchasers. As the Bible is a book which receives much use and is not lightly laid away on a shelf it is quite understandable that the part issue would be bound up by the purchaser. This would account for the great rarity of Bibles in parts. Wiles does not list any before 1750. I have only heard of a very imperfect copy of a London edition of 1853–1855.[19]

It is difficult to single out individual titles in the group of books in parts in the Arents collection which have to do with sport or those which are humorous and illustrated with colored plates and caricatures depicting "high life" in London and Paris, or comic histories and adventures. There are, for instance, Gilbert Abbott A Beckett's *The Comic History of England,* 20 parts, 1847–1848, and *The Comic History of Rome,* 10 parts, 1848, both with illustrations by John Leech. There is also a beautiful set of the perennial sporting novels of Robert Surtees, in their distinctive red-brown paper wrappers, headed by *Handley Cross* in 17 parts, all with illustrations by John Leech, issued between 1853 and 1865. The three "Tours" of Dr. Syntax, as first published by William Combe, are here, two being in parts and one in boards, with plates by Thomas Rowlandson. There are also works illustrated by George Cruikshank such as *Tom Racquet,* eight parts in seven, 1844–1845. Pierce Egan's *Life in London,* 12 parts, 1820–1821, and its imitation *Real Life in London,* 56 original parts in 33, 1821–1822, illustrated by famous artists such as Cruikshank, Henry Alken, Heath, and others, were exceptionally popular, but, in good condition and in their original state, they are rarities. One might expect to encounter these books in a fine collection of nineteenth century fiction and illustrated works, but David Carey's *Life in Paris,* 21 parts, 1822, on *large paper,* could be found in no other library. Certainly Charles Westmacott's *The English Spy,* 1825–1826, in 24 parts, will not come the way of a collector. I have been able to discover the whereabouts of only one other copy of this book in this state.

[19] In the library at Yale University.

Two very rare sporting novels are in the Arents collection. These are: *Fair Diana,* 1884, and *A Loose Rein,* 1887, each in 11 parts, in colored illustrated wrappers. These are said on the title-pages to be by "*Wanderer*" who has been identified as Elim H. D'Avigdor. His name does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography* nor are these books listed in bibliographies of fiction, such as the Sadleir collection. One of the two is not found in the great Schwerdt sporting collection, where two of his works are listed under "Wanderer." [20]

The most important work in the category of architecture, art, and landscape in the Arents collection is *The History of the Royal Residences,* by William Henry Pyne, in twenty-five parts, London, 1817–1819, with 100 beautiful colored plates showing Windsor Castle, Hampton Court, and other royal palaces; these show both exterior and interior views. This seems to be the only copy so far recorded in intact original condition, with wrappers. Most sets of this sumptuous work are bound in morocco, which was regarded as fitting by contemporary owners; the book is rare in any state. Another similar work, though not on so luxurious a scale (the plates are uncolored), is *The Baronial Halls, Picturesque Edifices, and Ancient Churches of England,* by S. C. Hall, with 96 illustrations, in 24 parts, 1843–1847; each part was sold for five shillings in contrast to Pyne's work, where the charge was £ 1-1.

Another great rarity in this field is *The Microcosm of London,* in 26 parts, 1808–1810, with many colored plates in which the figures are by Thomas Rowlandson and the architectural parts by Charles Augustus Pugin. The text is by W. H. Pyne and William Combe. This is perhaps the most elaborate and esteemed work issued by Rudolph Ackermann, a publisher who is known for his fine publications. Any choice from the numerous works on travel and landscape in the Arents collection must be of necessity arbitrary; all are rare and interesting. *Views in the South of France Chiefly on the Rhone,* six parts, 1822–1825, with colored engravings after designs by P. Dewint; *Sketches of Character and Costume in Constantinople, the Ionian Islands &c.,* by Captain Forbes MacBean, in five parts, with 25 large colored lithographic plates after designs by the author; and *The Rhine, Italy & Greece Illustrated,* by Leitsch, Bartlett et al., in 18 parts, 1841, with 72 colored engravings, are among the most decorative examples.

The next group of books, "penny dreadfuls," is quite different from the beautiful and literary classes of works appearing in parts. This type of publication may be said to belong to the underworld of literature. But these

[20] *A Loose Rein* is listed in *Victorian Fiction,* p. 34, from a private collection. The copies of these novels in the British Museum are in volume-form.

books, particularly when they are in parts and complete, are of such a fantastic rarity as to present a challenge to the most experienced and resourceful hunter of books. It is a miracle that they exist at all, produced, as they were, in cheap and perishable form for a public who wanted blood and thunder. Some of these sensational works sold for a penny, others for sixpence and even a shilling, in the case of authors like Henry Cockton, whose works contained plates and were more pretentious. These latter works which I have classed with "shilling shockers" might be regarded as on the fringes of the more conventional fiction described above.

Occasionally various of the better-known authors of sensational and underworld fiction will be mentioned in works on the "gothic" school but on the whole this voluminous mass of writing is completely ignored by writers on English and American literature. This may be because it was not preserved at the time and has found its way into so few permanent collections. *Black Bess, or The Knight of the Road,* circa 1880, in 254 penny numbers, is the only such work included in the catalogue, *Victorian Fiction,* where it is referred to (p. 4) as "a typical example of those cheap part-issues, aimed largely at the schoolboy market, which continued, along-side (and by this time outliving) their newly respectable brethren, the original tradition of the part-issues as distributed through the chapbook and newsvending trades."

Charles Reade, Wilkie Collins, and even Dickens wrote novels where criminal and sensational incidents form a major ingredient in the plot. Their connection with literature of gore and adventure has been the subject of at least one learned book.[21] We know that when Dickens exerted the full powers of his personality in his reading *Sikes and Nancy* from *Oliver Twist* he not only exhausted himself but caused his hearers to faint in windrows.[22] In writing this book he intended, like the fat boy, to make our flesh creep. We may therefore suppose that, along with his fellow-writers of lesser eminence who dabbled in crime in certain of their works, his literary style and his surer hand in character delineation, together with the fact that his works were illustrated by more eminent artists than the penny dreadfuls (they certainly cost much more even in parts) have earned them the respectful attention of critics and bibliographers..

In this connection I cannot forebear to quote G. K. Chesterton's *A Defence of Penny Dreadfuls:*[23] "Among these stories there are a certain number which deal sympathetically with the adventures of robbers, outlaws and

[21] Walter C. Phillips, *Dickens, Reade, and Collins, Sensation Novelists* (New York 1919).
[22] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens,* III (London 1874) 415, 418.
[23] *The Defendant* (New York 1902) 12–13.

pirates, which present in a dignified and romantic light thieves and murderers like Dick Turpin and Claude Duval. That is to say, they do precisely the same thing as Scott's 'Ivanhoe,' Scott's 'Rob Roy,' Scott's 'Lady of the Lake,' Byron's 'Corsair,' Wordsworth's 'Rob Roy's Grave,' Stevenson's 'Macaire,' Mr. Max Pemberton's 'Iron Pirate,' and a thousand more works distributed systematically as prizes and Christmas presents. . . . In the case of our own class, we recognize that this wild life is contemplated with pleasure by the young, not because it is like their own life, but because it is different from it."

As I hope to be able to deal more in detail with this interesting group of books in the Arents collection, I shall only mention one of them here: *An Authentic and Faithful History of the Mysterious Murder of Maria Marten, With a Full Development of All the Extraordinary Circumstances Which Led to the Discovery of Her Body in the Red Barn . . . Together With the Trial at Large of William Corder for the Murder.* This appeared in 24 parts, in yellow printed wrappers, which sold for sixpence. It is illustrated with copperplate portraits, views, and plans. The name of J. Curtis appears as the author, but the book has been authoritatively attributed to William Maginn, who does not seem to have acknowledged it. The story is based on a real murder case.

As before in choosing a few titles from many it is difficult to single out the informational works in parts for mention here. One of the interesting early books in this category in the Arents collection is *The Wonders of the Little World,* by Nathaniel Wanley, issued in 32 parts in 1788–1790. The original edition of this book, called by the *Dictionary of National Biography* "an anecdotal treatise on mankind," was published in 1678. J. C. Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* was issued in 41 parts in an English translation, 1789–1798. It is lavishly illustrated and is in large 4to. This work, highly esteemed in its day, sold for twelve shillings a part to subscribers. William Blake was among the artists who executed the engravings. Another great rarity in parts is *The Indian Tribes of North America,* by Thomas L. M'kenny and James Hall, issued in large folio, in 30 parts, 1837–1844, with 120 fine colored portraits. An uncommon book is Herbert Spencer's *First Principles,* in six parts, 1860–1862.

In the case of the very large books on birds and flowers which exist in parts in the Arents collection, the difficulties in making a very small selection are great indeed. Each is such a remarkable example of book production. The chief feature of this type of book is the superb colored plates, masterpieces of lithography in many cases and with additional color added by fine artists in this class of illustration. The text is also important for its scientific information. *The Birds of Great Britain,* by John Gould, 1862–1873, in large folio,

25 parts, with 367 colored plates, is a good example of these magnificent works. *Monograph of the Phasianidae or Family of the Pheasants,* by Daniel G. Elliott is another. This is in six parts and has 78 large and beautiful colored plates. *English Botany,* by James Sowerby, in 350 parts, octavo, 1790–1863, is also present. The importance of this work in the history of botany does not need emphasis. Complete thus in parts, with the supplement, and with all the colored plates, it is of great rarity. One must stop here, albeit unwillingly.

Besides the books in parts there are a certain number of other items in the Arents collection which relate to, or are associated with, these works; in some cases these are in volume-form. None of these is mentioned here but it is planned to list them later. There is also another very important class of material, e. g., autograph manuscripts by authors whose works are represented, such as the original autograph manuscript of Trollope's *The Prime Minister;* and autograph letters by Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer-Lytton, Ainsworth, H. G. Wells, and others. It is, I think, also worth noting that there is a rather extensive correspondence of the egregious Harriette Wilson; these letters, apparently unpublished, are of considerable interest to the student of manners. There are also original drawings for certain of the books in the collection. A complete set of the illustrations by Marcus Stone for Trollope's *He Knew He Was Right* is in the collection. There are also drawings by John Leech, Henry Alken, George Cruikshank, Thomas Rowlandson, and Hablôt K. Browne.

The acquisition of books in parts differs from the collecting of some other types of books, such as the first editions of the works of individual authors. It is possible to obtain, for instance, all of the works of such authors as Dickens, Kipling, or Meredith, if a collector has money and patience. The course has been charted and the goal is in sight. This is not so with books in parts which exist in almost all the fields in which works have been published. It would be a tremendous, perhaps an impossible, task to list them all. The collector of such books is like a hunter who does not know the kind of game he will encounter. In such hunting of books there is the element of surprise. He may, for instance, come across the works of Plato in parts. Aesop's *Fables* exists in fascicules. Why not *Mother Goose Rhymes?* It would seem appropriate for at least one edition of Euclid's *Elements* to have appeared in numbers. The sporting bibliophile who is looking for books in parts, has, too, the advantage that *his* game is preserved in his library; his trophies do not require stuffing and mounting. These precious and frail works can be taken from his shelves and looked at or held by other collectors. The field is wide for adding to the Arents collection, and it is happy hunting in the greatest of all sports.

Story of a Magazine:

New York's *Galaxy* 1866-1878

A study based on the unpublished correspondence of its editors

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PART II

THE literary aims of the *Galaxy* were broad. Its pages were filled chiefly with fiction, articles, and regular monthly "departments" of special comment. Poetry appeared in a continuous but unobtrusive supply, averaging about four poems to the month's issue. The magazine's fiction included both short stories and serialized novels, a typical number containing one or more short stories and a portion of one, frequently two, novels. Of the twenty-one novels which were printed in the magazine's twelve years, fourteen were by British authors, and of these Mrs. Annie Edwards wrote six, Justin McCarthy four, Anthony Trollope two, and Charles Reade and William Black one each. Most of this fiction was being published in Britain at the same time, and was written with a British audience in mind.

The seven novels by American authors, though perhaps at times less polished in language and style than the British materials, had their peculiar virtues. The work of Rebecca Harding Davis and John William DeForest retains today its interest for us and its flavor of America, partly by the settings described and partly by the characters created. Mrs. Davis' *Waiting for the Verdict,* a story of the Civil War, looked ahead with the confidence of a Whitman to the future of America; the verdict which was awaited was not the military outcome of the war, but some indication of the kinds of opportunity for self-dependence which would be given to the freedmen. DeForest's *Overland* and *The Wetherel Affair,* stories with settings in the Southwest and in New England respectively, showed the American reader unaccustomed corners of his own land, and combined adventure and romance with social criticism. The last-named novel, especially, revealed that DeForest was as determined as any rebellious pamphleteer to stir up complacent souls and their settled notions. If these two American writers were clumsy at times,

and often careless of artistic structure, yet their work had the attractive advantages of freshness and vigor.[18]

The magazine's short stories were in many instances the work of the popular writers of the day.[19] These bore the names of some authors now no longer familiar, but there were also other names which have been remembered. Henry James, Jr., is probably the best known of these authors, and his dozen short stories in the *Galaxy*, written when he was beginning to test his strength as a writer, show an important progress in his artistic development in the ten years following 1866.[20] In the first few of his stories, certain weaknesses of construction are noticeable, especially in the lack of motivations for the conclusions reached, that is, in the absence of a dramatic undercurrent such as Hawthorne succeeeded in establishing in stories of a similar kind. But from 1869 on, James's short stories roused the reader's interest in a natural manner, and showed an increased skill in the handling of details. Also, he created a succession of minor characters, often with shrewd insight. His "The Sweetheart of M. Briseux," in June, 1873, a fairly long story of the artists' world, sustained its interest throughout. By 1874 he was writing with great control: the structure of "Mme de Mauves," the longest of his *Galaxy* stories, was less forced and perhaps less obviously contrived than earlier stories. The last two pieces of fiction which he had printed in the magazine, "Professor Fargo" and "Benvolio," were very well written, with a greater economy in the telling and with a deeper significance than he had achieved earlier. By the end of 1875, when he offered the *Galaxy* the manuscript of his novel, *The American* (see below), James was ready to make the best sort of contribution to this magazine which had helped him serve his apprenticeship, but no more of his fiction appeared there.

Short stories by Rebecca Harding Davis and John William DeForest, whose work as novelists has already been mentioned, brought a distinctive

[18] Other novels by Americans published in the *Galaxy* were by Marion Harland, mother of Albert Payson Terhune; by Jane G. Austin; by Annie T. Howells, a sister of William Dean Howells; and by Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, a Norwegian-born scholar and teacher. Boyesen's *A Norseman's Pilgrimage* sought to mingle Norwegian and American elements, with American ideas given a dominant place in the story. Interesting speculations were made about the possible effects of Norwegian sagas and other such northern elements upon American literature. The novel's hero, a writer, was absorbed with the idea that, as America assimilated the peoples of foreign nations, so might her literature grow cosmopolitan from the influence of foreign literature and eventually fulfill Goethe's dream of a world literature.

[19] Of a total of about 270 short stories, a third were written by practiced authors whose work was in many of the popular magazines. These writers included Marie Louise Pool, John Esten Cooke, Anne Moncure Crane, Caroline Chesebro, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Rose Terry Cooke, Edgar Fawcett, Mary E. W. Sherwood, Lucy H. Hooper, and Constance Fenimore Woolson. A half dozen stories by Ivan Turgenev were printed in the *Galaxy*.

[20] In the same period of ten years James wrote fourteen stories for the *Atlantic*.

quality of writing to the *Galaxy*. Mrs. Davis' stories were usually well planned, with a careful plot and well-turned suspense, though some lacked adequate conclusions. Worth special mention for its burlesque of magazine writing was "One Week An Editor," in which almost every sort of person connected with the publishing world could be found. These trade details, together with a love underplot and one of Mrs. Davis' typical widow-and-child themes, were put forth with great good humor and an economy of narration, without distortion. A reader seeking Rebecca Harding Davis in her most characteristic style would find this *Galaxy* story a first-class example. DeForest's colorful language gave an indelible mark to both his characters and his settings, whether the aim was light touches of humor or the heavy irony of tragic human blundering. He wrote frequently about the South and its postwar problems, without romantic illusion and without nostalgia for the past. He was essentially neutral in his view, though not dull to the drama of the situation. Most of his sketches, like his novels, were vigorous and real, and where they dealt with the South, a twentieth-century reader is often reminded of the skillful, compassionate writing of William Faulkner. There was, however, no single style in his *Galaxy* contributions. The editors had in him a sturdy talent; he gave the magazine a quality of fiction such as few others of its writers had to offer.

The *Galaxy's* articles touched upon every conceivable subject, including history, biography, adventure, literature, and art. There were also the inevitable accounts of travel experiences, several enjoyable nature studies, and a surprising number of articles about the manners of the times. In respect to manners, no line successfully separated the true from the false or the desirable from the undesirable, and this left the ground constantly open for evaluation and re-evaluation. The era in which the *Galaxy* flourished was eminently self-conscious, and was marked in the contemporary mind by two events of national importance: the Civil War, only recently ended, and the Centennial Exposition of 1876, which was to assess the first hundred years of the progress of the republic. This explains in part the emphasis placed on national history. The *Galaxy* intentionally kept clear of partisan politics, to avoid the wrangles into which such discussions often degenerated, but place was made for the recounting of some official actions of the Civil War period. Gideon Welles, former Secretary of the Navy, in attempting to explain some of the steps taken by the Lincoln administration, wrote a total of nineteen articles, including accounts of the official orders which had directed action at Fort Sumter, Fort Pickens, and the Gosport Navy Yard in New-

port.[21] Other government actions of the war years were debated by Welles and by Jeremiah S. Black, replying to the statements of such public figures as Thurlow Weed and Charles Francis Adams, Jr. Because of these articles, the *Galaxy* is recognized by many historians of the Civil War period as a printed source of much important information.

General George A. Custer wrote two extended accounts of his military exploits, the first a serial called *My Life on the Plains*.[22] Then, taking his cue from the publication of General Sherman's memoirs in 1875, he started a series of "War Memoirs" in March, 1876, to treat his own service in the Army of the Potomac. He was killed at the battle of the Little Big Horn in June of that year, and of course the series was not completed.[23] Contrary to what might be expected of this strange and willful campaigner, his writing is not self-centered, and it has an attractive quality not unlike that of Fenimore Cooper's account of life on the western plains. Even though one may be completely out of sympathy with the adventures which are described in Custer's work, it makes good reading.

Among the travelers, Richard Grant White and Henry James, Jr., reported their observations in England; others described life in France, Scandinavia, Russia, and elsewhere. At home, the manners and habits of the American people provided a source of comment which could not be exhausted as long as writers were willing to write. Even when the intention to comment upon manners was absent, the comment was often there by implication. Of course customs in eating, drinking, dressing, kissing, smoking, and the social amenities in general were open to discussion, and enlisted the pens of such experienced writers as Gail Hamilton, Julian Hawthorne, and Richard Grant White.

The *Galaxy* boasted that each issue contained "a complete review of the world of literature," and considered itself an authority in the criticism of art. It devoted many pages to discussions of the craft of writing as an art, and to the products of that craft. The essays were of a general, penetrating sort, and were among the most controversial articles in the magazine. Major contribu-

21 For a discussion of the importance of these articles by Welles to the study of the history of the period, see Donald N. Bigelow, *William Conant Church and the Army and Navy Journal*, 233–236.

22 This account, giving the details of two campaigns against the Indians (1867–68, 1868–69), including the Washita campaign, was published in the *Galaxy* in 22 installments, beginning in January, 1872, and ending in October, 1874. With the tenth installment it became simply "Life on the Plains." It was published in book form by Sheldon and Company in 1874, with the title *My Life on the Plains, or, Personal Experiences with the Indians.*

23 The sixth installment, which appeared in October, 1876, was received after his death, and the seventh installment, published in the following month, was printed from a manuscript found among his papers. An article titled "Battling with the Sioux on the Yellowstone," written by Custer, appeared in the *Galaxy* in July, 1876, and was to have been continued in "a future chapter." Apparently the sequel was never written, or at least it was never published.

tors of literary criticism were John Burroughs, Eugene Benson, and Richard Grant White. Burroughs cleared the way for Walt Whitman's appearance in the magazine, and by a sympathetic introduction of his subject (including the insertion of part of the poem, "When Lilacs Last in the Door-yard Bloomed," and some poems from *Drum Taps*) made the *Galaxy* a medium for the advertisement of the poet and his work. Where an entrance could not have been blasted, he made one with the mildest language. This was literary criticism of the higest and most effective order. In a later essay Burroughs chided Emerson for having failed to follow up his first offhand endorsement of Whitman. The spare language of this modest, rural thinker is very effective, and especially when Emerson is his subject.

An unknown writer, Eugene Benson, contrasted admirably with Burroughs in the magazine's pages, for where the latter critic was quiet and enduring, with a gentle persistence in his themes, the former was volcanic and fleeting, making a vital thrust and then withdrawing from the field. But both wrote literary criticism which was original, instructive, and interesting. Benson complained that America was too much bound by conventions, too unartistic, too unaesthetic, too mechanical and employed with external facts. The sort of independent behavior necessary to the destruction of such conventions he described in a remarkable essay he titled "Literary Frondeurs." He also rejected criticism of the sort which was patterned after the foreign review, hard and intellectually arrogant, and decried the impertinence and narrow judgment of the American newspaper, a local vehicle for the barbarisms of the untravelled American mind. Benson wanted American men of letters to be penetrated by the idea of flexibility, expansiveness, and freedom, yet he also wanted them to be tempered and modified by the artistic idea. Two creative writers had succeeded in this ideal, Benson believed, and these were Poe and Hawthorne.

American Culture: Criticism and New Ideas

RICHARD Grant White, a major contributor to the *Galaxy's* pages and one of its ablest writers, was the author of many articles of literary criticism. He was also vitally interested in philology, the theater, music, and virtually all aspects of the culture of his times. Philology, although it was a somewhat narrower phase of the love of literature, was only slightly less popular as a *Galaxy* topic than was literary criticism. The subject was introduced in the magazine by a newspaperman named George Wakefield, a humorous and exceedingly capable writer whose work combined the fascination of folk

usage with the fun of high comedy. After Wakefield's untimely death, which Mark Twain himself lamented, White continued the subject of philology, and wrote a long series of articles which he later collected and published as *Words and Their Uses.* He made himself vulnerable to criticism — and was accordingly berated in some of the other publications — by trying to stimulate his contemporaries to use good taste in selecting words and grammatical forms. Because public interest in the subject was high, however, White received many letters containing questions and suggestions. Instead of asking his readers to fall back upon the authorities in language, White urged them to "go to the works of those great writers an attentive and thoughtful perusal of which will do more to impart a correct and effective use of language than the study of all the grammars and books on rhetoric that have ever been written."

White showed his interest in the fine arts, and his skill as a critic, by his *Galaxy* articles on the theater and music. He was both a noted editor of Shakespeare's plays, and one of New York's outstanding music critics. He wrote a number of articles surveying the much-discussed "decline of the drama." A few years later Brander Matthews, a youth just out of college, tried his hand at the same topic, but no reader can miss the greater competence of White's work. White also put the new music of Richard Wagner to the test and concluded that the composer was technically great but deficient in melodic gift; he also thought Wagner mistaken in believing that music and poetry could be welded into opera. These opinions on music drew on White's head many attacks, in the public press and in private letters, but his characteristic response was to educate his critics, in additional articles, by defining and demonstrating polyphonic and tonal composition, by explaining how opera had developed, and by trying to show why words and music could not be absorbed simultaneously. His aim was always the same, in respect to music, as it was in respect to language and grammar: to bring to his readers a knowledge of the history and development of the means of artistic expression, and to give his readers a sense of discriminating taste in the enjoyment and practice of those arts. This was cultural education.

Another contributor, little-known but important, also wrote for the *Galaxy* on the subject of music, and of architecture. He was Titus Munson Coan. In discussing architecture, Coan urged American designers to adapt their buildings to American climatic and social conditions. He was looking ahead to the principle of functionalism in architectural materials and in city planning. In cooperative residential structures, he thought, the beautiful and practical

could be combined. Other writers such as Christopher Pearse Cranch and James Jackson Jarves called for more and better art museums, both for the preservation of art collections and for the education of the public. Taken as a whole, the *Galaxy's* articles on the fine arts, as well as on the subject of literature, were informative and instructive, for they looked into the historical past. Likewise, the criticisms were constructive, for they looked into the future. The magazine's writers were setting up guideposts, to help point out directions. In this respect it is fortunate that they were generally able to write with authority. They were observant, serious, and thoughtful men who were well informed about their topics; the magazine's criticism was fresh, occasionally very perceptive, and often amusing.

Many of the *Galaxy's* best articles fell outside the areas mentioned thus far, of history, biography, adventure, and the criticism of literature and art. In many of these essays the writer was moving into uncharted areas and was hopeful that the presentation of his serious thoughts might find approval, or at least intelligent criticism, in some of his readers. Very few if any of the magazine's writers indulged in polemics, and yet it may be said that the temper of the best work was one of challenge, of reasonable and candid challenge. Among the most thoughful essays in the *Galaxy* were those written by three men, Eugene Benson, Titus Munson Coan, and Walt Whitman. Their common interest was society, and they treated some of its most serious aspects. In them the magazine was presenting material of a transitional nature, looking back to the inspirational literature of Emerson, and ahead to a new era of intelligent thought and action. Eugene Benson wrote "Solitude and Democracy," a plea for the contemplative spirit in an age of haste and majority numbers. He followed it with a similar piece titled simply "To-Day," in which he lamented the moral and intellectual apathy which had succeeded the intense mental and moral life of such a period as had produced Brook Farm. These articles were part social and intellectual history, part moral urging to a better life.

Titus Munson Coan wrote similar studies. One of these, "Successful People," despite the optimistic title, contains Boethian overtones of consolation for those who fail. Certain of his lines, such as "most men are born in the wrong age or the wrong country; for nature is more wasteful of men than of apple-blossoms, and blights a thousand where she ripens one," are reminiscent of Thoreau. Coan's "Zealot and Student" was a plea for the cultivation of reasoning intellect and generous action to replace the hardness of businessmen, the "enterprise" of publishers, the laxness of social ties, and the venality

of the "religious" press. His final article, "The Gospel of Culture," hit at the do-good reformers and the popular preachers of the day: "Culture is by no means either morality, or philanthropy, or religion, or a fourth term including the other three. Culture has to do primarily with one's duty to his own intelligence, not primarily to his conduct; it has primarily nothing to do with his duty to his neighbor." All these articles were persuasive and retain their quality of reasonableness even after the changing times have robbed them of their pertinence. It was no accident that the titles of some of these studies were markedly Emersonian, for the substance followed in that tradition though in treatment the articles could not be called either derivative or imitative.

Benson and Coan are not well known, but the third writer, Walt Whitman, needs no introduction. He succeeded in publishing in the *Galaxy* two articles which later, with a third portion, were issued in a book under the title *Democratic Vistas*. The two articles were called "Democracy" and "Personalism." [24] The first of these is not political, not historical, and certainly not, in a final analysis, a religious argument, though it is full of faith. It may be called a credo in respect to society at large. The ideal of democracy, taking its rise in the condition of the people, represented to Whitman a promise for future development, and he looked for its fruition in manners, "in the highest forms of interaction between men, and their beliefs." The article "Personalism" added to the principle of the all-levelling aggregate of "Democracy" a second principle of individuality, which should be fostered in order to raise the level of the average. Whitman, here again writing on the subject of manners, called for a little healthy rudeness, and would add this touch of independence to the normal simplicity of men. The article, in its broadest sociological aspect, attacked the "conventional societies already becoming stifled and

[24] *Galaxy* IV (December 1867) 919–933, and V (May 1868) 540–547. The third article, to be called "Orbic Literature," was offered to the *Galaxy's* editors on May 4, 1868, for inclusion in the July issue of that year, but it was never printed there. Some of the evidence concerning these Whitman articles is printed in an essay by Edward F. Grier, "Walt Whitman, the *Galaxy*, and *Democratic Vistas*," *American Literature* XXIII (November 1951) 332–350. Mr. Grier presumes that the article "Orbic Literature" was probably rejected by the *Galaxy's* editors because it "was twice as long as either of the other pieces" (note, p. 347). This conclusion may be questioned. Whitman wrote the Churches that "Democracy" would make 13 pages (it made 14½ pages in the magazine), and that "Personalism" would make "about 14 printed pages" (it made 7½ pages in the new style type and page size adopted by the *Galaxy* in the month the article appeared). Whitman later wrote the Churches, about the third article, that "it will make from eleven to twelve pages in the new form and type" (Walt Whitman to W. C. & F. P. Church, April 30, 1868, quoted in *Walt Whitman, Complete Poetry and Selected Prose and Letters*, ed. Emory Holloway, London, Nonesuch Press, 1938, 976–977). Certainly Whitman was too experienced a printer to err in the degree suggested by Mr. Grier. Another reason than length must be sought for the rejection of "Orbic Literature."

rotten with literature, and polite conformity and art." Whitman urged the development of an American culture, free from the influence of European models, with ethnically superior Western men and women, individuals shaped by their society to produce physical poise and moral character. His theme may appear now to have been a familiar one, but his treatment of it was anything but conventional.

The *Galaxy's* six departments or regular monthly features, four of which continued without interruption, once they were begun, served to give a structural framework to the magazine. They gave it solidity and continuity by the regularity of their appearance, and yet each was flexible by virtue of its being composed of short items. No editor could overlook the importance of his magazine's departments, either as a guaranteed source of copy or as an attraction for readers with special interests. Two of the departments deserve special mention. Since the *Galaxy* was one of the first popular magazines to devote itself to reporting scientific developments, it was fortunate in having exceptionally capable men in charge of this work. Edward Livingston Youmans was the acknowledged conductor of the "Scientific Miscellany" for one year, between 1873 and 1874, and it was also undoubtedly his hand which had shaped the department from the beginning and guided its anonymous first two and a half years.[25] He was succeeded by Professor John Adams Church of the Columbia School of Mines, a brother of the *Galaxy's* editors and a metallurgist by profession. Youmans emphasized the effects and counter-effects of science and imagination or speculation; Church turned away from speculation, for the most part, and concentrated on actual data. Entries under the latter writer became longer, more instructive, and heavier in the best sense of the word. The department was one of the most stable elements of the *Galaxy*, lending the magazine a favorable tone of careful reporting, impartiality, and a dignified professional approach to the world of phenomena. It was a praiseworthy achievement, a middle-ground meeting of the literary magazine and the specialized journal of science.

A second department, the shortest-lived of them all, was established to present humorous material. Mark Twain, fresh from the success of *Innocents Abroad* and only recently married, was engaged to conduct such a depart-

[25] Youmans was one of the most active men in America in popularizing scientific knowledge. He was a lyceum lecturer on science for almost two decades (1851–1868), and during that period wrote or edited four books on scientific subjects. In 1871 he began his "International Scientific Series," which included among the 50 volumes published in his lifetime works by Darwin, Liebig, Helmholz, Huxley, and others. The first volume was Tyndall's *Forms of Water* (1872). Youmans estabished a magazine, *Popular Science Monthly*, in 1872, and was assisted in its management by his brother, William Jay Youmans.

ment for a year, starting in May, 1870. He called it "Memoranda." It was a humor department only in the medieval sense of the word, however, and in its extremes was as scathing and caustic as it was bland and funny. For example, he protested the treatment of the Chinese in America, and wrote in full heat his reaction to the refusal of a New York minister to conduct burial services in his church for an actor. The "Memoranda" were not devoid of lighter passages; Twain also included some serious efforts to answer the many inquiries of young people who wrote of their desires to become authors. But it was almost impossible for him to complete his year. There was no installment of "Memoranda" in the eleventh month of his contract year, and in his last contribution he stated the extent of the hardships he had undergone in preparing the monthly section: "For the last eight months, with hardly an interval, I have had for my fellows and comrades, night and day, doctors and watchers of the sick! During these eight months death has taken two members of my home circle and malignantly threatened two others. All this I have experienced, yet all the time been under contract to furnish 'humorous' matter once a month for this magazine. . . ." In addition to the family sickness, Twain was finding it difficult to give the time necessary for the preparation of a monthly stint. It was a venture he enjoyed, but he found it took too much time from his other writing and he had to give it up. The *Galaxy's* editors continued the department under the name of "Galaxy Club-Room," printing miscellaneous materials supplied by a number of writers, but the real touch of humor was never successfully implanted in the magazine. After three years, in 1873, the effort was abandoned.

Financial Troubles

THE *Galaxy* was faced with financial difficulties through most of its twelve years. These troubles were both external and internal, that is, they were due partly to business conditions after the war, and partly to the increasingly bad situation, in respect to publishing, into which the Church brothers, as editors, let themselves be drawn. The years from 1873 to 1878 are generally referred to as one of the serious depression periods in the history of the country. In 1878, for example, the publisher Frank Leslie went bankrupt, affecting about a score of periodicals which he controlled. But against the picture of decline and failure in the postwar years there is also evidence of new enterprise, and this must be taken into account. Frank Luther Mott has estimated, from census figures and from advertising directories of the period, that about a hundred new periodicals were introduced annually in the years

between 1865 and 1870, and that there was an even greater rate of increase after 1870.[26]

When William and Frank Church launched their *Galaxy* in the spring of 1866, they were publishers or proprietors as well as editors. As editors they faced the challenge of forming a new literary magazine which should be successful in satisfying the tastes of the reading public; as publishers they undertook a sizeable financial risk. If the times favored the former aspect of the venture, they were no guarantee of financial success. In November, 1867, after the *Galaxy* had completed its first year and a half, Frank Church wrote his brother, who was abroad, that *Putnam's* was coming out with a great flourish of trumpets, "but it butts against very hard times and times especially hard for magazines." In the same letter Frank wrote of some financial arrangements he hoped to make, which would allow the *Galaxy* to "get on pretty well; but if I do not we shall have to scratch to make our payments. And yet I think there is life in the G. . . ." It was true that there was life in the *Galaxy*. But expenses were generally exceeding income, and some means of decreasing the steady outgo of money was needed, at least until the magazine should earn its way. The most obvious solution was to adopt the method of financing which many other magazines used, of linking the publication of the periodical with the more conservative but usually more profitable publication of books.

Many of the large book-publishing houses issued monthly literary magazines in this period. Ticknor and Fields, in Boston, published the *Atlantic;* the Harpers had their monthly as well as their weekly; and, by 1870, the publishing houses of Lippincott, Putnam, and Scribner issued magazines which bore their names. It was not unusual, therefore, that the Churches should have expected to gain from their arrangement, entered into at the end of January, 1868, with a New York publishing house, Sheldon and Company. William Church could write Charles Reade on August 16 of that year, when the English novelist was asking for an assurance of regular payments for a serial he was planning to furnish the *Galaxy,* that the Sheldon firm was the successor of one of the oldest publishing houses in New York, and that it was in every way an undoubted credit. He added that "they stand even higher than Messrs. Ticknor and Fields and in the front rank of American publishers." The firm of Sheldon and Company, Publishers and Booksellers, was not widely known, but its imprint appeared on many books, including collections

[26] *History* III, 5. A total of about 700 periodicals in 1865 was increased to 1,200 by 1870, and to about 2,400 in 1880.

of sermons. The firm, located at 677 Broadway, was directed by Smith Sheldon, Hezekiah Shailer, and Isaac E. Sheldon. It had been founded in 1854 by Smith Sheldon, a well-to-do Albany dry goods merchant; Isaac E. Sheldon was his son.

By the terms of their agreement of January 23, 1868, with Sheldon and Company, the firm of W. C. & F. P. Church put the *Galaxy* under the control of a partnership.[27] The Churches contributed to the capital stock of this special partnership all the property that "belonged to and appertained to" the *Galaxy,* including the stereotyped plates of all back numbers, all manufactured copies, wood cuts, type and type furniture, the subscription list, and the good will of the magazine. This property was delivered "free of debt and encumbrance." Sheldon and Company contributed "their best efforts as publishers to promote the success of the *Galaxy.*" The latter party also agreed to advance, from time to time as needed to meet expenses, an amount up to $10,000 in the nature of a loan at interest, to be repaid from the profits of the partnership. If this amount should be expended and it was found, on a quarter-yearly reckoning, that more capital was needed, the partners were to advance up to $5,000 each, in equal shares. The first profits from the magazine were to be used to pay off that portion of the $5,000 provided by each partner; then the $10,000 advanced by the Sheldon firm was to be repaid; and, finally, any remaining profits were to be divided equally between the two firms.

The Churches were to have charge of the editing of the *Galaxy,* and the management of the subscription books; the Sheldons were to attend to the manufacturing and sale of the magazine. The Sheldons were also to have charge of all records relating to the business of the partnership, together with the advertising and agencies for extending the magazine's circulation. Another clause, subject only to that portion of the agreement mentioned above wherein each partner was to advance an equal amount to cover any deficiency, gave the Sheldons the right "to receive and collect all money due the Magazine and pay all accounts for the expenses of editing manufacturing publishing selling and agencies of said Magazine. . . ." One article of the agreement made the meaning of this clause specific: "The party of the second part [Sheldon and Company] are to have a deciding voice as to the amount to be paid for any article for the magazine, also to reject any articles they may not be willing to publish." This was a serious limitation on the freedom

[27] The contract and a supplementary agreement are among the papers in the William Conant Church Collection, The New York Public Library. The following quoted portions are taken from these contracts.

of the editors to exercise their judgment. That they endured this restriction for nearly ten years is a tribute to their tact. As to their wisdom in entering such an arrangement, however, it can only be said that the *Galaxy* must have been in financial straits, by the beginning of the year 1868, if the Churches would tie their complete interest and investment in the magazine to an arrangement whereby the partnership's first $10,000 in profits would go wholly to the Sheldons, and whereby they, the editors, would have no voice in the financial management of the magazine.

By the terms of the agreement, if the Churches wished to end the partnership, they must first pay whatever part of the $10,000 advanced by the Sheldons remained unpaid, with interest. Then the party who would, on three months' notice, "pay in cash the highest [sic] sum for the other's half interest" would own the whole property. The Sheldons could withdraw on the same terms as the Churches, in respect to notice, but of course by sacrificing any unpaid part of the $10,000 they had advanced. The Churches were obviously at the greater disadvantange in any move to dissolve the contract.

After fourteen months of operation under this contract, that is, by June 1, 1869, the *Galaxy* showed a debit on the Sheldon books of $22,072.35, not including $4,000 of the $5,000 the Churches had agreed to advance. This $4,000 was paid on June 30, leaving a debit close to the $20,000 amount which the contract had called for as capitalization funds. It was necessary to recapitalize, or make some other arrangement, for the magazine was not earning its way. A supplementary contract was signed on June 30, 1869, by the terms of which the Churches were relieved of further losses. Sheldon and Company would assume all costs. The Churches, in lieu of one half of the profits, agreed to accept, for a period of three years, three cents per copy for all copies of the magazine sold above 15,000 per month. In the fourth year they would receive four cents per copy, and in the fifth and following years, five cents per copy over 15,000 per month. This supplementary contract could be terminated in the same manner as the original one, on three months' notice.

Before entering upon the revised terms of June 30, 1869, the Churches had desired to consolidate with *Putnam's*, but the Sheldons were unwilling to modify the contract in such a way as to permit it.[28] After the supplementary contract went into effect, the editors could increase their earnings only by

[28] See the letter from William Church to Isaac E. Sheldon, dated at New York, September 5, 1870. This long letter rehearsed all the difficulties set forth in the present paragraph. Its opening sentence and a half, and the fact that the whole letter was set in type, add a most curious atmosphere to the relations between editors and publishers: "My Dear Sheldon. The roof of the Times building is on fire, and as it is uncertain how far it may spread I cannot leave. I can only repeat what I said to your father that . . . ."

increasing the *Galaxy's* circulation. But, by the terms of the original contract, still in effect, Sheldon and Company was in charge of promotion and advertising, and so controlled the prospect of such circulation increases as might result from these efforts. Also, the Sheldons were reluctant to spend money to promote the magazine. Something more than a year later, late in 1870, when *Putnam's* was concluding its second series, there were some negotiations to add *Putnam's* circulation to the *Galaxy* list, but the *Galaxy* partnership was unable to agree on the terms. The Churches, limited by their contract to three cents a copy for any increase, were unwilling to pay out of their funds for the *Putnam's* list, and the Sheldons would not spend the money. The editors invited the Sheldons, in a letter dated September 5, to move for an abrogation of the contract, but the publishers were unwilling to do this.

The Sheldons had agreed, in the supplementary contract, to submit quarterly records of the number of copies of the magazine sold or returned unsold, and this much they did. These records offer convenient figures for the *Galaxy's* circulation from July, 1869, through December, 1877. They also show that the *Galaxy's* editors received no money for their effort in the first year under the supplementary contract, a total of $4,083.46 in the four years to the middle of 1874, and nothing after that date. Their best year was 1871, with a peak circulation of 23,136 copies in April, and a year's average sale of 20,546 copies per month. The Churches received $1,996.71 in 1871. Monthly circulation dropped gradually after 1871 to about 10,000 copies per month in 1876. By the middle of 1877 it stood at 8,000, and when the *Galaxy* ceased publication at the end of that year, its circulation was about 7,000 copies.

Nothing could prevent the financial tide from ebbing. The Church brothers were joint proprietors with Sheldon and Company, but could neither improve their position by consolidation with another magazine, as they had tried with *Putnam's*, nor effectively increase the magazine's circulation by advertising. Even in the relatively prosperous days of 1871, the editorial management was receiving only about $200 a month, while the publishers received, by the editors' estimate, in excess of $800. Sheldon and Company held the books, which were open to the editors' inspection, but, apparently because of adjustments or allowances in manufacturing and advertising costs, the Churches were never in possession of accurate information about income and expenses. When the editors complained about finances to the publishers — they often wrote to their partners, rather than try to discuss their affairs in person — they were told more than once that any deficiency was the fault of the edi-

torial management. What this could mean was not specified. The implication was that the editors were not getting the most value for the money expended on articles.

Payment for Articles

THE *Galaxy's* editors were paying out, in the relatively prosperous days of 1871 when circulation was over 20,000 copies, on the average of $1,141 per month for contributions, or about $8 per page. The Sheldons wanted the monthly expenditure kept within $1,000, and this amount remained more or less fixed in the publishers' minds throughout the years of the partnership. They saw the editors' problems in a limited perspective, assuming that one contributor was as good as another, as long as the price was favorable to the magazine. The Sheldons wrote the Churches (February 12, 1877), on one occasion when Richard Grant White was slow in turning in copy, that "you are under no obligation to continue his services if he does not come up to time." They were willing to pay $8 a page for the sort of editorial work White was doing, they said, and they thought it a liberal price, "a price at which good articles can be secured, with reasonable effort." Eight dollars was worth more in 1877, they thought, than $10 was worth in 1872, and $10 was the highest they had ever paid: "We do not believe that a single American Magazine pays more for this sort of copy. It is really the business of the Editor to himself prepare [sic] such copy, and in the *Galaxy* the claim is made that the 'Nebulea' [sic] is by the Editor. It would be easy to show that this is the usual if not universal custom. We have no desire to place obstacles in your way, but we think it would be easy to show that the Editors for some causes have not and are not doing their *full duty.*" In the publishers' view, the editors could earn money from their magazine venture if they would write more of its contents. There were a hundred and forty-four pages to be filled every month. It did not much matter who filled them, or with what. Poetry and prose could be bought by the page, and the rate, at $8, was liberal. Why did they not proceed?

At times the Churches were given the necessary approval to go beyond the strict bounds of a hard economy, but they were always made aware of their extravagance. William Church wrote to his publishers on January 2, 1876, that Bret Harte had brought him a poem which would fill one or two pages of the *Galaxy*. "I shall by all means publish it subject to your approval of his price which is $50. Please reply by bearer." Isaac E. Sheldon pencilled an answer on the back of Church's note: "If it is only one page $50 is a pretty high price, but if *you* think it will pay *go ahead.*" This may have been the

poem of forty-seven lines, "Alnaschar, 1876," which was published in February, 1877 (XXIII, 217–218). It was Harte's only appearance in the *Galaxy*, and the poem filled a page and a third.

There were other examples of penny-wise publishing, some of which ended in a failure to publish at all. On December 1, 1875, Henry James, Jr., wrote to the *Galaxy's* editors from Paris that he was at work upon the opening chapters of a novel to be called *The American*. An exchange of letters between Paris and New York took the better part of a month, hampering both writer and editors in reaching an agreement on terms. The following March 3, James wrote to urge that his novel be published without delay, saying "it is an absolute necessity, on pecuniary grounds." He had offered it at a fixed price of $150 per number, and said it must start in the May number at the latest. The *Galaxy* was his choice, he implied, but only in so far as the magazine could meet his terms of price and publication date. On this occasion it was ostensibly the condition of a May opening which could not be met, for the editors had William Black's novel, *Madcap Violet*, on their hands, and it had just begun. But the money question, not a competing novel, was in the immediate background: prior to that time the Galaxy had frequently published two serial novels simultaneously. In this instance, however, there was an avenue of exit for both author and editors, for William Dean Howells of the *Atlantic* wrote the Churches on February 27 that he would be very glad to get James's novel. It was forwarded, by the author's instructions, to the elder Henry James at Cambridge, and the *Atlantic* began to publish it in June, 1876.

The idea of a serial novel by James for the *Galaxy* was not dead, however, and negotiations between editors and author went ahead prospectively until they snagged again, this time unquestionably on the matter of payment. When the editors sounded out the publishers on the prospect of printing a James novel in the near future, Isaac E. Sheldon wrote William Church a letter (January 9, 1877) which revealed the publishers' failure to estimate a piece of literary property adequately: "I do not see how it would be possible to pay $150.00 a month for a serial, $1800 for the year, and I do not see where or how the *Galaxy* would get 'value received.' From what I hear I am inclined to think that Harpers and others are at the *present time* paying low prices for really good serials. We had a letter from James yesterday, in which he said he would be sending the *Galaxy* articles *quite regularly* and gave us his address. I think his articles will help quite as much as a serial by him."

The Churches continued their correspondence with James, nevertheless, and on May 26, 1877, he offered them a new serial novel which was to begin

the following January. It was necessary of course to go through the needle's eye of finance, and William Church wrote on the back of James's letter, in blue pencil: "Respectfully referred to Messrs. Sheldon & Co. As Mr. James has just published a novel [*The American*] which has attracted more attention than any for a long time published I should secure this if possible." Although Sheldon and Company did not formally assent to James's terms, the Churches accepted the novel, and assured James that the printing of it would be equivalent to the Sheldons' approval of his terms. But they added that they could not hold themselves responsible for payment. James replied (August 27, 1877) that he would not proceed in this uncertainty, for it left him with the burden of collecting his pay: "With so large a sum at stake, this is not at all comfortable; and I am not encouraged by the fact that Messrs. Sheldon lately refused me, after the publication of an article, the terms I asked for. (I allude to the article on George Sand.) I shall be very glad to continue to send you things month by month; . . . . But I can't embark on the novel in so irregular a fashion." The novel in question was doubtless *The Europeans*. It was published serially in the *Atlantic* starting in July, 1878, several months after the demise of the *Galaxy*.

The financial dealings which have been mentioned concerning Bret Harte and Henry James, Jr., were not out of the ordinary. Some contributors in addition to James had trouble about rates or about collecting their money, and on occasion they appealed to the Churches for advice. Nora Perry, who supplied poetry and some short stories after 1871, was brought to the point of declaring "war to the knife" with the Sheldons over payment delinquencies and other matters. Although she admired the editors, she said, she swore (June 30, 1877) that she would "never write for the *Galaxy* again, while it is in the hands of such publishers as Sheldon & Co." The publishers had offered her $6 a page for her short stories in 1873, but when they printed one of them four years later they paid her at the rate of about $4.30 a page, saying that "men and times change," and that other magazines were paying less. She was furious, not so much because of the money, but because of such treatment of authors by publishers.

Another regular contributor, Kate Sanborn, started supplying the magazine with reviews for the literature department in July, 1877. William Church had counted on the Sheldons paying her enough to average $50 a month. At the end of the year, when the *Galaxy* was ceasing publication, it was found that she had been paid $35 during each of four months, $56 in a fifth, and $50 in another. She had received nothing for her work which had appeared

in the issue for January, 1878, and had submitted February material before learning of the magazine's demise. Her father wrote to the Churches, on December 27, 1877, that "Sheldon and Co. say that their connection with the *Galaxy* has ceased," thus implying that the publishers had refused to make payment. This was but one of the ragged ends left when the partnership was dissolved.

Of course the Sheldon connection was not broken overnight. For at least a year before the actual end the Churches had been negotiating to bring additional proprietors into the partnership.[29] When this did not succeed, a game of cat and mouse began, each partner trying to get the other to move for a cancellation of the contract. The Sheldons took pains to remind the Churches that $10,000 must be paid, as provided in the contract, before the partners would be on equal footing for negotiating; at the same time they disclaimed any desire to seek a change. However, it was the Sheldons who finally gave ground. On November 13, 1877, they gave formal notice of their determination to end the partnership, and in so doing abandoned the $10,000 capital they had advanced in 1868. Since they had suggested in a letter to the Churches on October 16 that the terminal period be reduced, by mutual consent, from three months to one, it is probable that the partnership was broken off about the middle of December.[30]

The Churches were free after November 13 to consider how they might dispose of their property, in the probable event that the Sheldons would refuse to exercise their option to buy it. The publishing house of D. Appleton and Company wrote on November 29 to decline the purchase of the *Galaxy*, although they said they would consider taking the subscription list, paying "a certain sum for each sub[scribe]r that sh[oul]d *stick* but this you w[oul]d hardly consider." J. B. Lippincott and Company had been offered a similar opportunity to purchase, but delayed answering until prompted by a telegram on December 20. Then they showed that the purchase had been carefully considered: "We admit that we decline your offer with regret, but in these times we fear to even *touch* ventures which ordinarily we would *grasp* without hesitation." Finally, H. O. Houghton and Company, publishers of

[29] See the letter from Henry Sedley to William Church, New York, November 23, 1876.

[30] A printed "Notice of Sale" was sent to the magazine's contributors: "The attention of the contributors to the *Galaxy* is called to the fact that Messrs. Sheldon and Company have terminated their connection with the magazine, and that it has been sold to the Messrs. Houghton and Company, who will consolidate it with the *Atlantic Monthly*. The articles accepted, with a view to publication in the *Galaxy*, have been transferred to the custody of Mr. W. D. Howells, Editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Galaxy*, Riverside Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. New York, December 22, 1877."

the *Atlantic,* agreed on December 22 to buy the entire stock of back numbers of the *Galaxy,* at the rate of three cents a pound. Thus did the liquidation begin.

Dissolution

THE conventional phrase for the dissolution of the *Galaxy* is that it "merged with the *Atlantic.*" This brings to mind the picture of a cluster of stars splashing into the sea, or, if the serious view is kept, it suggests that one magazine flourished thereafter, built out of the best parts of two magazines. Probably the figure of the sea-quenched stars is the more accurate description of the *Galaxy's* end. Houghton acquired the subscription list of some 1,500 names, and *Galaxy* subscribers were furnished with the *Atlantic* for the duration of their terms.[31] William Dean Howells, as editor of the *Atlantic,* found himself supplied with those unprinted manuscripts which the *Galaxy's* editors had accepted, having obligated himself to pay the contributors for them. Smith and McDougal, an electrotyping firm in New York, offered (February 2, 1878) seven cents a pound cash for the old plates, "provided they were not broken or on blocks." Thus, if the back issues of the magazine, which Houghton had agreed to buy, its subscription list and the "good will" thereto attached, the property represented by accepted manuscripts, and the old metal plates were accounted for, there can be no illusion about the *Galaxy's* continuance, whatever language or metaphor was used to describe its end.

When the *Atlantic* for February, 1878, appeared, the "union of the *Galaxy* with the *Atlantic*" was announced in a long statement on the last page of the text (XLI, 272). The two magazines had long appealed to kindred tastes, it was said, and the position of the new *Atlantic* would be that of "a thoroughly national magazine, sustained solely by American authorship, and confiding to the appreciation of its readers whatever is best in American thought and literary art." It was hoped that, in the merger, "the freshness, the brightness, and alertness that gave tone to the *Galaxy*" would not cease. The defunct magazine had been distinctly agreeable and useful. Its chief writers would be retained by the *Atlantic.* This last statement proved, however, to be intended for the *Atlantic's* readers rather than for the *Galaxy's* old contributors, for several of the latter were disappointed in their expectations of a transfer.

[31] Houghton and Company's advertisement in the *Army and Navy Journal* (XV, January 5, 1878, 351) stated in part: "The *Atlantic,* of which the February number will be the first issue of the combined magazines, will be sent to all subscribers to the *Galaxy* for the remainder of the present year." The *Atlantic,* by the count of its own staff, obtained a ready-made market for 5,063 copies by this means.

It is fairly easy to sift from the articles in the *Atlantic* during 1878 and 1879 those pieces by regular *Galaxy* contributors which had already been accepted by the Churches before the merger. There were about a dozen of these pieces, by miscellaneous writers. These authors' names appeared once or twice in the *Atlantic,* then no more. One of these writers was Gideon Welles, for whose material Howells had asked in particular. He contributed, in March and April, 1878, papers on Lincoln's administration which followed his *Galaxy* series, but nothing more from him was printed. As for Henry James, Jr., it would be a presumption to say more than that one of his travel sketches from abroad may have been transferred to the *Atlantic.* He had travel items in both magazines in the issues for January, 1878, and was in the habit of submitting articles to both. It is possible that the manuscript of *The Europeans* was still in possession of the *Galaxy* when its affairs were brought to a close, and that the *Atlantic* acquired it thereafter by transfer, but in view of James's reluctance to proceed with negotiations in August, 1877, because no financial guarantee was forthcoming from the Sheldons, it may be questioned whether he left the manuscript lying idly in the Churches' possession until December.[32]

There was one exception to this general failure of the *Atlantic* to retain the *Galaxy's* chief writers. No less a person than Richard Grant White successfully changed mounts, as it were. He rode his hobbies in the *Atlantic* during the seven years which remained of his life, and for four years had an article published in it almost every month; there were fifty-one articles in all. The sort of work he had done for the *Galaxy* was nearly duplicated in the *Atlantic,* both in the regularity of his contributions and in the nature of his subject matter — music, the theater, Shakespeare, the American language, and papers based on his visit to England. Only his general critical essays were missing, and his unsigned editorial material. It no doubt pleased his former editors, the Churches, to see his writing continue to be popular. Their faith in him was vindicated. For his part, White was also glad of a chance to work off a little of his resentment against the Sheldons, who had for years treated him as a hack. A letter of his to William Church, written February 25, 1878, showed that he loved the prospect of a minor convulsion: "Would you have any objection to giving me an order on S & Co. [Sheldons] for a complete set of the *bound Galaxy* and numbers from '71, to be charged to your acct — dated before Feb. 1st. Of course it would be worthless as far as

[32] Mott, *History,* III, 369, states that the manuscript was turned over to the *Atlantic* at the time of the merger. A fragment of a letter may bear on this: "... Howells, in Cambridge. This, I take it, is an unlikely contingency; but I wish to be very safe. Yours very truly, H. James jr." There is no indication, however, that this fragment refers to *The Europeans.* It is undated.

getting the vols is concerned; but I should like to have the pleasure of presenting it."

The *Galaxy* was dissolved in more than material ways. Its space on the news-stands was taken up by the other magazines, but they made no effort to provide the sort of articles it had published. A comparison of the contributions made to the *Galaxy*, by its outstanding writers, with their contributions to other leading magazines of the period, shows that the *Galaxy* had the writers' best work, especially their best critical essays. Of five writers — Walt Whitman, John Burroughs, Eugene Benson, Titus Munson Coan, and Richard Grant White — four contributed to the *Galaxy* work which was not approached in quality by anything they submitted to other periodicals. Only of John Burroughs can it be said that his work elsewhere was generally representative of his best writing, and even in those magazines his subject matter was restricted. He wrote frequently for the *Atlantic* and *Scribner's*, in the *Galaxy's* period and following, and occasionally for the shortlived *Putnam's*, but it will be found that virtually all of his articles in these other magazines were about the outdoors or travel, which was of course the sort of material for which he was and has always been best known. The only essays of his which touched literary criticism, except a very early (1860) essay in the *Atlantic* on writing, appeared in the *Galaxy*. Of his ten pieces in this latter magazine, seven were on literary subjects. He gathered six of these, and added four more to make his book, *Birds and Poets*. This work, published in 1877, was chiefly in praise of Whitman's poetry.

Eugene Benson wrote for the *Atlantic* and for *Putnam's*, but his subjects in these magazines had almost exclusively to do with art. This work, like Burroughs' on nature, was what the reading public expected of him. It was the *Galaxy* which published his uncharacteristic material. Titus Munson Coan wrote, during the *Galaxy's* period, one poem for the *Atlantic*, four poems and two travel essays for *Harper's*, one poem, one travel piece, and a philosophical study for *Scribner's*, three poems and an essay on criticism for *Lippincott's*, and one medical essay and an autobiographical story for *Putnam's*. Except for the two articles, on philosophy and on criticism, his work outside the *Galaxy* was very much unlike his best writing for that magazine. He has been known to the public, as is evident from the few biographical references which remain, as a writer of travel sketches. A number of his poems, and some studies on medical topics, are to be found in the popular magazines after 1877. But his important critical work, for which he has not yet been given credit, will be found only in the *Galaxy*.

Richard Grant White wrote for no other magazine during the period of the *Galaxy's* publication. Prior to 1866 he wrote some essays for the *Atlantic* and three articles for *Harper's*. After the *Galaxy* closed he wrote exclusively for the *Atlantic*. His best critical work was done, however, in his writing for the *Galaxy*. Walt Whitman was represented by one poem in the *Atlantic* and by two in *Harper's* during the years from 1866 to 1878, and very few at other times. The *Galaxy* printed four of his poems, some of them long before the other magazines would open their pages to him. And of course it was the *Galaxy* which Whitman persuaded to publish his essays on "Democracy" and "Personalism." Prose work such as this from his pen appeared in no other magazine.

When the *Galaxy* ceased publication there was no periodical ready to carry the work forward in a comparable manner. The peculiar quality of editorial fire had gone out. The metaphor of the falling cluster of stars is hardly strained in describing the dissolution of the *Galaxy*. The writers were not heaven-born, of course, but the brightness of their accumulated work was lost when they all fell with the collapse of the magazine.

New in the Berg Collection: 1952-1956

By JOHN D. GORDAN
Chief of the Berg Collection

INTRODUCTION

IT is a wise collector who understands, when he presents his treasures to a public institution, that the continued vitality of his collection depends in large measure upon its capacity for growth. Dr. Albert Ashton Berg was such a collector. From the moment that he gave his own private library to The New York Public Library he never ceased to add to it, on a scale far more lavish than he had allowed himself as an individual. By munificent testamentary bequest he saw to it that the Berg Collection was left in a position in which it could grow.

Because of provisions in the Doctor's will the Berg Collection was unable to spend any income from the bequest for the first five years after his death. It has, however, never ceased to grow. During the last eighteen months the rate of growth has been accelerated.

The material in this exhibition was purchased, with funds from Dr. Berg's endowment, in the five years between the beginning of 1952 and the end of 1956. It is only a selection of the more interesting acquisitions from a far larger group. Though the items date back to the eighteenth century, they are predominantly of the nineteenth, because important material of this century is far more readily obtained than from earlier times. There are many unusual printed pieces; yet manuscript and typescript predominate, as this sort of material is more attractive, in general, to literary research workers. Although author's manuscripts are frequent, original letters are more numerous. All in all, the exhibits represent the most successful purchases that could be made with Dr. Berg's benefaction over these last five years.

The exhibition is a reminder of the circumstances under which the individual pieces passed into the Collection. The Sophia Peabody Hawthorne material, for instance, came directly from her grandchildren and great-grandchildren. The Shaw letters to Siegfried Trebitsch were obtained from Professor Trebitsch shortly before his death. Much of the material was bought at auction and much directly from dealers on both sides of the Atlantic. To them, whether as agents at auction or as direct purveyors, it is a pleasure to express warm thanks for all their cooperation and friendliness.

As always, the compiler of these notes is most grateful to the other members of the staff of the Berg Collection, Mrs. Charles Szladits and Miss Beatrice Landskroner, for their invaluable assistance.

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THE CATALOGUE

1. [Henry Adams] *Esther by Frances Snow Compton* [pseud.] New York: Henry Holt, 1884. (American Novel Series. – No. 3)

In the days before he achieved fame with his *History of the United States from 1801 to 1817* and cultural studies like *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres*, Henry Adams wrote two novels. The first of these, *Democracy*, was anonymous. The second, *Esther*, shown here, was published under the pen name of Frances Snow Compton. Possibly its pseudonymity has helped to contribute to the scarcity of *Esther*, of which fewer than two dozen copies are known to have survived.

Purchased in 1956.

2. John Kendrick Bangs. Autograph manuscript of *The Pursuit of the House-Boat.*

An important figure in literary circles in New York for nearly forty years, John Kendrick Bangs was between 1884 and 1907 in turn on the staff of *Life, Harper's Magazine, Harper's Bazaar, Harper's Weekly, Munsey's Weekly*, the *New Metropolitan Magazine* and *Puck*. In addition to heavy editorial work, he wrote much light fiction under his own name and ten pen names.

The best-known of his novels was *A House-Boat on the Styx*, 1895. Two years later he capitalized on its success with a sequel, *The Pursuit of the House-Boat*, of which the manuscript is shown here. The "Associated Shades" are now "under the leadership of Sherlock Holmes," and the book is dedicated to A. Conan Doyle, "with thanks for the untimely demise of his great detective, which made these things possible."

The manuscript is accompanied by an amusing letter of thanks sent to Bangs by Doyle. "I begin to have hopes of immortality," the Englishman wrote, "now that I have got onto your fly-leaf."

Purchased in 1956.

3. Sir James Matthew Barrie. Autograph manuscript of the dramatization of *The Little Minister.*

The year 1956 presented an unusual opportunity for the acquisition of manuscripts by Sir James Matthew Barrie. In January and in October there were some sixty-odd items put up for sale by his literary executors at Sotheby & Company, London. To the Berg Collection, which already had several Barrie manuscripts, the chance to strengthen its holdings was welcome.

One of the Barrie manuscripts already in Berg was that of *The Little Minister* in novel form. On its appearance in 1891 the novel took the public taste to the extent of nearly twenty-four thousand copies sold in a little over a year. Though Barrie declared the task impossible, his agent, Arthur Addison Bright, saw the possibilities of a dramatization and made one. Bright's scenario inspired the novelist to make a dramatization of his own based upon the agent's framework.

The manuscript of an early draft, presumably made in 1896, of the dramatic version is shown here. The plot of the novel has been streamlined to emphasize the romantic interest, and the relationship of some of the characters altered. The play was first produced in 1897 in the United States, with Maude Adams making theatrical history as Lady Babbie. It marked the beginning of Barrie's triumphant career as a playwright.

Purchased in 1956.

4. Sir James Matthew Barrie. Corrected typescript of the dramatization of *The Little Minister.*

For a quarter century *The Little Minister* was a favorite with actors and public. Barrie had received £80,000 in royalties, largely from the United States, in the decade or so following the first production. In 1914 Frohman, the original producer, felt that the time was ripe for a London revival, this time with Marie Löhr as Lady Babbie. The third production, in which Fay Compton starred, followed in 1923. The typescript shown here was used during rehearsals for this last production. Based upon the final acting version of 1897, it was carefully revised by Barrie, as the manuscript corrections indicate. The ending of the play was largely rewritten. There are several corrected carbons as well as originals in the typescript on display.

Purchased in 1956.

5. Sir James Matthew Barrie. Autograph manuscript of *Tommy and Grizel.*

Barrie lived nearly a decade with the character of Tommy Sandys, through whom he expressed many of his own early recollections and relationships. It was in 1892 that he began shaping

Sentimental Tommy: The Story of His Boyhood. The novel was a great popular success when it appeared in 1896, first as a serial in *Scribner's Magazine* and later in book form. Of the book 37,000 copies were sold in England and not quite 30,000 in the United States in fourteen months.

Not unnaturally Barrie at once began working on a sequel, *Tommy and Grizel.* It took him three years to complete the first draft, which he revised heavily as he went along. He immediately began a second manuscript draft, which, here displayed, is thoroughly corrected and dated April 26, 1899. *Tommy and Grizel* also appeared first serially in *Scribner's Magazine* and then in book form, in 1900. The first year's sale was only 27,000 in England and the Colonies but climbed to 60,000 in the United States.

Purchased in 1956.

6. Sir James Matthew Barrie. Typescript of *The Admirable Crichton.*

The Admirable Crichton seems to have originated in gossip about the way the Countess of Carlisle, who, it has been said, "combined advanced radical principles with a manner which terrified members of every class," entertained her servants in the drawing room. Barrie had worked out the idea of the play by 1901 under different titles — "The Island," "The Case is Altered." As *The Admirable Crichton* it was first produced in November, 1902, with great success.

For a revival in 1907 Barrie revised the text, as he did when it was published in 1914 and later whenever it was produced during his lifetime. The typescript shown here was prepared for the first publication of the play. Every page is heavily corrected. In addition there are manuscript additions of several pages, themselves carefully worked over, to describe the settings of each of the four acts.

Purchased in 1956.

7. Sir James Matthew Barrie. Autograph notes, autograph manuscripts, and corrected typescripts of *What Every Woman Knows.*

As early as 1904 Barrie mentioned in his notebook a one-act play to be called *What Every Woman Knows,* of which the subject matter was not recorded. He was long in writing the play because he wanted to blend ideas for several plays into one piece. The manuscript notes shown here contain innumerable suggestions, of which some were discarded, some retained, and some adapted in the process of writing *What Every Woman Knows.*

The manuscript on display headed only "A Comedy in Four Acts," for instance, is the draft of a political play that, though never finished itself, made its contribution. For *What Every Woman Knows,* as we have it in final form, Barrie wove together three strands salvaged from earlier attempts: the marriage trap whereby the plain but adored sister is provided with a promising husband; the light-headed and light-hearted temptress with a title; and the running of an election.

These elements are present in the fragmentary manuscript of the third and fourth acts also shown here. On it the playwright has written a note: "All that seems to be left of the MS of 'What Every Woman Knows.' J. M. B. 1929." This version is believed to have been written in 1905, and to precede the manuscript of a complete version of the play which was presented by Barrie to Lord Esher at Christmas, 1909, and which was already in the Berg Collection.

The two complete corrected typescripts show Barrie polishing and perfecting the text. They may precede the first production of the play on September 3, 1908, or they may belong to the decade between the first production and the first printing of the play. Certainly in the typescript bound in one volume, shown here, Barrie was getting the play ready for publication: the long introductory descriptions at the beginning of each act have been added in manuscript, as well as much other descriptive matter.

Purchased in 1956.

8. Sir James Matthew Barrie. Autograph manuscript of "When Wendy Grew Up."

A dominating theme in Barrie's work, a theme which he worked with great profit, is that of the boy who does not want to grow up. It was first shadowed forth in *Tommy and Grizel* and then given full expression in the stories and games which Barrie shared with the little sons — whom he called his boys — of his great friends Llewelyn and Sylvia Davies. It was partly from his friendship with the Davies children that *The Little White Bird* sprang. In *The Little White Bird,* published in 1902, Barrie introduced Peter Pan, who symbolized the boy-who-never-grew-up.

The adventures of Peter Pan were soon expanded to form the play of that title which has delighted most children and many adults since it was first produced in 1904. The success of *Peter Pan* doubtless prompted Barrie to write an epilogue to show how Wendy and Wendy's daughter in turn accompanied Peter back to Never-Never Land each year for the spring cleaning.

This epilogue seems to have been written in 1905 as a one act play called "An Afterthought" and as a short story called "When Wendy Grew Up." It is the manuscript of the short story, carrying Barrie's corrections, that is shown here.

Purchased in 1956.

9. Sir James Matthew Barrie. Autograph manuscript of "When Wendy Grew Up. An Afterthought."

The conception of the return of Wendy and her descendants to Never-Never Land haunted Barrie. He revived and expanded the short story in the manuscript shown here, which is believed to belong to 1906. This second version carries even more corrections than the first. The narrative has been broken up into little chapters each with a heading. The title, it is to be noted, blends the titles of the playlet and the short story.

Purchased in 1956.

10. Sir James Matthew Barrie. Corrected typescript of *Peter and Wendy.*

Barrie's feeling for the possibilities, both imaginative and commercial, of the Peter Pan material was a credit to his Scotch background. Capitalizing on the success of the play *Peter Pan*, he worked the half dozen chapters of *The Little White Bird* in which Peter appeared into a separate publication entitled *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens.* The volume, which was published in 1906, was enhanced by Arthur Rackham's illustrations.

The success of *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens,* which quickly went into several editions, inevitably induced Barrie to make a novel out of the play *Peter Pan.* The manuscript of the novel, entitled *Peter and Wendy,* dated June 27, 1911, was already in the Berg Collection. A recent acquisition was the corrected typescript of the first ten chapters, shown here. They were thoroughly corrected by the author. The final thrifty touch was that for the last chapter Barrie made an abbreviated version of "When Wendy Grew Up," even to using that title for his chapter heading.

Purchased in 1956.

11. Arnold Bennett. Autograph manuscripts and typescripts of magazine and newspaper articles.

Nowadays Arnold Bennett is best known as the author of one novel, *The Old Wives' Tale,* but during his heyday he was a prolific and world famous writer of novels, short stories, plays and articles. A selection of articles for the daily press, of which the Berg Collection has a large number, is shown here. Many of these have a wide historical interest because they deal with the First World War and with wartime conditions. Others — like "Does Youth Get Fair Play," "Getting Acquainted with Yourself" and "The Perfect Girl" — were aimed at popular taste.

Purchased in 1953.

12. Edward Frederic Benson. Autograph manuscripts of *Queen Lucia* and *Trouble for Lucia.*

One of the four talented sons of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward Frederic Benson grew up in a stimulating social and intellectual world. He was only twenty-six when his first published novel, *Dodo,* made a notorious success. A master of light fiction, he is best remembered for his pleasant social satires built around the character of Lucia Pillson, who was modeled upon the famous American actress Mary Anderson, Mrs. Antonio de Navarro, living in England in colorful retirement. Two of these novels are shown here in manuscript, the first, *Queen Lucia,* 1920, and the last, *Trouble for Lucia,* 1939.

Purchased in 1956.

13. Charlotte Brontë. Autograph letter to Ellen Nussey, dated "Dec – 48."

The circumstances of their life in the parsonage at Haworth on the Yorkshire moors drew the four Brontës close to one another from childhood to the grave. As children they had even begun writing together as part of a family game. It was the tragic task of Charlotte Brontë to nurse her brother and sisters through their last illnesses and to bury them. In the letter on display she told her closest friend about the death of her sister Emily, whose poetry and only novel, *Wuthering*

Heights, are among the glories of English literature. "Yes — there is no Emily in Time or on Earth now," she wrote on December 23, 1848, "— yesterday we put her poor, wasted mortal frame quietly under the church pavement." She continued in the numbed mood that follows on shock: "we feel she is at peace — no need now to tremble for the hard frost and keen wind — Emily does not feel them." The letter closed on a plea that Ellen Nussey visit Haworth — a plea that was immediately answered: "Try to come — I never so much needed the consolation of a friend's presence."

Purchased in 1956.

14. Robert Browning. Corrected page proof of *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country; or Turf and Towers.* London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1873.

When Robert Browning was at St. Aubin in Normandy in the summer of 1872, he heard the story of a local tragedy that, like the account of the Roman murder behind *The Ring and the Book,* immediately stirred his creative imagination. Antoine Mellerio, the heir of a Parisian jeweller, living in retirement near St. Aubin with his mistress Anna de Beaupré, became mentally distraught because of the conflict among his love, his family affections, and his religious beliefs. Inadvertently he committed suicide. These events were used by Browning, without even a change of name, in *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country,* which he wrote in great excitement between December 1, 1872, and January 23, 1873.

When his publisher George Smith saw the first proof, he became alarmed at the possibility of a libel suit. His anxiety infected the poet, who consulted his friend the Attorney General, John Duke Coleridge. Coleridge suggested alterations. The set of proofs shown here is dated February 22–26, 1873, and was corrected by Browning for stylistic, not legal, purposes. It still contains the dangerous readings. The corrections were incorporated in another proof, dated March 15, 1873, of which a corrected set is also present in the Berg Collection. In the latter Browning changed the names of places and protagonists to lessen the possibility of an action for libel: Mellerio, for instance, becomes Miranda; St. Aubin, St. Rambert. The poem was published at the beginning of May, 1873.

Purchased in 1956.

15. The Burney Family. Autograph letters from Dr. Charles Burney, Senior, Dr. Charles Burney, Junior, Fanny Burney d'Arblay and other members of the family.

The Burneys were a brilliant family, and a devoted one, and they had brilliant and devoted friends. Dr. Charles Burney, Senior, was one of the finest musicians of his day. From infancy his children had the advantage of knowing musicians, artists, writers, men like Burke, Garrick, Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds. The flower of the sons was Charles, Junior, a fine classical scholar and a clergyman, and of the daughters Fanny, later Madame d'Arblay, the author of *Evelina* and other novels.

The Berg Collection is fortunate in having one of the most important holdings of Burney family material in any one place. In addition to the largest body of Fanny Burney manuscripts in existence (*Evelina, Cecilia, Camilla,* and her *Diary and Letters* among others), it contains in the neighborhood of 2000 autograph letters from members of the family — 900 by Fanny alone. From time to time other letters are added to the basic collection, like these examples acquired in the last five years: thirty-five from Dr. Burney the elder, twenty-two from Dr. Burney the younger and sixteen from Fanny Burney d'Arblay, mostly to members of the family. These new letters fit into correspondences already found in Berg. A good many of those exchanged between the brother and the sister are concerned with the inscription for the tablet to their father in Westminster Abbey.

Purchased in 1952, 1953, and 1956.

16. [Fanny Burney d'Arblay] Dedication copy of *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties. By the Author of Evelina; Cecilia; and Camilla.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814.

Thirty-six years before the publication of *The Wanderer,* Fanny Burney had sent her first novel *Evelina* anonymously into the world. It carried a nameless and poetic dedication: "To — — ":

Oh! of my life at once the source and joy!
If e'er thy eyes these feeble lines survey,
Let not their folly their intent destroy;
Accept the tribute — but forget the lay.

The tribute was intended for her adored father Dr. Charles Burney.

Fanny Burney d'Arblay's last novel was *The Wanderer*, openly dedicated to "Doctor Burney, F. R. S. and Correspondent to the Institute of France." He barely lived to see the publication of the novel, of which 3600 copies were sold at what Madame d'Arblay called the "rapacious" price of two guineas the set. The copy shown here was the dedication copy, inscribed, "For my ever dearest Father From the Authour."

Purchased in 1956.

17. [Samuel Langhorne Clemens] Manuscript ledger of the American Publishing Company, Hartford.

From June to November, 1867, Clemens traveled around the Mediterranean recording his experiences and impressions in a series of letters that appeared in East and West Coast newspapers. These caught the eye of the editor of the American Publishing Company of Hartford, Elisha Bliss, who arranged with Clemens that his subscription publishing house should bring out a volume based upon these letters. The result was *Innocents Abroad*, published in 1869. It was Clemens' second book and his first to bear the imprint of the American Publishing Company. For more than a decade this imprint appeared on his important books — *Roughing It* (1872), *The Gilded Age* (1874), *Mark Twain's Sketches* (1875), *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), and *A Tramp Abroad* (1880). Difficulties over royalties and the death of Bliss ended the relationship.

The front cover of the ledger shown here is captioned "Books received from the *Binderies* Dec 1st *1866* to Dec 31. – *1879*." Within is a mass of detailed information about the production of the Clemens books and also about books by Josh Billings, Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller, and A. D. Richardson.

Purchased in 1956.

18. Samuel Langhorne Clemens. Autograph letters to Chatto and Windus.

Mark Twain's relationship with Chatto and Windus had been firmly cemented when the English publisher brought out in 1876 the first publication of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* some six months ahead of the American edition, to protect it from the pirates. The correspondence shown here is scattered over the years from 1877 to 1899 and covers both literary and personal matters.

Indeed, Mr. and Mrs. Clemens were inclined to regard Chatto and Windus as a combination of publisher, close friend, real estate agent, and shopping service. The most intimate of their letters are undoubtedly those which bear upon the sudden death in 1896 of their daughter Susy, a shock which broke the heart of Samuel Clemens and from which Mark Twain never recovered. Among other items displayed here are the autograph draft and proof of the acknowledgment of sympathy which he had Chatto and Windus engrave for him.

Purchased in 1954.

19. Samuel Langhorne Clemens. Autograph letters to James Burton Pond.

Though Mark Twain is remembered today almost exclusively as a writer, particularly as the creator of Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn, during his lifetime he made a large reputation as a lecturer and reader from his own work. Beginning in 1869 in California, he lectured in the West, invaded the East in 1872, and ended by conquering the world. His great triumphs were achieved under the management of Major James Burton Pond, the most famous lecture agent of his day in the United States. From the mid-seventies until the mid-nineties Pond arranged his engagements throughout this country and around the world.

Displayed here is Clemens' correspondence with Pond, including his refusals to succumb to the Major's attempts to lure him back to the lecture platform in the late nineties. Also on view are rough drafts and proofs of reading programs. In addition there are account books and diaries kept by Major Pond and his brother Ozias while they were on tour with Clemens.

Purchased in 1955.

20. George Washington Cable. Autograph letters to James Burton Pond.

Another of Major Pond's clients was George Washington Cable, who had made a name for himself with stories of Creole days in Louisiana. Voluntarily exiling himself from New Orleans to Northampton, Massachusetts, because of a political point of view more liberal than his birthright, he embarked on a reading career by himself before he was taken on by Major Pond in the early eighties.

In 1884–1885 Pond managed a joint tour of Cable and Clemens. Clemens owned the show and — not without grumbling on occasion — paid Cable $600 a week and traveling and hotel expenses. Traveling with the Southerner was not easy: devoutly religious, he would not move an inch between 12.01 a. m. Sunday and 12.01 a. m. Monday.

Here are shown letters from Cable to Pond and Cable's holograph drafts of programs and news releases. This body of papers complements the Clemens correspondence with Pond.

Purchased in 1955.

21. [Samuel Taylor Coleridge] Manuscript letter book containing copies of letters written to Sara Coleridge, Thomas Poole, Thomas Wedgwood, and William Wilberforce between September, 1798, and March, 1801.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Thomas Poole were drawn together by their interest in philosophy and their revolutionary enthusiasm. A self-educated business man, Poole venerated the poet's intellectual abilities and provided him with many a helpful loan. Both men were friends of the Wedgwood brothers of the remarkable pottery family.

The letter book shown here was kept by Poole's young apprentice, Thomas Ward, who was taken into partnership by Poole. Young Ward copied out the letters because of his intense admiration for Coleridge. Poole wrote the poet about the excitement when his letters from Germany arrived: "Ward jumped up and twirled around like a whirling gig, . . . to the great derangement of the bread and cheese, and two or three full glasses of beer, which were splashed about." The originals of some of Coleridge's letters have either been mutilated or destroyed, so that all that remains is Ward's copies.

Purchased in 1953.

22. Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Presentation copy of *On the Constitution of the Church and State, According to the Idea of Each; with Aids Toward a Right Judgment on the Late Catholic Bill. Second Edition.* London: Hurst, Chance, 1830.

The author of "The Ancient Mariner" was a political philosopher as well as a poet. The progress of Coleridge's thinking can be followed from the *Watchman* in the mid-1790s to *On the Constitution of the Church and State* published four years before his death. Reacting against the Jacobinism of the French Revolution, he was a conservative and a believer in the subservience of the people to the state. Jonathan Green, to whom Coleridge presented the copy of the book shown here and for whom he wrote the long explanation, has not been identified. Could it be Dr. Jonathan Green (1788–1864), the inventor of a portable vapor bath?

Purchased in 1956.

23. Stephen Crane. Association copy of *Whilomville Stories. Illustrated by Peter Newell.* New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1900.

In 1899 Stephen Crane, already famous for *The Red Badge of Courage,* went to live for a while in England. He settled at Brede Place near Rye in East Sussex. The house, dating back to the fourteenth century, was the home of the Moreton Frewens, who lent it to the American writer and his wife. There Crane, seriously ill with tuberculosis, spent his final months. There he wrote the last stories which he completed, published after his death as *Whilomville Stories.*

"The Angel Child," the first piece in the volume, was told Crane by his wife Cora as a childhood recollection of hers. The copy of *Whilomville Stories* shown here is interesting because it was given at Christmas, 1900, six months after Crane's death, to Mrs. Moreton Frewen by Cora. Mrs. Crane described the collection as "these stories written at Brede Place" and signed herself "the Angel Child."

Purchased in 1955.

24. Freeman Wills Crofts. Corrected typescripts of *The Sea Mystery, Mystery on Southampton Water, Found Floating.*

Freeman Wills Crofts had been a civil engineer for twenty years before he turned to writing. His first novel was undertaken as a pastime when he was convalescing from a long illness in 1919. For another decade he worked both as engineer and author before he gave all his time to writing.

Crofts' forte was the detective novel of plot. He was not interested in criminal psychology from the point of view of either the hunter or the hunted. His manuscripts show the marks of careful correction that might be called characteristic of an engineer's mind.

Purchased in 1956.

25. Charles Dickens. *A Christmas Carol in Prose. Being a Ghost Story of Christmas. With Illustrations by John Leech.* London: Chapman & Hall, 1844.

A Christmas Carol was the first of the books which Charles Dickens produced especially for Christmas. No work of his has given greater pleasure to his readers or presented more problems to his bibliographers. It is found with the title-page and half-title printed in red and blue and in red and green, with the dates 1843 and 1844, with yellow and with green endpapers, with differences in the reading of the text, all in various and perplexing combinations. Possibly the variety was caused by the author's interest in the details of production, for which he himself was paying in a commission-publication arrangement with Chapman and Hall.

Copies with red and green title and half-title, green endpapers, and the early reading of the text like the one shown here are relatively few in number. There is dispute as to whether or not they constitute a trial issue.

Purchased in 1953.

(To be continued)

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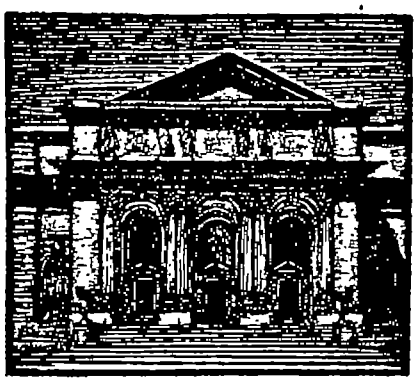

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Front Matter

New Accessions

Our account of books and manuscripts "New in the Berg Collection" concludes in this issue, but the exhibit itself will continue on into the autumn.

Our Reserve Division has recently acquired a set of the magazine, *Giornale per i Bambini* (3 vols. 1881–1883), which contains the first printing of "Pinocchio." The man who helped find it, Mr. S. V. H. Russo, has promised to write us a descriptive note.

Gift of Mrs. Sigurd N. Hersloff of Oxford, Maryland, is a collection of 200 playbills, programs, photographs, and other memorabilia of Anna Pavlova, for the years 1917–1925. This material, now added to the Dance Collection of our Music Division, was gathered by Oliver Grimes, one of her partners professionally known as André Olivéroff, and John Gill, who collaborated in writing the biographical *Flight of the Swan* (1932). Much of it was not used in the book; especially useful are photographs of little publicized members of Pavlova's company and a large number of documents of a South American tour. These are valuable in rounding out the Library's Pavlova collection which has consisted chiefly of European and North American materials.

Vignette on this page is from a program of one of her Russian tours.

A gift from Mr. Lauder Greenway has made possible the purchase from Signor Sergio Raminelli of Turin a collection of 61 phonograph record catalogues, mostly Italian, for the period 1903–1940. Their value as ancillary to the Music Division's immense collection of recordings will be considerable. Such catalogues supply documentary evidence with which dates can be established and labels verified or corrected; some yield biographical material and portraits not found elsewhere. The Raminelli collection represents most of the Italian recording companies and includes several exceedingly rare early lists. There is a Gramophone Company celebrity list dated August 1904 presenting such artists as Tamagno, Caruso, de Lucia, Marconi, Battistini, Sammarco, Bellincioni, Emma Carelli, Amelia Pinto. There are Fonotipia lists of 1905, 1907, 1908, 1912, 1913, and 1915; several Zon-o-Phone, one of 1903; some Odeon, Parlophone, and Columbia. Among the less known companies are Favorite (1910), Phonodisc Mondial (1911, 1912), and Paradiso (1915). A special rarity is the catalogue of Phonotype, a company of uncertain date, said to have been founded by the famous tenor Fernando de Lucia and featuring recordings made late in his career.

Flem Snopes's Ponies

To the current exhibit in Princeton University Library of the work of William Faulkner, The New York Public Library has been able to lend a valuable early manuscript recently acquired by the Arents Collections. This 25-page holograph entitled "Father Abraham"

is a complete early version of the tale which Faulkner first published as a short story, "Spotted Horses," in 1931 and later expanded into a major episode in his novel *The Hamlet* (1940). It concerns the wild Texas ponies which Flem Snopes sold to farmers in Frenchman's Bend, Mississippi.

Faulkner expert James B. Meriwether gives the manuscript a date of around 1926–1928 and thinks it may represent the beginning of a novel about the Snopes family, started before the publication of "Spotted Horses" but only later developed into *The Hamlet* — for the novel incorporates material from this early version which was not used in the short story.

Whitman's "thread-voice"

Our main offering this month is an impressive exercise in the science of textual diplomatics, a full account and diplomatic text of two Whitman manuscripts "of especial interest for our critical knowledge of the composition of 'Passage to India.'"

Professor Bowers concentrates on the text, leaving to other Whitman scholars the pursuit of literary and literary-historical significances. We may be sure that such pursuers will be forthcoming and will be grateful for the text supplied, because "Passage to India" is not simply an intrinsically interesting Whitman poem but a poem which occupies an unusual position in the whole body of Whitman's work. (For a full critical note see *Walt Whitman's Poems*, ed. Gay Wilson Allen and Charles Davis, 1955, p. 242–248.)

"Passage to India" appeared at first in an annex to the fifth edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1871–1872). It was printed in a second issue and formed, with 72 other poems, a group set off from the *Leaves* and having a separate pagination. This fact has suggested to Whitman critics that the poet was thinking of a new volume of poems, one with new purposes and fresh materials. The "Preface" to the poem, "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free," published as a pamphlet in 1872, confirms this suspicion, for here Whitman announced the subject matter of his new chants, the "thread-voice, more or less audible of an aggravated, inseparable, unprecedented, vast, composite, electric *Democratic nationality.*" This he distinguished from the substance of the *Leaves*, "the song of a great composite *Democratic Individual*, male or female."

Whitman, with increasing ill health, was never to write his new volume of verses, and the plan was formally abandoned in a footnote to the "Preface" to the centennial edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1876). Here his description of the cherished project differed somewhat from his earlier statement of intention. Possibly the precise form of the new volume never achieved finality in Whitman's mind. At the center of his speculations and projections, however, lay the poem "Passage to India." It calls itself "a song of pleasant exploration": we are happy to make its earliest form and a reconstruction of the history of its composition available to scholarly explorers.

Use and Additions, June 1957

Visitors entering the Central Building, 230,968; readers in the Reference Department, 61,537; volumes consulted 172,336. Volumes issued by the Circulation Department for home use, 998,514.

Received through purchase and gift

	Circ. Dept. Gift	Ref. Dept. Gift	Purchase and Gift
Volumes	674	2,330	36,316
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Maps	---	275	288
Prints	---	2	22
Misc.	104	---	104

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BULLETIN OF THE
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JULY 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 7

The Earliest Manuscript of Whitman's "Passage to India" and its Notebook

By FREDSON BOWERS
University of Virginia

IN the Oscar Lion collection of Walt Whitman deposited in The New York Public Library are two manuscript documents of especial interest for our critical knowledge of the composition of "Passage to India." The one is a little notebook containing jottings about the poem and a few trial lines. The other is the earliest preserved manuscript for the complete poem, a manuscript that apparently served as the immediate basis for the "printer's-copy" manuscript now in the Houghton Library of Harvard University.[1]

The relation of the Lion and of the Harvard manuscripts presents no difficulty, for time and time again the readings in the Lion manuscript arrived at as a result of revision appear without alteration in the Harvard to be repeated in the proof sheets and the printed edition. Despite the numerous further alterations made as a result of revision in the Harvard manuscript, we may be as certain as one can be without precise external evidence that it represents a fair copy made directly from the Lion manuscript and was the manuscript sent to Rome Brothers for typesetting into preliminary proofs. Important, therefore, as is the Harvard manuscript for the material it affords about Whitman's revisory methods, it yields to the Lion in its literary significance, for in the Lion we move as far back as extant documents permit (the notebook excepted) into the actual composition process. Very likely we must not conceive of the Lion manuscript as in any sense the 'original'; Whit-

[1] For a reprint of the text of the Harvard manuscript, a collation of it with the extant proof sheets, and an analysis of the relation of the manuscript to the proof sheets and of these to the first printed edition in the 1870–71 *Leaves of Grass*, see Bowers, "The Manuscript of Whitman's 'Passage to India,'" *Modern Philology*, LI (1953) 102–117.

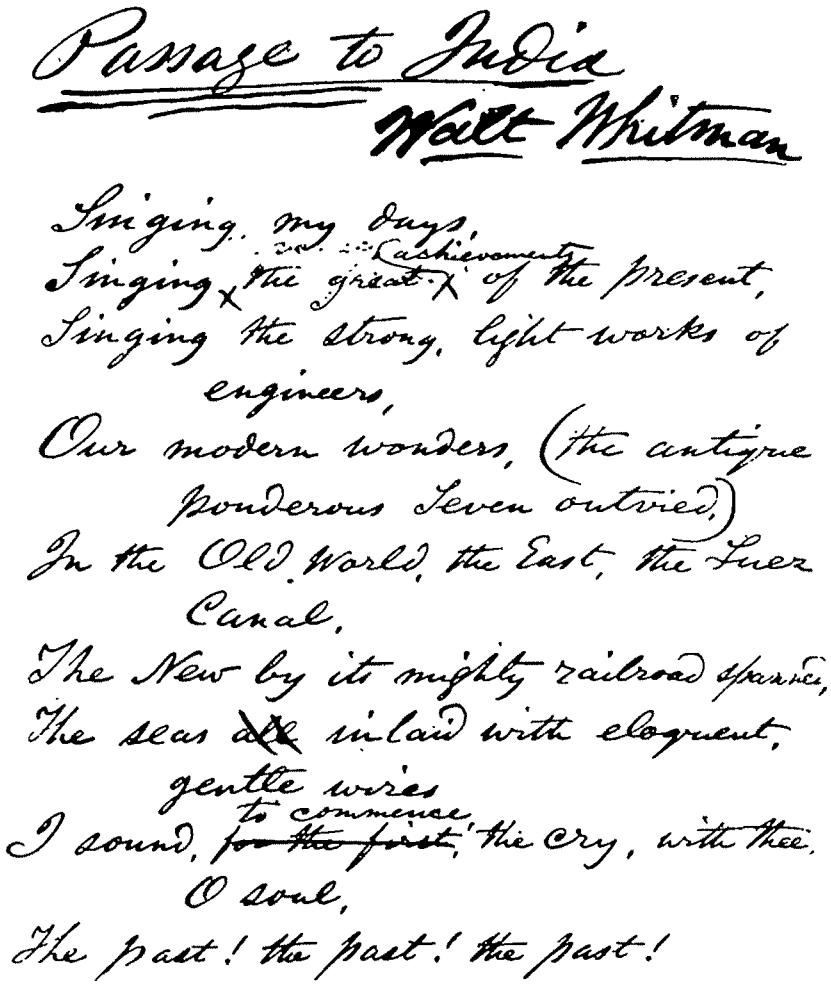
man's methods of composing on odd pieces of paper and of revising these trials much more extensively than is found even here are too well known for comment. Moreover, it is unlikely that the pasted-on pieces of proof sheets from his independent poems "Fables" and "Thou Vast Rondure" were inserted as part of the initial composition process. On the analogy of an important new piece of information — the incorporation in the Lion manuscript of still another independent poem "O Soul, Thou Pleasest Me," and the evidence that the subsequent, concluding leaves of "Passage to India" represent a revision (doubtless as fair copy) of the original closing lines on the earlier ruled paper written before the insertion of "O Soul" — we may well suppose that the Lion manuscript represents only an initially clean copying-out of an earlier manuscript form which in itself may not have been the original.

The Lion manuscript consists of 23 leaves written on one side of the paper, and numbered in blue pencil in the upper right corner 1–21, the extra leaves being accounted for by the insertion after leaf 5 of two leaves numbered respectively 5½ and 5¾. (In my references to these leaves, and in my transcript of the manuscript, I refer for convenience to these leaf numbers according to Whitman's numbering, not according to the absolute.) Throughout the ink is black, and alterations appear in ink, in lead pencil, in blue pencil, and in red pencil. Leaves 1–5, 6–7, and 9–13 are on blue-ruled paper, measuring about 8 inches wide and about 10 inches long. These leaves are now hinged to blank pages in a modern leather-bound blank-leaf volume, and this hinging apparently accounts for some irregularity in the width. I see no evidence that the leaves in question have been trimmed vertically. However, a very slight bias of something less than ⅛ inch makes me believe that this paper has been trimmed horizontally as a batch before use. The appearance as leaf 5¾ of a leaf of essentially the same paper with a vertical measurement of 12½ inches presumably clinches the case. Leaves 5½, 5¾, and 8 are composed of paper of the same general type except that a vertical marginal triple rule in blue and red forms what may be distinguished as 'ledger' sheets. Leaf 5½ measures 8 by 9½ inches whereas leaf 8 is the usual reduced 8 by 10 inches; the extra length of 5¾ has already been remarked.

Leaves 14–15 and 16–17 are each a fold of a laid unruled and unwatermarked paper of a very slightly bluish tinge, a full sheet of which, before folding, measures 9⅝ to 9¾ × 15½ inches. Thus each leaf is 7¾ inches wide. These leaves contain the whole of the inserted poem "O Soul, Thou Pleasest Me." Whitman at some late period, as shown by the fact that it was done after various paste-on slips had been inserted, folded the four leaves

vertically in thirds. In the central panel thus formed, written vertically on the verso of the outermost leaf, 17, is the title "O Soul, thou pleasest me."

Leaves 18–21 are written on an unruled laid paper that seems to be essentially the same as that of leaves 14–17. These leaves measure 9⅞ × 7¾


Passage to India
Walt Whitman
Singing my days,
Singing the great achievements of the present,
Singing the strong, light works of engineers,
Our modern wonders, (the antique ponderous Seven outvied,)
In the Old World, the East, the Suez Canal,
The New by its mighty railroad spans,
The seas all inlaid with electric, gentle wires
I sound, to commence, the cry, with thee,
O soul,
The past! the past! the past!

First page of the MS. *Oscar Lion Whitman Collection, Reserve Division*

inches and have a rough edge at the right as if a full sheet of paper had been carefully torn apart to form two leaves. However, these leaves apparently came from a larger batch of paper prepared in this manner since in no case do their torn margins match up to show that any two were once part of an original fold. Moreover, the chainlines of leaves 18–21 are horizontal and

placed 18mm. apart, whereas those of leaves 14–17 are vertical and 19mm. wide. It would appear to be significant that in leaves 18–21 the incidence of revision is rather noticeably lighter, with the exception of the heavily revised leaf 20 that may at first have contained the proposed conclusion. Grounds for suspicion may exist, therefore, that the insertion of "O Soul" so altered the original ending as to require a copy to be made, with alterations, of the final verses as they had presumably been first written out on the ruled paper used before the insertion. This present article does not propose to engage in literary criticism, but I should remark that the transcendental note so strongly struck in the "O Soul" insertion in contrast to the earlier part of the poem is a prominent part of the subsequent verses as we now have them, although it had been adumbrated in earlier lines and appears in draft in the original Notebook. The change of paper from the ruled variety coming immediately after the inserted poem that somewhat altered the emphasis of the whole, combines with the comparatively smaller number of revisions in these pages to suggest the possibility that the Lion manuscript had originally been written out complete on ruled paper but that the end was recopied and partly changed as a consequence of the insertion of the independent poem "O Soul."

If this hypothesis may be accepted, the insertion of "O Soul" in this manuscript is in a different category from the use made of portions of proof sheets for "Fables" and "Thou Vast Rondure" on leaves 3, 7, and 8.[2] These would seemingly have been integrated in the poem already, whereas in the Lion manuscript we should be in the very midst of the process of integrating "O Soul," and this at a comparatively late stage in the development of "Passage to India."

The various stages of revision in the poem cannot be delineated with complete accuracy, although some few conclusions may be drawn. It is per-

[2] In an autograph note contained among the Lion papers in this volume Emory Holloway (dated Dec. 20, 1920) writes: "I find in Whitman's marked copy of Two Rivulets (Centennial Edition, 1876) in the Valentine Collection a memorandum written on the reverse of a page bearing the title 'As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free' the following being an excerpt from it: 'merging my poems in "Passage to India" as the embouchure and final explanation of all that have gone before.'" So far as I am aware, this marked copy is not among the Valentine papers now preserved at the University of Virginia as the gift of Clifton Waller Barrett. I do not know the location of proof sheets of "Thou Vast Rondure" or of the other verses represented here in proof, although the manuscript of "Thou Vast Rondure" is well known and has been printed in facsimile. Similarly, the manuscript of "Fables" has been reprinted (Bowers, *Whitman's Manuscripts: Leaves of Grass 1860* [University of Chicago Press 1955] p. 256–257). However, Mr. Charles Feinberg, of Detroit, has kindly sent me photographs of a proof sheet in his collection that contains (reading from left to right) "Sparkles from the Wheel," "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors," and "Fables." This latter is in the identical typesetting as the portions of proof sheet pasted in on leaves of the Lion and Harvard manuscripts. (Collation of this proof sheet against the Valentine-Barrett manuscript reveals only two changes, in that 'far darting' and 'deep diving' of the proof [lines 3, 4] are hyphenated in the manuscript.)

fectly clear that there were at least two major and thorough revisory processes, the earliest in ink and the next in pencil. Whether each, or either, of these was performed as one process or more than one is not certain, for it is quite possible, as perhaps in verse 190, that a separate stage of revision in pencil immediately succeeded an earlier in pencil, and so with ink, perhaps. With the exception of one doubtful case in which I am not really sure of the order (verse 254 in which an ink revision may follow one in blue pencil), it would appear that the very few alterations made in red pencil represent the final touches given to the poem, and that the more numerous alterations in blue pencil immediately precede. I should myself be inclined to conjecture that the blue-pencil alterations might have been made at the time the leaves were foliated in blue since both blue-pencil revision and foliation must have occurred at a comparatively late stage in the preparation of the manuscript.[3]

We find blue pencil revising ink alterations, as in verse 91, and blue revising lead-pencil alterations as in verse 70, but no case in which blue revises a revision in pencil or in ink which in itself was a revision of a revision in the other medium. Thus the order in this respect cannot be determined; but even if such a case had existed it would not have afforded positive evidence because of the clear indication that more than one stage exists of revision in ink and in lead pencil. Verse 181 (leaf 13), for example, shows pencil revision altered in ink, the alterations revised in pencil and subsequently in ink. My impression is that a careful ink revision was succeeded by a careful pencil, and then with varying degrees of care we have stages of alteration in ink, pencil, ink, blue pencil, and red pencil. The difficulty is, that except when one alters the other there is no way to determine whether a pencil revision is in the first or second stage, or an ink revision in the first, second, or third.

The difficulty is especially acute in leaves 14–17 containing "O Soul, Thou Pleasest Me." Here we have ink revising pencil alterations; and pencil revising ink alterations; and one case of pencil revising blue (but the blue here must be early). How many of these stages represent alteration before the incorporation of the poem, and how many afterwards, is far from certain. If we use leaves 18–21 as a control, on the assumption that their writing-out

[3] An exception would be the blue-pencil stanza or section numbers in the leaves of "O Soul," which must have been added before the poem was incorporated in "Passage to India." We must suppose that some of the alterations found on these leaves were made prior to its insertion in "Passage," but some undoubtedly afterwards. If so, there may well be two layers of blue-pencil revision in these leaves. Note in verse 2 of Appendix II a blue-pencil alteration on leaf 14 has been pencil deleted. Presumably this was early.

succeeded the insertion of leaves 14–17, we find evidence only of pencil alteration to ink revision, and blue pencil succeeding this. However, it is noteworthy that there is a high incidence of pencil compared to ink alteration, and that (in comparison) an astonishing number of blue-pencil revisions have been made.

The relation of these stages of revision for leaves 14–17 and leaves 18–21 is of considerable interest for whatever light can be thrown on the relative point in time that "O Soul" was inserted and the hypothecated original ruled paper ending was copied out afresh in altered form on different paper.[4] Although leaves 14–17, comprising "O Soul," are on similar paper to that employed in leaves 18–21, it is obvious that the inscription of "O Soul" on leaves 14–17 must have preceded the inscription of the end of "Passage to India" on leaves 18–21, and that the two lots of paper were somewhat dissociated from each other. Leaves 14–17 are in two unquired folds, whereas leaves 18–21 have been torn apart from full sheets as part of a larger batch of closely similar but not identical paper. The folding in three parts of the poem on 14–17, and the inscription of the title on its outer verso indicate that it was treated for some time as an independent unit. However, the association of the paper of 18–21 with the paper used for this poem would not seem to be fortuitous and would most readily be brought about if Whitman had exhausted the supply of ruled paper in an interval between the copying-out of "Passage to India" in its original form on ruled paper and the composition of "O Soul." When thereafter he came to insert "O Soul" and as a consequence to alter the ending of "Passage," the paper most conveniently to hand might have been one closely associated with that which had seen recent use for "O Soul" and doubtless other poems. With this hypothesis the comparative paucity of revisions in depth on leaves 18–21 agrees. Moreover, that paper of the same sort as that used for the inscription of "O Soul" was in Whitman's possession subsequently is shown by the paste-on revisions made to leaves 15–17.

The several leaves of the "Passage" manuscript that have paste-on slips, in the "O Soul" section and earlier, present the next series of problems. For leaves 14–17 the facts are these. Leaf 14 and 15 compose a fold, in which 14 (verses 184–190) is quite normal. However, only the upper half (verses 191–196) of leaf 15 is normally inscribed: verses 197–203 are written on a

[4] This is to assume that Whitman did not proceed to copy out the poem on ruled paper, up to leaf 13, then insert "O Soul," and continue to copy out (possibly with some changes) the rest of the poem, after switching to a different lot of paper. The drop in the number of revisions in leaves 18 ff. argues against such a theory, as does the use of the vertical-striped ledger paper to revise the ruled-paper early section, presumably after the whole poem had been copied out.

cut-down slip measuring 5 x 7⅛ inches of the same paper pasted on the blank lower half of the leaf. Leaf 16 (conjugate with leaf 17) is a blank page on which have been pasted two cut-down slips. The upper, containing verses 204–205, measures 1¾ x 7⅛; the lower, containing verses 206–214, measures 6 x 7⅛ inches. On the main leaf, below this second paste-on, is the only actual writing, the deleted verse, 'O Soul, thou pleasest me — I thee.' The upper third of leaf 17 is occupied by a cut-down paste-on slip over blank space, measuring about 3¼ × 7⅛ inches. Four verses were written on this slip, but the upper two have been obscured by a shorter second paste-over measuring 1½ × 7⅝ which holds verses 215–217, followed by verses 218–219 exposed on the original paste-on, whereupon inscription of the leaf proper continues with verses 220–226 to end "O Soul."

The blue-pencil section figure 8 on leaf 15 is written on the main leaf, though it refers to the paste-on beginning with verse 197, and was therefore manifestly added after the paste-on was made. This is important. Since these section figures have no relation to "Passage to India" and refer only to "O Soul" while it was still an independent poem, we know from this fact that leaves 14–17 were assembled as they were, with their paste-ons, not at the time that the poem was added to "Passage to India" but, instead, before. Hence the revisions represented by the rearrangement and recopying shown by the cutting up of the paper have nothing to do with the insertion of the poem in "Passage"; moreover, on the plane of physical evidence, the presence of the same paper in the original (as represented by the non-revisory paste-on slips) and in the folds comprising leaves 14–17 cannot be used as evidence to relate leaves 18–21 to this section as part of a contiguous revision.[5]

The top paste-on slip on leaf 16 fits into the foot of the slip on the lower half of leaf 15, showing that the two were at one time part of a leaf. However, the two are only about 6¾ inches tall, joined, as against a norm of about 9¾ inches for this paper, and so 3 inches is missing from the original leaf. The irregularity of the scissor cut at the top of the slip on leaf 15, and the remains of some ink stroke just at the cut, in the top center, show that the missing material came there, ahead of what is now verse 197. About 5 missing verses would be right for this space; and we may perhaps take it that in revised form these are represented by the six verses 191–196 heading the leaf. However, it must be noticed that the foot of the second slip is not straight cut like the bottom of a leaf of paper but is curved slightly from a scissor cut. I conjecture that it was, in fact, the foot of an original leaf but that Whitman

[5] We should surmise this anyway from the unique folding in three which leaves 14–17 have undergone after the slips were pasted on.

trimmed off the lower margin to even the space between it and the next verse.

The second and lower slip on leaf 16 shows the marks of some cut-off letters at its head, and part of a deleting horizontal line at its foot. Roughly 3¾ inches are missing from this to make up the whole original leaf. At its foot, below the start of the horizontal deleting line, is the top of what is very likely a capital 'O', and at the far right are the tops of two letters that might very well be 'th'. Thus it would seem that the deleted verse immediately below it, on the main leaf, 'O Soul, thou pleasest me — I thee.' just about represents what could originally have ended the leaf. If so, about 3¼ inches, or perhaps about 4 verses, may be missing from the head. Unfortunately, the second overlapping slip on leaf 17 does not permit an unimpeded view of the top of the original paste-over slip at the head of the leaf. What can be seen of its contours and of its top line does not encourage one to assign it as the original foot of the lower slip on leaf 16; and its lower contour does not match the top of the leaf 16 slip. Yet its trimmed down margins are the same as this other slip, and its vertical measurement is so close as to suggest the strong possibility that a deleted line, say, has been trimmed off its head, and that it once was joined to the foot of the lower leaf-16 slip to compose a whole original leaf. The top overlapping leaf-17 slip has a straight rough foot as if it had perhaps been the foot of a leaf, but quite clearly it has no connection with the other slips. The only other piece of information is that the ink-interlineation 'Athwart' at the top of the second slip on leaf 16 (verse 206) was written after the two slips were pasted together.

From the evidence we thus come to the conclusion that an earlier form of the independent poem "O Soul, Thou Pleasest Me" existed on the same paper and is represented by the verses 197–203, 204–205, 206–214, 215–217, 218–219 which are at present inscribed on paste-on slips. At some time before the section numbers were inserted, but certainly after some revision had been made, Whitman made a copy of this original form by writing out fair its beginning, as represented by verses 184–196 on leaves 14–15 (including the three deleted verses that originally began the poem before verse 184) and 220–226 at the foot of leaf 17, cutting up and pasting on the blank leaves of his two folds the paper containing the sections of the earlier version, as described. Thus verses 184–196 and 220–226 represent somewhat later and more highly revised lines (in their original form) than do lines 197–219 found on the slips; and an analysis of the stages of revision which they contain, as against the revisions present on the slips, would give a critic some idea of the extent of the revision made to the poem before its rearrangement.

We must suppose, however, that revision was made overall even after the rearrangement and before its incorporation into "Passage to India," whereupon additional alteration was doubtless also made according to the stages that may be discerned on leaves 18–21.

Earlier in the manuscript, leaf 5 is made up of three pasted-together pieces of the ruled paper, the top piece measuring vertically 5⅜ inches, the middle piece 6¾ inches, and the lowest piece 2 inches. The bottom piece is attached to the middle by a brown-paper piece on the verso; on this brown paper is written in Whitman's hand, 'Attorney General's Office | Official Business'. The secting of the tops of some letters by the scissors cut, as well as the contour of the two cut edges, demonstrates that originally the lowest piece (verses 7–9 as reprinted in Appendix I) was part of a leaf immediately below the uppermost piece (verses 52–56 of the text as reprinted below, and deleted verse 1 in Appendix I), and had been cut apart to admit the insertion of the middle piece (verses 2–6 in Appendix I). However, the irregular contour of the foot of the third piece, and the tops of some letters excised by its lower secting, indicate clearly that the foot of the original leaf has been cut off. The upper and lower pieces when joined together measure 7⅜ inches, indicating that this missing piece could have been no taller than 2⅝ inches.

Almost certainly this missing segment is the small piece measuring 2⅛ inches vertically that appears pasted on the top edge of the normal 10-inch leaf 6 and contains verses 69–70 and a deleted pencil note at the foot. However, there is missing about ½ inch of paper; moreover, the tops of the letters that can be discerned at the cut-off foot of the lowest piece on leaf 5 do not match the tops at the head of this small piece on leaf 6. What seems to have happened is this. Verse 9 of Appendix I ends the bottom piece on leaf 5 and reads 'It ties the Eastern and the western seas.' But this line is an addition, crowded in, and the last words of the line it was apparently intended to replace, as they appear from the tops of the letters at the foot of the lowest leaf-5 piece are 'East [ ] West', in which the word 'West' is quite certain. The period after 'western seas' shows that this line was intended to end a sentence.

I suggest that the original leaf 5 consisted of verses 52–56 as in the present text, plus the deleted verse 1 of Appendix I, followed by deleted verses 7–8 (Appendix I) and some earlier version of deleted verse 9, doubtless ending 'East & West.', succeeded in turn by verses 69–70 on the piece now heading leaf 6 but originally the foot of leaf 5. Leaf 6 beginning a new stanza with verse 71 was then copied and, I should conjecture, even the whole poem in

its ruled-paper form before the insertion of "O Soul" and the consequential recopying of leaves 18–21.[6]

We have a choice between believing that the verses on the central piece of leaf 5 (verses 2–6 in Appendix I) were additions, specially written out for insertion, or that the piece represents the remains of a whole leaf of original verses merely subject to rearrangement. Positive demonstration is not possible, but some inferences can be drawn. If the central piece now found on leaf 5 was part of the original inscription, it must presumably have composed part of a whole leaf between what are now leaves 5 and 6, a leaf that was removed and this piece cut out for insertion before the foliation of the leaves was performed. Since folio 6 is written on the top of the paste-on slip at the head of leaf 6, and since it is obvious that original leaf 5 was dismembered only to admit the central piece, we may indeed be sure that this rearrangement was made before foliation. Hence a leaf could have been abstracted from between what is now 5 and 6 and we be none the wiser. However, if we consider the pencil note at the bottom of the paste-on slip heading leaf 6, one which was certainly written when this paper had composed the foot of original leaf 5, we may have cause for doubt. The deleted pencil note reads, 'names of Mountains & States — rivers (The Nevadas) | through which the Pacific R. R passes'. Subsequently no such names or lists appear, but in the lines on the central piece of leaf 5 we do have the names Wind River, Wahsatch, Laramie plains, Promontory, Elk Mountains, and — repeating the note in parentheses — the Nevadas. Moreover the fact that the central piece on leaf 5 was written on ledger paper, and not on the plain ruled paper, militates against any hypothesis that it had formed a part of any original leaf.

It would seem, then, that the six verses on the middle piece of leaf 5 were written after the original inscription and in pursuance of the note at the foot of original leaf 5 to extend this section with names. That they were written and inserted before the foliation of the leaves is demonstrated by the lack of foliation on the full original leaf 6 and the numbering of the leaf

[6] The third piece composing present leaf 5 was cut apart from the first piece after certain pencil revision ('and after all': see note to deleted verse 7 in Appendix I) had been written since portions of these pencil letters appear on both pieces; and proof that the middle piece was written and inserted after one of the stages of pencil notation is provided by the pencil notes (which are elaborated in the verses of the piece) that had been written at the foot of original leaf 5 in the space left because original leaf 6 had begun a new stanza and could not be started in the small space left at the foot of original leaf 5. We know that ink revisions were the first and then pencil, but we know that there was more than one stage of pencil revision; and which one is represented by the pencil alterations demonstrably made before rearrangement is in doubt. The comparative scarcity of the pencil revisions in this area, however, might indicate that no more than the earliest set is to be found.

on the paste-on slip now heading the leaf. But beyond this we seemingly cannot go. The revisions are unhelpful. Only ink revisions appear on this insert, but ink revisions alone appear on the top of original leaf 5 above it; and the pencil note on the original foot of leaf 5 is the only piece of evidence.[7]

Clearly, the deletion of a number of lines on leaf 5, after the rearrangement, and their recopying on leaves 5½ and 5¾ were performed after the leaves of the manuscript had been foliated, since these fraction-numbered leaves would have been leaves 6 and 7 if leaf 6 had not already been numbered. These verses, it will be noticed, were never revised after inscription (the deletion in verse 62 is likely current); and whether this lack of alteration is to be imputed to a very late stage of copying or to their immediate satisfactoriness to Whitman is a moot point. In favor of an inscription not too late in the history of the manuscript is (1) the lack of evidence for more than one non-ink revision stage before the verses were deleted; and (2) the use of ledger paper for the recopying, though of a different batch from the plain ruled of the original inscription.[8] Against the hypothesis that the insertion of leaves 5½ and 5¾ was far from the last physical rearrangement is the fact that the inserted poem "O Soul" and what has been conjectured to be the succeeding consequentially recopied leaves are foliated with blue pencil. Hence, it might be argued, the fractionally numbered leaves must have been inserted at a time later than the insertion of "O Soul." There would be no difficulty with this view were it not that the switch for leaves 18–21 from ruled paper to the different paper used for "O Soul" both in its early and final inscription seems significant, and the evidence of the revisions seems to point towards a fairly late stage for this recopying of leaves 18–21, a stage that would appear to be later than the revisions on the rejected verses of leaf 5.

The evidence as it stands is quite contradictory. My own view is that the paper on which leaves 18–21 are copied is significant, especially as combined with the evidence for the comparatively late stages of the revisions on these leaves. If the paper evidence is significant, then there would be no explanation for a reversion to ledger paper for leaves 5½ and 5¾ after copying leaves 18–21 on what seems to be paper of a later use. The anomaly can be

[7] However, on the evidence that the unusual dull ink that made a revision to the last line of the insert also made a revision to the first line of the slip below, we may be sure these two alterations were written after the rearrangement.

[8] If I am right in my assumption that the ordinary leaves of ruled paper used in this manuscript had been pre-trimmed to a height of about 10 inches, as a batch, then it is significant that the foot of leaf 5½ (of normal length) has seemingly been torn off, and leaf 5¾ is the full 12½ inch length, although it is true that these are both ledger-paper leaves and not plain ruled. Nevertheless, whether or not this paper had a vertical rule-stripe, it would apparently have been of equal length.

resolved, however, if we may conjecture that the foliation of leaves 14–21 was made at a different time from the foliation of the ruled-paper leaves 1–13 and of the now lost rejected ruled-paper leaves assumed to lie in back of the revised leaves 18–21. I know of no evidence for this conjecture, but none against it, either, since there is no way to distinguish blue-pencil numbering. I should point out, in defense of this conjecture, that Whitman often preferred blue pencil for such numbering (as in the slightly later "Passage" Harvard manuscript) and that we have a practical example of this fact that blue pencil could be used at different times for numbering right in the Lion "Passage to India" manuscript itself, where the section number 4 in blue pencil that heads the upper paste-on slip of "O Soul" on leaf 17 only repeats a blue-pencil section number 4 heading the cancellandum slip under this cancellans. Moreover, the folio number 17, in blue pencil, on this cancellans slip must have been written at a different time from the inscription of the section number on the same slip, since this section number refers to the "O Soul" state of the poem and not to its "Passage" form. Thus here we have an example of blue-pencil numbering on three different occasions. It is not too much to expect, therefore, that an insert and concellans leaves to a manuscript originally composed of ruled paper exclusively and already foliated in blue would also be foliated in blue to complete the final form of the manuscript.

I should conjecture, therefore, that at a time earlier than the insertion and revision that took place towards the end of the manuscript in consequence of the incorporation of the poem "O Soul, Thou Pleasest Me," Whitman wanted to follow out his pencil note and to add the verses now found as 2–6 in Appendix I (in revised form as 57–66 in the present text). He wrote them on a slip of ledger paper, cut apart original leaf 5, and inserted the additional lines. The leaf was now too long (about 13¼ inches). Hence he cut off the foot of the original leaf 5 and pasted it above leaf 6, in the process saving ½ inch by trimming off the original final line that had been deleted and revised by interlineation. (This is the missing ½ inch between the foot of present leaf 5 and the head of present leaf 6.) Leaf 5, therefore, became slightly more than 12 inches long, and leaf 6 became a little under 11½ inches. Both are longer than the standard 10 inches but compare with the 12½ inches of leaf 5¾. (Leaf 5½ measures 9½ inches, but its foot is rough as though paper had been torn off. Doubtless it was also 12½ inches like leaf 5¾ but was adjusted to the usual length.) Subsequently, the made-up leaf 5 was further revised, and Whitman decided that revision still to be made could not be managed with sufficient legibility. Hence he deleted most of the

leaf-5 verses and copied them afresh, with some major rearrangement and changes, on inserted leaves 5½ and 5¾.[9]

One final problem remains. It will be observed that the center piece of leaf 5 and the whole of leaves 5½, 5¾, and 8 are composed of ledger paper, of the same type as the plain ruled except for its marginal vertical rule. That this paper was used for the insert on leaf 5 and for the recopying of revised verses on leaves 5½ and 5¾ indicates that its period of use was later than the inscription of the plain ruled paper. The question then follows, does the appearance of this ledger paper as leaf 8 — containing proof excerpts from "Thou Vast Rondure" and autograph lines — though not as leaf 7 (which also combines proof excerpts and handwriting) indicate that one or both of the leaves in question represent late additions to the original form of the copied-out poem? The evidence is against such an assumption. The concluding verse at the foot of leaf 6 is "Thou, rondure of the World at last encircled.", and there is no sign that this is a later addition. Since this verse 85 definitely serves to introduce the next verses 86–92 from proof, heading leaf 7, it would seem that the foot of leaf 6 was inscribed with the knowledge that the proof excerpts were to follow on leaf 7. On the other hand, it cannot be argued that leaf 7 was original but leaf 8 (the ledger paper) an addition, since the questions asked in the verses on leaf 7 require the answers provided by the verses on leaf 8 before the poem can proceed with verse 121 heading leaf 9. The anomaly is not to be resolved by supposing a random mixture of the two kinds of paper, since the appearance of the ledger paper for clearcut later revisions on leaf 5 and its successors 5½ and 5¾ must be significant. On the evidence we can only argue that leaves 7 and 8, with their proof excerpts, were part of the original copying-out of the whole poem, but that leaf 8 (in contrast to leaf 7) does not represent the original leaf but instead a revised substitute, made at approximately the same time as the revisions on leaves 5, 5½, and 5¾. There is nothing improbable in this conjecture, for the Harvard manuscript shows that Whitman had an extra supply of these proofs. If this theory works, then the critic may look for revisions to have taken place in the autograph lines 104–108, 111, 117–118 on leaf 8 between their original form in the copying of this poem and their present readings.

I subtend a diplomatic reprint of the Lion manuscript of "Passage to India." Since on some occasions the actual lineation of the manuscript is of interest,

[9] That this copying was done after the pasting of the piece at the top of leaf 6 is shown by the fact that only four verses appear on leaf 5¾. If the two verses on this piece heading leaf 6 had been salvaged when the decision to recopy was made, almost certainly they would have been copied on leaf 5¾ to end the stanza, or section.

I mark the line-endings by a single vertical stroke | except at the end of a verse where the ending is obvious. (In the notes I may use the double stroke || to indicate the end of a verse when I am transcribing in seriatim form.) Illegible letters are indicated by vacant square brackets, as [ ]. The transcript is made of the manuscript in its final revised state. At the end of the transcript I provide in notes a full account of all readings that were arrived at by alteration of the original inscription. In these notes the alteration is assumed to be made in ink unless another medium is specified or tacitly inplied by the context. Three appendices contain rejected verses too lengthy for clear transcription and account in the notes. Following these I describe and transcribe from the Lion collection the little Whitman notebook that contains the germinal ideas for "Passage to India." My thanks are due to Mr. Oscar Lion and to The New York Public Library for permission to reprint these manuscripts, and to Mr. Lewis M. Stark, their custodian at the Library, for many courtesies.

THE MANUSCRIPT

[leaf 1]

Passage to India

Walt Whitman

Singing my days,
Singing the great achievements of the present,
Singing the strong, light works of | engineers,
Our modern wonders, (the antique | ponderous Seven outvied,)
In the Old World, the East, the Suez | Canal,
The New by its mighty railroad spanned,
The seas inlaid with eloquent, | gentle wires
I sound, to commence, the cry, with thee, | O soul,
The past! the past! the past!

[leaf 2]

The past! the dark, unfathom'd retrospect!
The teeming gulf! the sleepers and the | shadows!
The past! the infinite greatness of | the past!
The present! nay, I think nothing | is really great but the past,
And that after all, the present is truly | nothing but the past;
(As a projectile, formed, impell'd, | passing a certain line, still | keeps on,
So the present, utterly form'd, impell'd | by the past.)
Passage, O soul, to India!
Eclaircise the myths Asiatic — the primitive fables.
Not you alone, proud truths of | the world!
Not you, ye facts of modern | science!

[leaf 3]
But fables, the splendid fables! | Asia's, Africa's fables!
[begin proof paste-on slip]
The far darting beams of the spirit! — the unloos'd dreams!
The deep diving bibles and legends;
The daring plots of the poets — the elder re-|ligions;
— O you temples fairer than lilies, pour'd over by the rising | sun!
O you fables, spurning the known, eluding the hold of the | known, mounting to heaven!
You lofty and dazzling towers, pinnacled, red as roses, | burnish'd with gold!
Towers of fables immortal, fashion'd from mortal dreams!
You too I welcome, and fully, the same as the rest;
You too with joy I sing.
[end proof paste-on slip]
With such, the past the accepted present,
And thee and I O soul, singing a song | of pleasant exploration.

#

Passage to India!
Lo, soul! seest thou not God's purpose | from the first?
The Earth to be spann'd, connected by | net-work,
The peoples to become brothers & sisters,
The races, neighbors, to marry & be given | in marriage,
The oceans to be cross'd, the distant brought | near,
The lands to be welded together.

[leaf 4]
A worship new I sing;
You captains, voyageurs, explorers, | yours!
You engineers! you architects, | machinists, yours!
You, not for trade or transportation | only,
But in God's name, & for thy sake, | O soul!

Passage to India!
Lo, Soul, for thee, of tableaux twain,
I see, in one, the Suez canal in-|itiated, opened,
I see the procession of steamships, | the Empress Eugenie's leading the | van,
I mark, from on deck, the strange land-|scape, the pure sky, the level sand in the | distance,
I pass swiftly the picturesque groups, the work-|men gathered,
The gigantic dredging machines.

[leaf 5]
In one again, (different, yet thine all thine O | soul, the same,)
I see over my own continent the Pacific Railroad | surmounting every barrier
I see continual trains of cars winding along the Platte, | carrying freight & passengers,
I hear the locomotives rushing & | roaring, & the shrill steam-whistles,
I hear the echoes reverberate through | the grandest scenery of the world,

[leaf 5½]

I cross the Laramie plains — I | note the rocks in grotesque | shapes — the buttes,
I see the plentiful larkspur & | wild onions — the barren, | colorless sage deserts
I see, in glimpses afar, or towering | immediately above me, the great | mountains — I see the Wind | River & the Wahsatch Mountains
I see the Monument Mountain, | & the Eagle's nest — I pass | the Promontory — I ascend | the Nevadas
I scan the noble Elk Mountain | & wind around its base,
I see the Humboldt | range — I thread the valley | & cross the river
I see the clear waters of Lake | Tahoe — I see forests of | majestic pines
Or, crossing the great desert, the | alkaline plains, I behold enchanting | mirages of waters & meadows,

[leaf 5¾]

Marking through these, and after all, | in duplicate slender lines,
Bridging the three or four thousand | miles of land travel,
Tying the Eastern to the Western sea
The road between Europe & | Asia

[leaf 6]

[begin paste-on slip]
(Lad Genoese! centuries after thou | art laid in thy grave,
It verifies thy dream.)
[end paste-on slip]

Passage to India!
Struggles of many a sailor and | captain dead,
Over my mood, stealing & spreading, with | thee, O soul, they come,
Like clouds & cloudlets in the un-|reach'd sky.

Along all history, down the slopes,
I see one thought — (birth-thought of thee, | America!)
As a rivulet running, sinking now,
And now again to the surface rising,
A ceaseless thought, a varied train — lo, soul! | to thee, thy sight, they rise,
The plans, the voyages, the expeditions,
Again Vasco de Gama sails forth,
The knowledge gain'd, the mariner's | compass,
Thou found, thou born, America, (a | hemisphere unborn,)
For purpose vast, man's long probation fill'd,
Thou, rondure of the World at last | encircled.

[leaf 7]

[begin proof paste-on slip]
O vast Rondure, swimming in space!
Cover'd all over with visible power and beauty!
Alternate light and day, and the teeming, spiritual | darkness!
Unspeakable, high processions of sun and moon, | and countless stars, above!

Below, the manifold grass and waters, animals, | mountains, trees!
With some inscrutable purpose — some hidden, pro-|phetic intention;
Now, first, it seems, my thought begins to span | thee.
[end proof paste-on slip]
Down from the gardens of Asia, de-|scending, radiating,
[begin proof paste-on slip]
Adam and Eve appear, and their myriad progeny | after them,
Wandering, yearning, curious — full of aspirations, ever exploring,
Full of questionings, baffled, formless, feverish — | with never-happy hearts;
With that sad, incessant refrain, *Wherefore, unsatis-|fied, Soul?* and,
Whither, O mocking Life?
[end proof paste-on slip]
[begin proof paste-on slip]
Ah, who shall soothe these feverish children?
[end proof paste-on slip]
Who justify these explorations?
[begin proof paste-on slip]
Who speak the secret of impassive Earth?
Who bind it to us? What is this separate Nature, | so unnatural?
What is this Earth, to our affections? (unloving | earth, without a throb to answer ours;
Cold earth, the place of graves.)
[end proof paste-on slip]
[leaf 8]
Yet, soul, the word the first intent remains it shall yet be carried out,
(Perhaps even now the time has arrived.)
After these seas are all crossed, (as | they seem already cross'd,)
After the great captains & engineers have ac-|complished their work,
After all the inventors — after the | scientists, the chemist, the | geologist, ethnoligist,
Fi-
[begin proof paste-on slip]
nally, shall come the Poet, worthy | that name;
The true Son of God shall come, singing his songs;
[end proof paste-on slip]
Then not your deeds only O voyagers, O scientists, shall be | justified,
[begin proof paste-on slip]
all these hearts, as of fretted children, shall be | sooth'd,
All affection shall be fully responded to — the secret | shall be told;
All these separations and gaps shall be taken up, | and hook'd and link'd together;
The whole Earth — this cold, impassive, voiceless | Earth, shall be justified;
Trinitas divine shall be gloriously accomplished and com-|pacted
[end proof paste-on slip]
by the true Son of God, the Poet,
(He shall indeed pass the straits, & conquer | the mountains,
He shall double the Cape of Good Hope to | some purpose;)
[begin proof paste-on slip]
Nature and restless Man shall be disjoin'd and | diffused no more;

The true Son of God shall absolutely fuse them.
[end proof paste-on slip]

[leaf 9]

Year at whose door I sing!
Year of the purpose accomplished!
Year of the marriage of continents climates & oceans!
(No mere Doge of Venice now, | wedding the Adriatic;)
I see O year in you The vast terraqueous globle | given & giving all!
Europe to Asia, Africa joined, and | they to the New World!
I see All lands, geographies, as dancing before you, year, holding a festival | garland,
As brides & bridegrooms hand in hand.

Passage to India!
Cooling airs of Caucusus, soothing cradle | of man;
The river Euphrates flowing, the past lit | up again.

Lo, soul, the retrospect!
The old, most populous, cluster wealthiest of | Earth's lands,
The streams of the Indus & the Ganges, | and their many affluents,
(On the shores of America standing beholding resuming these,)
The tale of Alexander, on his warlike | marches, suddenly dying.

[leaf 10]

On one side China, and on the other | side Persia & Arabia
To the south the great seas & the Bay | of Bengal,
The flowing literatures, tremendous epics, | religions, castes,
Old, occult Brahma, interminably | far back — the tender & junior | Buddha.
Central & southern Asia, & all their | belongings, possessors,
The wars of Tamerlane, the reign | of Aurungzebe
The traders rulers, Moslems, Venetians, Byzantium, | Arabs, Portuguese,
The first travelers, famous yet, | Marco Polo, Batouta the Moor,
Doubts to be solved, the map incognita, | the blanks to be filled,
The foot of man unstayed, the | hands never at rest,
Thyself, O soul, that will not brook | a challenge.

[leaf 11]

The medieval navigators, rise before me,
The world of 1492, with its awakened | enterprise,
Something swelling in humanity like | the sap of the earth in spring,
The sunset splendor of chivalry declining.

who, who art thou, sad, Shade?
Gigantic, visionary, thyself a | visionary,
With majestic limbs, & pious, | beaming eyes,
Spreading around, with every look of | thine, a golden world,
Enhuing it with gorgeous hues?

As the chief histrion,
Down to the footlights walks in some | great scena,
Dominating the rest, I mark the Admiral himself,
(History's type of courage action, faith,)

[leaf 12]

see him, | set sail from Palos, leading his little fleet,
His voyage see — his return — his | great fame,
His misfortunes, calumniators — | see him a prisoner, chained,
See his dejection, poverty, death.

Lo, Soul! curious in Time, mark thou! the efforts | of heroes;
Is the deferment long? bitter the slan-|der, poverty, death?
Lies the seed unreck'd for centuries in the | ground? — Lo! to God's due oc-|casion,
Uprising in the night it | sprouts, blooms,
And fills the Earth with use & beauty.

Passage indeed O soul, to | primal thought!

[leaf 13]

Not lands & seas alone — the | mood's clear freshness,
The young maturity — passage to | India's brood and bloom,
Passage to wondrous realms, of | budding Bibles,
Of man the voyage of his | minds return,
To reason's early paradise.

O we can wait no longer!
We too take ship, O soul!
Joyous, we too launch out on | trackless seas!
Fearless, toward unknown shores, on | waves of extasy to sail!
Seas of the wafting winds — (thou | pressing me, to thee I thee, to me, O soul!)
Caroling free,
Chanting our chant of pleasant exploration.
Singing our song of God, O soul.

[leaf 14]

With laugh and many a kiss,
(Let others deprecate — let others | weep with sin, remorse, humiliation,)
O soul, thou pleasest me — I thee.

Ah, more than any priest, O soul, | we too believe in God,
But with the mystery of God we | dare not dally.

O soul, thou pleasest me — I thee;
On our own course, with room enough, none other near,

[leaf 15]

Sailing these seas, or on the hills, or waking | in the night,
Thoughts, silent thoughts of Time | and Space and Death, like | waters pouring,
Bear me indeed as through the regions infinite,
Whose air I breathe, whose ripples hear | — lave me all over,
Bathe me, O God, in thee — mounting | to thee,
I and my Soul to range in range of thee.

[begin paste-on slip]
O Thou transcendant!
Nameless — the Fibre and the Breath,
Light of the light — shedding forth | universes — Thou centre of them!
Thou mightier centre of the true, | the good, the loving,
Thou moral, spiritual fountain! af-|fection's source! thou reservoir!
(O pensive Soul of me! O love! O | thirst unsatisfied! Waitest not there?
Waitest not haply for us, somewhere there at last, the | Comrade perfect?)

[leaf 16]

[begin paste-on slip]
Thou pulse! thou motive of the | stars, suns, systems,
That, circling, move in order safe, harmo-|nious,
[end paste-on slip and begin another paste-on slip]
Athwart the shapeless vastnesses | of space;
How should I think — how breathe a single breath — | how speak — if, out of myself,
I could not launch, to these, superior uni-|verses?
Swiftly I shrivel at the thought of | God,
At Nature & its wonders, Time & Space & Death
But that I, turning, call to thee, | O Soul, thou actual Me,
And lo! thou gently masterest | the orbs,
Thou matest Time, & Space, smilest content at Death,
And fillest swellest full the vast-|nesses of space, —

[leaf 17]

[begin paste-on slip]
Greater than stars or suns,
Bounding, O soul, thou journeyest forth,
— What love than thine could wider amplify?
[end paste-on slip]
[begin exposed original paste-on slip]
What aspirations, wishes, outvie | ours, O Soul?
What dreams of the ideal — what | plans of purity, perfection strength?
[end original paste-on slip]
What cheerful willingness for others' | sake to give up all?
For others' sake to suffer all?

Reckoning ahead O Soul, when thou, the time achieved
(The seas all cross'd, weather'd the capes, the | voyage done,) the
Surrounded, copest, frontest God, yieldest, | the aim attain'd,
As, fill'd with friendship, love complete, the | Elder Brother found,
The Younger melts in fondness in | his arms,

[leaf 18]

Passage to more, than India!
Are thy wings plumed indeed for | such far flights?
O soul, voyagest thou indeed on | voyages like these?

Disportest thou at last on waters | such as these?
Soundest below the Sanscrit & the | Vedas?
Then have thy bent unleash'd.

Passage to you, your shores, ye | old, ye fierce enigmas,
Passage to you, to mastership of you, ye | strangling problems,
You, strewed with wrecks | & skeletons, that, living, | never reach'd you.

Passage belike to you, to you returning,
Back, back, to wisdom's birth, | to innocent intuitions,
The fusion & the tie, | again with fair Creation.

[leaf 19]

Passage to more than India!
O secret soul of earth & sky!
Of you, O waters of the sea! O | winding creeks & rivers!
Of you, O woods & fields! Of you, | strong mountains of my land!
Of you, O prairies! Of you, gray | rocks!
O morning red! O clouds! O rains | & snows!
O day & night, passage to you!

O sun & moon & all you stars! | Sirius & Jupiter!
Passage to you!

Passage, immediate passage — the blood | in my veins beats hotly:
Away, O soul of me — fit thyself out — prepare thyself | without delay;

[leaf 20]

Hoist instantly the anchor — untie the hawsers — haul out — shake | out every sail —
Have we not stood here like | trees in the ground long | enough?
Have we not grovell'd here long | enough eating & drinking | like mere brutes?
Have we not | darken'd and dazed ourselves with books long | enough?
Sail forth! steer for the deep waters only!
Reckless, O soul, exploring, I with thee, & thou | with me,

[leaf 21]

For we are bound where mariner | has not yet dared to go,
And we will risk the ship, ourselves | & all.

O my brave soul!
O farther, farther sail!
O daring joy, but safe! Are they | not all the seas of God?
O farther, farther, farther sail!

2 Singing] a following caret has been deleted in ink, and the ink interlineation erased. All that can be read now is, 'the ve[ ]se'.

2 great] written over an illegible erasure.

2 achievements] interlined above a caret and guide line.

7 seas] following is ink-deleted 'all'.

8 to commence,] interlined above deleted 'for the first,'.

14 after all,] interlined above a caret.

15 line,] interlined above deleted 'point'. I should judge that this interlineation was currently made and before following 'still' was written; otherwise, 'still' is a later addition.

17–18 Passage . . . fables.] These two verses are crowded in what had been a blank space between two stanzas. The second stanza had originally been composed as follows but the two verses deleted: 'Passage to India! || Passage to all the [ ] fables & the | mystics!' These original verses were much emended. In pencil 'But' was prefixed to the second verse before 'Passage' and 'first' interlined above a caret after 'Passage'. 'all' was deleted and 'mighty' interlined; then 'mighty' was excised in pencil, in the line the word 'the' after deleted 'all' was crossed through, and 'the primal' interlined. Some word before 'fables' was erased and in ink 'the' prefixed on the line. Then '(myths,' was interlined above a caret before 'the fables'. Later, in pencil, 'the' before 'fables' was deleted and 'primal' interlined in pencil above interlined 'myths,'; and after 'myths,' in pencil was added 'and the', the comma after 'fables' and '& the mystics!' being crossed out in pencil. Finally the two verses were deleted in ink and the substitute crowded in the stanza space above them. The final version of the rejected second verse read: 'But Passage first to the primal myths and fables.'

19 proud] interlined above deleted 'O'.

20 ye facts of] interlined in pencil above pencil-deleted 'alone, O science,'. It rather looks as if originally 'O' had been deleted and 'ye facts of' interlined in pencil; then 'ye' was deleted and 'you' prefixed in pencil, perhaps at the time 'science' was deleted. The line through 'ye' was partly erased after 'you' was crossed out. The first version read: 'alone, O science, modern | science!'

23 diving] as in the Harvard MS, 'fables — the mythical' is deleted from the proof after 'diving'.

24 elder] as in the Harvard MS, after this is deleted from the proof, 'and newer', with a deletion mark in the right margin.

26 mounting] before this is placed an ink caret, and in the right margin was written, over a caret, 'primitive,' but then deleted.

31 such] interlined in pencil above deleted 'these'.

31 the past . . . present,] 'the past' interlined above a caret and guideline; 'accepted' interlined in pencil above a caret. After 'present' the comma is a pencil addition made after the pencil-deletion of the original line-ending, '& the future,'.

32 The pencil sign ※ was placed in an original stanza space.

40 A worship] originally crossed out in pencil and 'A Religion' interlined, this being excised and the initial deleting stroke erased. After 'new' was interlined in blue pencil above a caret '& best of all,'; but then deleted in red pencil.

41 You captains . . .] below this was originally written the following verse, deleted in red pencil: 'You of the past, & you of to-day!'

47 canal] doubtful, somewhat, whether a miniscule or a majascule begins this word.

49 mark,] interlined in pencil above deleted 'watch'. The comma after 'deck' was added in pencil at the same time.

49 level] interlined above a caret.

50 picturesque] the *q* mended.

52 different, yet . . .] the parenthesis added after it had been erased before 'yet'. 'all thine' interlined above a caret that may have been formed from an original comma after 'thine'.

53 over my own continent] interlined above a caret.

53 surmounting every barrier] originally the line read, '. . . Railroad crossing | the great plains and the | Rocky Mountains'. First 'crossing' was deleted and 'threading' interlined, with 'crossing' then interlined between 'and' and 'the' before 'Rocky'. (The 'the' at the end of the line before 'Rocky' seems to be an addition.) Then 'my continent' was interlined above deleted 'the great plains' (doubtless before the interlineation of 'over my own continent' above), but this was inadvertently not excised when all after 'Railroad' was crossed out and 'surmounting every barrier' interlined above deleted 'Rocky mountains'.

54 I see continual . . .] this whole verse was an addition crowded in later.

55 — whistles] the final *s* is not quite certain.

56 echoes] the *c* mended.

56 grandest] interlined above deleted 'grand'.

52–56 These verses, plus the deleted verse following 56, are written on the top one of three pasted-together pieces of paper that form the leaf. For the text of the deleted verses on the second and third pieces, see Appendix I.

62 range] written after currently deleted 'Mountain'.

70 dream] before this is currently deleted 'sc'. 'dream' has been crossed out in pencil and 'scheme.' interlined. Then this excised and the pencil line through original 'dream' partly erased. Verses 69–70 are written on a paste-on slip that heads the leaf. Below verse 70, and at the foot of this slip, are deleted with two slants of a blue pencil the following lead pencil note: 'names of Mountains — States — rivers

(The Nevadas) | through which the Pacific R. R passes'.

72 Struggles . . .] originally the reading was 'That dream of the old sailors and | captains dead,'. 'That' was deleted, the *d* of 'dream' mended to *D*, and *s* added at the end to make 'Dreams'. Then the word was deleted in pencil and 'Struggles' interlined in pencil. In ink was deleted 'the old'; above, was interlined in pencil 'so the' but deleted. 'many a' followed this last deletion, in pencil, between the lines, the 'any' of 'many' having been altered in pencil from something else. Original final *s* has been deleted in pencil from 'sailors' and 'captains'.

73 they] original 'it' was deleted and 'they' interlined; this was deleted in pencil and 'you' interlined, then excised, and the pencil stroke through 'they' partly erased.

79 to thee, thy sight.] 'to thee' interlined above deleted original 'again'. In pencil, 'thy sight,' has been interlined.

80 The] the *h* mended over some letter, perhaps an *o*.

81 O] interlined in ink above deleted 'THOU'.

91 inscrutable] before this the proof had 'ever'; this was deleted in ink and in the left proof margin was written 'some', but this then deleted in blue pencil.

95 ever exploring,] added on the outer paper and brought in to a caret in the proof by a guideline.

99 Who] originally 'Why', altered in pencil.

104 Yet, soul . . .] the verse read originally, 'Lo, soul, the word remains —'. In pencil 'Lo,' is deleted and 'Yet,' interlined. Above a caret after 'word' was interlined 'the last intent' in pencil. In ink 'last' deleted and 'first' interlined. In ink, after 'remains' is added '— it shall yet be carried out,'; but the dash before 'it' seems to have been deleted in pencil.

105 (Perhaps . . .] this verse crowded in later. In the left margin is the sign ※ brought in below this verse by a guideline.

106 After] following this is deleted in pencil original 'all'. Then 'all' is interlined later in pencil.

107 great] interlined above a caret.

108 inventors] 'ors —' interlined above deleted 'ions'.

108 scientists] before this, ending the line above, original 'great' is deleted in pencil.

108 Ethnoligist] the first *i* is not dotted, but the letter seems clear.

109 Finally] the paste-on proof slip has its first word cut off, but a following comma inadvertently remains. The next word in the proof was 'finally'. The 'fi' deleted in ink and on the outside paper is 'Fi'.

110 songs;] the semi-colon on the proof has been deleted and a semi-colon added in ink on the proof paper.

111 Then] prefixed is the sign '¶'.

111 not your deeds only] interlined above a caret.

112 all] before this word in the proof is deleted 'Then'. The intent to start a new verse, even though there is failure to capitalize, is clear from the treatment in the Harvard manuscript.

115 whole] added over a caret in the left margin of the proof. A caret is placed after 'The' in the text.

115 this] before is deleted 'aye' but its following comma is inadvertently not excised.

115 justified] before this is deleted 'completely'.

116 be] added in ink in the proof left margin and brought in to a caret by a guideline.

116 accomplished] *ed* interlined in pencil and brought down by a line to a caret.

116 compacted] *ed* added in pencil in the left margin of the proof and brought over to a caret by a line. After, is the deleted word 'itself', and then the proof has been cut away.

121 at whose door I sing!] interlined above deleted 'I sing at the doors!'

122 of] interlined above deleted 'I sing'.

123 marriage of] interlined with a caret above deleted 'wedded'. 'Year of' had been deleted in pencil and above a caret interlined 'I see in you O year', but this erased and the line through 'Year of' erased to restore that reading.

123 climates] the verse originally ended 'continents!' In ink the exclamation point was deleted and 'mountains & oceans!' interlined. Then 'mountains' was deleted and 'climates' interlined in blue pencil.

125 I see O year in you] 'in you O year' interlined without a caret. Then 'in you' deleted in pencil and 'I see' prefixed with a caret; 'in you' was interlined in pencil after 'globle' but then deleted and interlined after 'year'.

125 given] before this, at the end of the previous line, is currently deleted 'giving'.

125 giving] before this, in pencil, is interlined above a caret 'cheerfully', deleted in ink.

127 I see] interlined above a caret.

127 as dancing . . . year,] interlined above a caret as 'dancing to you, O year,'. Then in pencil 'as' was prefixed, 'to' deleted and 'before' substituted, and 'O' deleted, all in pencil.

128 bridegrooms] *e* mended over *s*.

131 Euphrates] above this word is a pencil question mark.

132 soul, the] after this is pencil-deleted original 'surrounding, the'. The exclamation point at the end is added in pencil.

135 (On the shores . . .] this verse is crowded in as a pencil addition. Originally the verse began '(I on' but in ink the 'I' was deleted and the *o* of 'on' capitalized.

135 beholding] pencil 'behold' was interlined above pencil-deleted original 'resume'. The *ing* is added in ink, as is the *ing* of 'resuming'. Before 'these' is ink-deleted 'all'.

137 On one side . . .] to the left of this verse is a question mark in blue pencil. 'side' is interlined in pencil above a caret.

139 The] prefixed and interlined in pencil above a caret was 'Lo too,' but then deleted in pencil.

140 Old] interlined in pencil above deleted 'Great'.

142 Tamerlane] above this name is a blue-pencil question mark.

142 of Aurungzebe] before this line is a blue-pencil question mark. The final *e* is mended, perhaps over *ee*.

143 traders] interlined above a caret.

143 Arabs,] after this is deleted original 'the Turks,'.

144 travelers] *l* mended over *ll*.

146 man] after this is currently deleted 'that'.

146 hands] interlined in pencil above deleted 'eyes'.

148 The medieval . . .] originally, 'Europe's navigators, unloosening,'. Before 'Europe's' are deleted pencil trials 'I see' and below this 'Lo, soul'. The 'Europe's' is deleted in pencil and above it interlined in pencil with a caret 'The world's'; then 'world's' is deleted and 'medieval' substituted. In pencil *ing* of 'unloosening' is deleted and *ed* interlined but deleted and 'rise before me' interlined.

149 The] capital *T* mended from *t* when preceding original 'Then' was deleted.

149 awakened] interlined in pencil with caret and guideline.

149 enterprise] before this is currently deleted an illegible word that may be 'kinds' or 'kindling' followed by 'bursting'.

150 humanity] after this, above a caret, is interlined pencil 'now' deleted in pencil.

152 who, who] originally 'O who'. In pencil 'O' was deleted and 'Now' interlined, then this excised and 'O' restored but again deleted in pencil. The second 'who' was interlined in pencil and a comma placed on the line after the first 'who'.

152 sad, Shade?] 'sad,' was interlined in pencil above deleted 'gigantic'; and after it is interlined deleted pencil 'rising'. The final question mark was added in ink after an original comma.

153 Gigantic,] originally, 'Rising, solemn,'. In pencil 'Rising' was deleted and *S* mended over *s*. Then 'Solemn' was deleted and 'Gigantic' interlined in pencil above a caret.

153 thyself] *y* heavily mended.

154 With] original 'Tall,' was deleted and *w* mended to *W* in pencil. After 'With' above a caret was pencil-interlined 'thy' but deleted.

154 &] ink-interlined above deleted 'with'.

156 hues?] the question mark appears to be a later addition.

157 As] original 'For' deleted and *a* mended to *A* in pencil. The following 'the' is interlined in ink.

158 Down] deleted in pencil and *t* mended to *T* but then all erased.

158 walks] pencil-deleted and above interlined 'walking,' which was then excised and pencil 'walks' interlined.

158 great scena,] interlined above deleted 'divine tableaux,'.

159 I mark . . . himself,] originally '— Columbus, pious & sad,', which was deleted and in pencil interlined 'I see the Admiral himself'. Later, in ink, the dash deleted and 'mark' interlined above deleted 'see'.

160 action] 'and action,' was interlined but 'and' deleted. The parentheses added later in ink. Originally the reading was 'faith I see.', but 'I see.' was deleted in pencil. Below 'faith,' is the trial 'relia' (doubtless the start of 'reliance').

161 see him] originally 'I see him, as Admiral of that little | fleet, set sail from Palos,'. The 'I' deleted in ink; and 'that' deleted and 'a' interlined. Then 'as Admiral of a little fleet,' deleted in pencil, and 'leading a little fleet,' added after 'Palos,'. Finally, in ink, 'a' was deleted and 'his' interlined.

162 voyage] *o* heavily mended over some slip.

163 see] original 'I' | before this was crossed out in ink.

165 Lo, . . .] 'Lo' interlined in pencil above deleted 'Ah'. Above a caret, also in pencil, is interlined 'curious' and also 'mark thou!'. Before 'thou!' then appears a pencil-deleted two letters, the second an *f* (possibly the word is 'if'). Before 'efforts' is pencil-deleted original 'germs, the'. The semi-colon after 'heroes' is a pencil substitute for original exclamation mark.

167 Lies the . . .] 'Lies the' interlined in pencil above deleted 'The'. The question mark after 'ground' is mended in pencil from an exclamation point. 'Lo!' was deleted in pencil and 'Yet' substituted but then erased. The 'to' is pencil interlined above deleted 'on'.

168 sprouts,] at the end of the line above what looks like a trial in ink, 'grow' has been excised; before this, original 'solid' is pencil deleted. The comma after 'sprouts' is a pencil addition consequent upon the pencil deletion of '&' before 'blooms'.

170 Passage] originally this verse was two verses: 'Passage, O soul, to India! || Passage to Asia's primal thought!' In blue pencil 'indeed' was interlined above a caret, and 'India!' deleted as well as 'Passage to Asia's'.

171 alone —] originally, 'alone; again | the mind's'. Independently, 'the' and 'mind's' are deleted in pencil and 'mood's' interlined. The semi-colon after 'alone' altered in ink to a dash, and 'again' deleted. The 'the' after deleted 'again' appears to be an addition.

172 The] pencil interlined above deleted 'That'.

172 India's] after this, above a caret, is pencil interlined 'virile' but then pencil deleted. In pencil 'and' is interlined above deleted *ing* of 'brooding'.

173 realms,] the comma is added in pencil, and after it, above a caret and guideline, is interlined in pencil 'O soul,' but deleted. Below verse 172 was crowded in the pencil verse reading originally, 'Thy circumnavigation of the world, I see begin'. After 'world,' was interlined in pencil above a caret a word that appears to be 'oerall' [*i. e.,* oer all(?)]. In pencil 'I see' was deleted and 'O soul' interlined. Then all was pencil deleted.

174 Of] parentheses beginning and closing this verse are pencil deleted.

174 minds] this word was interlined in pencil at the end of the line above 'soul's', and then deleted and interlined at the start of the next line before 'return'. The comma after 'return' is a pencil addition consequent upon the pencil deletion of original 'I sing,)', and the deletion then of pencil interlineation 'I sing'.

176 O we can . . .] originally, 'O we no longer wait!'. First 'O' was pencil deleted and 'we' mended to 'We' and 'can' interlined above a caret before 'no'. Then, apparently, 'O' was pencil restored above the line, but deleted and 'Now' interlined. All this was erased and the line written above in pencil, 'Now we can wait no longer!'. Finally, 'Now' was deleted in pencil and then 'O' restored in blue pencil.

178 seas!] after this word the verse seems to have continued originally, 'now, soul, | thou pleasest me!'. First 'soul' was mended to 'Soul' and then 'now, Soul,' ink deleted. To make a new verse, 'Now' was prefixed to the next line before 'thou', and then 'soul' interlined above a caret, all in ink. 'Now' was then deleted in red pencil and 'soul . . . me!' in blue pencil.

179 toward] 'to' interlined in ink above deleted original 'the' and then 'ward' added in pencil. In ink, 'shores,' was interlined above deleted 'seas,'.

179 on waves] originally, 'the | seas', the 'the' possibly being an addition. 'the' was deleted and 'through' interlined in ink. In pencil, 'on | waves' interlined above deleted 'through | seas'. Original 'we' before 'sail!' was excised and 'to' interlined in ink. This was deleted and 'we' added in pencil, this 'we' then deleted and 'to' restored in blue pencil.

180 (thou . . . soul!)] the parentheses at beginning and end of this verse added in pencil. 'pressing' interlined in pencil above deleted 'pleasing'. In pencil, 'to thee' and 'to me,' interlined above carets.

181 Caroling free,] crowded in in pencil below 'Seas of the boundless joys, | the joys of God — thy joys & mine,'. In this, after 'boundless' was currently deleted 'though'. The phrase '— thy joys & mine,' seems to be an ink addition, the *s* ending both 'joys' pencil deleted but restored in ink. This verse is ink deleted except for 'the joys of God', which is pencil deleted, perhaps before the addition of 'thy joys & mine,'. After 'Caroling' was originally 'out our carol', deleted in pencil.

182 Chanting . . . exploration.] possibly this verse is an addition crowded in with a different pen. Below it is crowded in, 'Singing our song of God, O soul.' In this, the comma after 'God' is mended in pencil from a period, and 'O soul.' is a pencil addition. Above this is the ink line crowded in but deleted in pencil, 'Singing our carol free, O soul.'

184 With . . . kiss,] 'many a' interlined in pencil above deleted 'pressing'. This line begins that part of *Passage to India* composed of the original poem 'O Soul thou pleasest me'. For the deleted stanza that appears in the manuscript above verse 184, see Appendix II.

185 humiliation,)] this is interlined in pencil above deleted 'and' ending the first line of the verse, with the original conclusion of the verse in the second line, the word 'anguish,', also deleted. The parenthesis printed after 'humiliation,' is drawn from the undeleted parenthesis in the manuscript after 'anguish,'.

187 Ah,] written in ink over erased 'O'. Above this verse is the part number '2' in blue pencil.

190 On . . . near,] 'On our' interlined in pencil above deleted 'In thine'. In pencil 'with room enough' is interlined with a guideline after 'moods,'; later, 'moods,' deleted and 'course,' written below it in pencil.

191 Sailing these seas] 'Sailing' is interlined in ink above deleted 'At sea,'. In blue pencil 'these seas,' interlined above a caret.

193 Bear me . . .] originally, 'Bear me as nigh the ocean infinite,'. Before 'nigh' was currently deleted 'toward'; then 'nigh' was currently deleted and 'on' interlined. With a finer pen, '? through the regions' interlined as a trial above 'ocean'. In blue pencil 'indeed' is interlined, an *s* added to 'ocean', and then 'oceans' excised and 'through the regions' brought down by a guideline to a caret. In blue pencil 'oceans' is placed after 'regions' and then deleted in lead pencil and 'on the' pencil deleted.

195 mounting] *ing* added. After original 'mount' had been 'me', now partly erased and crossed through. Above original 'toward' was interlined 'to'.

196 in range of] interlined with a finer pen above deleted 'with'. A guideline brings the interlineation down to a caret. Below this verse, and ending the original leaf after its lower half cut off is the blue-pencil part number '3'.

197 Thou] *T* altered from *t* in blue pencil.

199 — Thou] interlined above a caret that deleted a comma after 'universes'. The exclamation mark after 'them' was added in ink after the deletion of the original ending 'alll'.

200 the loving,] added in pencil.

201 fountain] interlined above deleted 'source'.

202 Waitest not there?] added written with a finer pen.

203 not haply] interlined above deleted 'there'.

203 somewhere there] interlined with guidelines apparently at two different times, with 'there' very likely the later addition. Subsequently, an interlined 'the' before 'last' was deleted.

204 systems,] some start of a letter after this has been erased.

205 circling,] interlined.

206 Athwart] interlined above deleted 'Among' after the paste-on made. The semicolon after 'space' substitutes for an original exclamation mark.

207 How] original 'What could' was deleted and 'How might' interlined. Then 'might' was deleted and 'should' written after it.

207 a single breath —] after 'breathe' and before the dash was interlined above a caret 'my breath — '. Then 'my' was deleted and 'a single' interlined in blue pencil.

207 how speak —] interlined above deleted 'what utter —'.

208 launch,] interlined above deleted 'call'. The comma was added later in pencil, followed by 'than' above a caret but this was currently deleted and followed by 'to these'.

209 thought] interlined in pencil above deleted 'idea'. After 'God,' was originally 'and Nature's wonders,'. In this phrase 'and' was deleted and 'of' interlined, but then this deleted and 'at' interlined, until finally 'at Nature's wonders,' was crossed out.

210 At Nature . . .] this verse crowded in as an addition.

211 actual] after 'thou' is what seems to be currently deleted 'other' before 'real'; then 'real' is deleted and 'actual' interlined in pencil.

212 gently,] after this, above a caret, was interlined in pencil 'coverest,' but deleted in ink. Before 'the orbs' is deleted original 'all'.

213–214 Thou matest . . .] originally these two were a single verse at the foot of the paste-on slip, 'Thou coverest, fillest all the vast-| nesses of space —'. According to what seems to be the order of revision, 'smilest content at Death,' was interlined above a caret before 'fillest'. Then in pencil 'And' was interlined above deleted 'Thou', 'coverest' was excised, and 'swellest' interlined above a caret after 'fillest'. Later, in ink, 'Thou matest Time, & Space,' was crowded in, and 'full' interlined above a caret after deleted 'all'. At some time a dash after 'space' seems to have been deleted and a comma added, this last after the paste-on had been made. At the foot of the paste-on slip is a horizontal ink line evidently marking the upper limit of a deletion, and just beneath this line the tops of a few pencil letters can be seen, the pencil revision of the lost verse beginning with an 'O'. Below the paste-on and at the foot of the large sheet of paper was written 'O Soul, thou pleasest me — I thee.' but this has been crossed out in ink.

215 Greater . . .] verses 215–217 are written on a paste-on slip that covers the upper part of a paste-on slip that originally headed the leaf and contained two verses. The cancellans, or second, paste-on has the figure '4' in blue pencil at its top as a section number, and the leaf number 17 at the right. Underneath, on the original, or cancellandum, slip, a blue '4' may be seen at the head. Under the paste-over only the following can be read at present: '[ ]ding, O Soul, thou p[ ] [[ ] forth || [ ] love, than thine could am[ ]'. In the second verse 'than thine' is a pencil interlineation above ink-deleted 'O Soul,'. Beginning verse 215 of the cancellans, 'Greater' had been deleted and 'Wider' interlined but then erased.

217 wider] pencil interlined above deleted 'farther'.

218 What . . . O Soul?] 'Wh' written over some smudged-out original letters. In 'aspirations' the second *a* has been mended for clarity. 'O Soul?' is an ink addition, the comma after 'ours' replacing an original question mark. Just possibly the query after 'Soul' was subsequently altered from a period.

219 dreams] before this was ink interlined above a caret 'ardent', but deleted in pencil. In pencil 'of' is interlined above deleted 'for'; and in a lighter ink 'plans' has been interlined above deleted 'thoughts'. The query after 'strength' has been mended from a comma.

222 ahead O Soul,] 'ahead' interlined in pencil above a caret. 'O Soul,' interlined in ink above a caret placed after deleted 'a time'. In blue pencil 'the time fulfilled' was added at the end of the verse but then in lead pencil 'achieved' was written above deleted 'fulfilled'. The blue-pencil section number '5' appears above this verse.

223 (The seas . . .] this verse is an addition, written with a finer pen in a space at the foot of the leaf and brought up to position by a guideline. In it 'weather'd the capes,' is an interlineation above a caret. Probably currently, after 'cross'd the' is deleted original 'ship in' ending the line. Before 'voyage' the 'the' is a red-pencil addition. The parentheses appear to have been added currently, since after 'done,' the line originally continued 'the shore'; but only 'shore' has been ink deleted.

224 copest, frontest] 'copest' interlined above deleted 'confrontest'; later, with a finer pen, 'frontest' was added above the line over a caret.

225. friendship,] interlined above deleted 'extasy,' and followed by 'love' perhaps later than 'complete,' interlined above deleted 'content,'. In 'Elder Brother' the capital letters are triple underscored.

226 Younger] the capital triple underscored. Below this verse is the deleted verse 'Indeed, O Soul, thou pleasest me.'

227 more,] the pencil comma was inadvertently retained after the succeeding pencil interlineation 'far more' had been deleted.

228 thy . . . far flights?] the *y* of 'thy' has been mended from *e*. 'far' is pencil interlined above deleted 'a'; the *s* in 'flights' is a pencil addition.

232 unleash'd] the *u* written over currently smudged-out letters, apparently a *u* and the start of an *l*.

233 shores,] original 'shores,' was deleted and 'realm,' interlined in ink; then this deleted and 'shores' restored in pencil. In blue pencil 'aged' was interlined above deleted 'old, ye'.

234 to mastership of you,] pencil interlined above a caret. After 'ye' and originally ending the line is ink-deleted 'savage,'.

235 You,] originally 'Your realm'; in ink 'realm' was deleted and 'shores' interlined, but this excised in pencil, the *r* of 'Your' erased and the *u* extended in pencil, with the comma added.

237 wisdom's birth,] before 'wisdom's', original 'primal' has been deleted in blue pencil; 'birth,' is a blue-pencil interlineation above deleted 'sense,'.

238 again . . . Creation.] originally there were two verses: 'The fusion & the tie, myself, my mind, || Rapport again with Nature.' In pencil 'with Nature' was deleted and 'with fair Creation' interlined, a caret later being added in blue pencil. After 'tie,' the end of the first verse was excised in blue pencil.

239 more] after this was pencil interlined above a caret 'far more' but deleted.

240 earth] interlined above deleted 'air'.

248 Passage, immediate . . .] above this was the original verse 'Passage to more than India!'. Here a comma had been added after 'more' and 'farther, farther' interlined above a caret and guideline. Possibly 'more' was afterwards pencil deleted, but the deletion markings may only be part of the deletion of the entire verse.

249 of me — fit thyself out] a pencil interlineation above a caret placed before and another after the original dash after 'soul'.

250 Hoist . . . hawsers] this part is a pencil interlineation (with 'instantly' a further interlineation above a caret) above deleted 'Have the anchor hoisted'. In ink '— haul out —' was interlined above 'shake' without a caret

to indicate the position. 'every' interlined in ink above deleted 'the'. Original final *s* after 'sail' has been crossed out in ink. In pencil original semi-colon after 'sail' has been excised and a dash substituted. Below this verse is the pencil-deleted original verse, 'Fit thyself out instantly — steer for | the deep waters;'.

251 Have we] interlined above deleted 'Hast thou'. In blue pencil 'stood' was interlined above a caret. Originally after 'not' had been written 'stood still'; in this 'stood' has been deleted and 'staid' interlined, with 'remained' added as a trial but deleted in ink. Then 'staid' was deleted in blue pencil when 'stood' restored. In pencil 'still' was crossed through. 'trees' was originally 'a mere tree', in which 'a mere' has been deleted in pencil and *s* added to 'tree'.

252 eating] written after the current deletion of 'eath'. Originally 'mere brutes' was 'a mere brute'. The 'a' was deleted in ink; then 'mere' deleted in pencil but restored in pencil as an interlineation. A mark after 'brute' has been transcribed here as an *s*; it is either an addition of *s* in ink at the time 'a' was deleted, or else a marked-out comma before an added query.

253 darken'd . . .] originally, 'not drearied & darken'd | with the darkness of books'. In ink 'been' was interlined above a caret after 'drearied'. In pencil 'the darkness of' was deleted and 'these' interlined. Later, in pencil 'mere' was interlined before 'books' with a caret. Then in blue pencil 'drearied & darken'd' was excised and 'darken'd & dazed ourselves' was interlined above a caret before 'with'. Perhaps inadvertently as part of blue-pencil alterations in the verse below, 'enough' was crossed through in blue.

254 Sail . . .] this verse developed from alterations to the first verse of a new stanza, 'Away! away! the sea-waves kiss!', for which see Appendix III. In the stanza space 'Sail forth,' was interlined above deleted 'Away!'. This was subsequently followed by the pencil interlineation above a caret 'steer for the deep waters!', with deleted 'now' interlined above a caret after 'steer'. In ink 'Sail forth,' was deleted and 'Now sail,' interlined, this being crossed through in blue pencil and, later, 'Sail forth!' added in ink. In blue pencil 'only' was interlined.

255 Reckless . . .] this verse was left undeleted from the group of five excised verses transcribed in Appendix III.

256 For] original 'For' was deleted and 'O' interlined but then deleted and 'For' restored. In pencil 'are bound' was interlined above deleted 'will sail'.

APPENDIX I

[Leaf 5, deleted verses. Leaf 5 is composed of three pieces of paper pasted together. The upper piece contains verses 52–56 and the following excised verse, an earlier version of verse 54 which had been inserted above:]

1 I see continual trains of cars winding | along the Platte, carrying freight | & passengers,

[This verse is at the bottom of the top piece of paper, but along the edge of the foot a few pencil marks and ink strokes show that the poem (after some revision) had originally continued, and the cut edges of the paper, as well as the marks of writing, join with the top of the third piece of paper, at the bottom of the leaf. It is clear, therefore, that these two pieces had once been joined as part of the original leaf, and that the second and intervening piece of paper is an insertion, a hypothesis confirmed by the fact that this middle slip is on the later ledger paper whereas the top and bottom slips are on ruled paper.]

[second piece]

2 I see, in glimpses afar, or sometimes immediately above me, | the great mountains, | I see | Wind River, the Wahsatch,
I cross the Laramie plains — I view the rocks in | grotesque shapes — the buttes.
I pass the Promontory — I ascend | the Nevadas,
5 I scan the noble Elk mountain | & wind round its base — | — I observe the vegetation.
I see the endless larkspur & wild onions — the barren | colorless sage-deserts.

[third piece]

7 Marking through these and after all the road between | Europe & Asia,
It bridges the three or four thousand | miles of land travel,
It ties the Eastern & the western seas.

1 continual] written after currently deleted 'and lo'. 'of cars' is an interlineation above a caret.

2 I see . . .] under the paste-over above this phrase is deleted 'I see in glimpse' in which the *m* is mended over a *p*.

2 afar] interlined.

2 sometimes immediately above me,] originally the line read simply 'over-hanging', which was deleted and 'far above me' interlined. Then 'far' was excised and on the paper above, 'sometimes immediately' was interlined.

2 mountains] before this is deleted original 'ranges of'. Beginning the next line is currently deleted 'the W the'. '— I see' appears to have been added after the deletion of 'The' beginning a new verse below before 'Wind'.

2 Wahsatch] interlined above undeleted 'Wahsatch', very likely for additional clarity, since both words have the *c* mended, perhaps from an *s*.

3 I cross . . .] this verse is crowded in as an addition.

5 wind] interlined above deleted 'creep'.

5 — I observe the vegetation.] originally an addition 'I view | the' was begun after 'base — ' but then deleted and the lemma substituted. Beneath this verse is the deleted verse, 'The grotesque rocks, in grotesque | shapes — the buttes — '. Before 'buttes' was currently deleted 'bu'.

6 endless] interlined above a caret.

6 -deserts,] added in a duller ink after deleted '-tracts.'.

7 Marking] interlined in a duller ink above deleted original 'I mark'. 'through these' is interlined above a caret and guideline before deleted 'indeed'. 'and after all' is interlined in pencil above a caret. After 'Asia' is pencil-deleted original 'after all'.

8 Above this verse is crowded in and then deleted the verse, 'It ties the Eastern and the Western seas:'.

APPENDIX II

[Deleted lines beginning leaf 14, the start of a once independent poem. The original form of the lines is given, revisions being indicated in the notes.]

O Soul, thou pleasest me.

O Soul, thou pleasest me,
Chanting my chant of God, in | silent thought,
O Soul, thou pleasest me — I thee.

1 O Soul . . .] this verse was pencil deleted and in pencil was interlined, 'With song & sea & sail, as now,'; subsequently, 'song' was crossed out and 'chant' substituted. After the interlineation of the new verse, a blue-pencil part number '1' was written-in, partly obscuring the *a* of 'sea'.

2 Chanting my . . .] 'Chanting my' is written over erased and partly undecipherable '[ ] how cle'. At some point 'my' has been changed in ink to 'My'. Pencil 'a' is interlined after 'Chanting' and after this in blue pencil above a caret what is probably the word 'joyous', pencil deleted. Above 'of' is interlined pencil 'pray' (blue-pencil deleted) followed by pencil deleted interlined 'praise'. After 'thought,' is interlined in ink above a caret 'as now'. On the line is the blue-pencil addition 'upon these oceans', in which 'oceans' has been deleted and 'seas' interlined in ink. Verses 1 and 2 have been crossed out by pencil horizontal lines; then, the title and all three verses deleted by slanting pencil strokes.

APPENDIX III

[Deleted lines at the foot of leaf 20, below verse 254. The original form is transcribed here, revisions being indicated in the notes.]

[horizontal ink line]
Away! away! the sea-waves kiss!
The sun in all its splendor shines,
The air — the open air — divinest thing of all;
The vast, free measureless expanse!
The sun in all its splendor shines!
Reckless, O soul, exploring, I with thee, & thou | with me;

[horizontal ink line]
Sail forth! sail on, O soul!
Thy circumnavigation of the globe begin;
Sail farther — I with thee, & thou | with me.

1. Away! . . .] a revision of this verse (which began a new stanza) became the verse 254 in the text above as described in the text note. Independent of that, in the present verse 'waves' was pencil deleted and 'waters' interlined in pencil; above separately deleted 'sea-' was interlined in pencil 'lips of the'. In pencil 'away!' was deleted and then all the rest of the verse.

2 shines,] the original comma is mended to an exclamation point, but then the whole verse deleted in ink.

3 The air . . .] between 'The' and 'air' in pencil above a caret was interlined 'wafting' deleted in pencil. After 'air' above a caret is the ink interlineation 'air expands —'. The 'of' after 'thing' is a current interlineation above a caret. The exclamation point after 'all' has been mended from a semi-colon.

4 The vast, free] deleted in pencil and 'Expands in delicate' interlined above a caret; 'measureless expanse!' was excised in ink, at the same time as 'Expands in delicate'. Below this verse and the undeleted verse 6 (verse 255 of the text) was crowded in, later, 'The sun in all its splendor shines!', deleted in ink.

6 Reckless . . .] this verse was left undeleted and is therefore printed in the text as verse 255. The four verses above it (including the fifth, added verse immediately above) are separately deleted but in addition two slanting blue-pencil strokes excise them. Below this verse is a horizontal ink line. The three verses below it are deleted by a single ink slant and a blue-pencil slant. It would seem that these verses 7–9 were originally intended to follow on verse 253.

8 Thy circumnavigation . . .] this verse crowded in later in pencil. 'of the' may be a current revision of deleted 'still'. After 'begin;' and on a bias is the word 'complete', ink deleted. This is apparently a trial substitute for 'begin' since what seems to be a caret follows and obscures the semi-colon after 'begin'.

9 Sail farther] deleted and below it written 'Exploring'. After 'I' is a pencil caret and above it a pencil-deleted word that may be 'thee'. The period after 'me' is a pencil substitute for an original semi-colon.

THE NOTEBOOK

THE LION COLLECTION contains a small notebook in which Whitman jotted down various ideas for "Passage to India." According to an accompanying letter, the notebook was offered to Mr. Lion on March 27, 1921, by Frederick P. Hier, Jr., of New York City, who stated, "This manuscript Notebook came to me from a private source."

The notebook at present consists of 14 leaves of ruled laid paper averaging about $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches. On the first leaf is the embossed lozenge seal of

Platner and Porter. The leaves are quired in conjugate folds and sewn in the fold with white string. This sewing appears after the eighth leaf, indicating that the notebook was originally 16 leaves. After the eleventh leaf appears a stub attached to the fourth leaf, indicating a torn-out leaf; and after the twelfth leaf is another stub attached to the fifth leaf to represent the missing other leaf. The blank final, or fourteenth, leaf has been glued to the blank verso of the thirteenth. Writing in ink and in pencil appears on the versos only. Offsets indicate that all inscription was performed after the notebook had been made-up. In the following reprint the text is in black ink unless otherwise stated. The transcript is diplomatic and according to the same system as that employed above for "Passage to India."

[leaf 1, black ink, large writing]
Passage | to | India.

[normal size, finer pen]
2 Completion Pacific RR. 1869.

2 Completion] interlined above deleted 'The'; and '1869.' interlined above deleted 'completion.'

[leaf 2]
? quite a long | piece —

[to the left]
The | spinal | Idea

[to the right, braced]
3 That the divine | efforts of heroes, | & their ideas, | faithfully | lived up to. |
will finally pre-|vail, and be | accomplished | however long | deferred

2 spinal] a later insertion with a fine pen.
3 efforts] interlined above deleted 'works'; 'faithfully' written after currently deleted 'fina'; 'accomplished' written after two currently deleted letters that may be 'su.'

[leaf 3]
[pencil, addition]
put this in literally

[ink]
Every great problem | is *The passage* | *to India*

[two fists pointing to the above]
Columbus, type | of faith | ? perseverance

[pencil horizontal line]
[pencil]
O the free, clear

5 O the way! the free, clear | passage!

4 O the free] between 'O' and 'the' is currently deleted 'for'.

[leaf 4, ink]

at | outset draw a | simple picture | of the setting out | of the Columban | expedition of dis-|covery —

2 ? the voyage.

1 simple] written above a blotted-out and illegible word that very likely begins with *s* and ends with *ing*.

[leaf 5]

In Course of | the piece, a | geographical | & other descrip-|tion of the country | through which | the Continental | Road passes | — the states, (then | names,) the | fauna, mountains, | rivers, &c.

[leaf 6]

— Bring in the | discovery of the | route by Cape | of Good Hope | — Vasco de Gama?

[horizontal pencil line, below in pencil]

? And I saw the lesson.

3 A main idea is to be | that a | brave heroic thought | or religious idea. faithfully | pursued, justifies itself | in time, not perhaps in | its own way but | often in grander ways.

1 — Vasco de Gama?] above this was originally, '— who was it G?', which has been deleted except for the 'G', the 'who' independently.

2 ? And I saw . . .] this line was crowded in later, after the horizontal pencil line had been drawn.

3 that a] ending this line and currently deleted before the next line was written was 'great heroic.'. Currently deleted before 'its own way' is 'the'.

[leaf 7]

? then at end

— What else | remains? The old | ones being | attained, what | deeper, new problem? | What other passage | to India?

[blue-pencil horizontal line, below in blue pencil]

3 a | religious sentiment | — is in all these | heroic ideas, & | underneath them

1 then at end] marked off from the query and the line below by a curving line.

2 remains?] originally after this, but heavily deleted, was what may be 'wh[ ] | S[ ] as these | these being'. In a fine pen 'The old ones' is a later addition. Originally the note continued 'attained, what | p[ ] still long | pr deeper newer', but everything between 'what' and 'deeper' was crossed through. 'new' is interlined and after it is deleted 'longer'. 'problem?' is somewhat below the line and above it is deleted a word that may be 'newer.'

[leaf 8]
Thou too, O my Soul,
takest thou
passage to India?
To The mystic | wisdom — the | lore of all old | philosophy,
To All the linked transcendental | streams, their sources,
The Vedas, | with all their | hymns & | sacred odes,
To vast and mighty | poems, the Ramayana, | the Mahabarata.

1 O] an interlineation. Above this line is the deleted false start 'What'. Below this line are the deleted false starts (each on a separate line), '— what' | '— past the' | 'what is thy'.

2 takest thou] crowded in later.

4 To] interlined.

4 mystic] before this is currently deleted 'wisdo'.

5 To] interlined.

5 the linked] interlined above a caret.

6 The Vedas . . .] this verse was written in pencil at the top of the leaf and brought down with an asterisk and guideline to its present position. A trial pencil asterisk and guide line below line 7, at the bottom of the leaf, has been deleted in pencil.

[leaf 9, pencil]
And you O my Soul?
Have not you & I long sought | this passage to India?
Some | isthmus | sought — some | fond and ? strait
Some Suez or | some Darien | Panama
? (what are the straits)

1 And] interlined above deleted 'O'; after 'O' is a caret and interlined 'my'.

2 Have not] above, in a separate line, is the deleted trial start, 'See' and below this, in a separate line, the deleted 'How long have'. Originally, in fact, the verse ran, 'How long have | you & I sought' *etc.* After the deletion of 'How long have', above carets were interlined 'Have not' and 'long'. The word 'this' is also interlined.

3 Some] S mended from *s* and before it is deleted 'Sought the'. After 'Some' is currently deleted 'fond i'. 'Panama' is placed beneath 'Darien' as if it were an alternate.

[leaf 10, ink, spaces between verses]
O Love! passage | to India

Pride of man! passage | to India

then after the rest
Passage to India, O, my | Soul

[leaf 11]
Make a fine, full, | gorgeous picture
[line]
of the starting out | ((?) or landing?) | of Columbus
[line]
also about | Vasca de Gama
[line]
also of the Pacific | RR route — its | features — geography | &c &c

[leaf 12, pencil, spaces between notes]
I see Columbus sailing | out of port at | ?
I see — (then ? the voyage in brief)

3 ? open the piece with | a lofty declamatory passage | declaiming the phrase | "passage to India"

2 then?] the query is interlined.

3 open] in addition to the query before this line, separate queries are interlined above 'open', 'lofty', and 'declamatory'.

[leaf 13, ink]

Columbus | set forth? from Palos Aug 3, 1492
he landed | and with his great | footstep imprest a | new world
(12th October 1492 | he landed in America at | daybreak)

[short line]

Not to Castile & Leon, | but to all the old | world, Columbus | gave a New World | see p. 158 *Enc. Amer.* | vol. VII

[short line]

5 In old age poverty, | dejection, humiliated | & in prison
He was of deepest piety
portraiture | *of* | *Columbus*

1 Columbus] centered at top of leaf. The rest of this line appears to be an addition.

3 in America] interlined above a caret.

4 Not] before this is currently deleted *T*.

4 see . . . VII] an insert.

7 *portraiture* . . .] written obliquely at the foot of the leaf with a fist pointing to it.

New in the Berg Collection: 1952-1956

By JOHN D. GORDAN
Chief of the Berg Collection

PART II

26. Charles Dickens. Prompt copy of *The Cricket on the Hearth. A Fairy Tale of Home. Seventh Edition.* London: Bradbury and Evans, 1846.

In his later years Charles Dickens increased the international fame which his novels had won by giving public readings from his own stories. Though these dramatizations, to which his natural talent for acting lent itself, made him a great deal of money, the strain of a secondary career undermined his health.

Dickens worked hard preparing his reading text. Sometimes a copy for his use on the platform would be especially printed for him. Sometimes he would take an ordinary edition of his book, as he did with the copy of *The Cricket on the Hearth* shown here, dismember it, cut up the leaves and lay them into larger leaves of paper that gave him wide margins for alterations in manuscript. Then he would go to work on the text, crossing out words, sentences, paragraphs, and adding connecting links, vivid touches, even voice directions. *The Cricket* joins a dozen other prompt copies corrected and used by Dickens which were already in the Berg Collection.

Purchased in 1952.

27. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Autograph manuscript of *The Lost World* and autograph letters relating to the publication of the novel.

It was Arthur Conan Doyle, M. D., the man of science, who was attracted to the subject of *The Lost World.* In 1911 while reading Professor Edward Lankester's *Extinct Animals,* he conceived of a story about a scientific expedition to an isolated plateau, a lost world, inhabited by creatures extinct for eons on the rest of the globe. For his principal character he turned to recollections of Edinburgh University, notably of the zoologist Sir Charles Wyville Thomson, who had gone exploring on H. M. S. *Challenger.* But Professor Challenger, leader of the expedition to the lost world and, as a creation, second only to Sherlock Holmes, owed most of his character to Doyle himself.

The novel, of which the manuscript is shown here, was worked out in the autumn and early winter of 1911–1912. From the numbering of the chapters and numerous corrections it is obvious that Doyle altered the first arrangement of his story. This is corroborated by the intermingled quarto and foolscap size pages on which the manuscript is written.

Doyle's faith in the story is attested by these letters to Greenhough Smith, editor of the *Strand Magazine,* in which *The Lost World* began as a serial in April, 1912. "I think it will make the very best serial (bar S. Holmes values) that I have ever done, when it has its trimming of faked photos, maps, plans &c. My ambition is to do for the boys' book what Sherlock Holmes did for the detective tale." The letters go on to discuss the production of the faked illustrations, the correcting of the manuscript and the handling of proof.

The production of illustrations for *The Lost World* demonstrates Doyle's enthusiasm for his alter ego, Professor George Edward Challenger, F.R.S., F.R.G.S. For the photographs and drawings of the great scientist, who is seen here on the dust-wrapper of the first edition, Doyle himself posed. So thoroughly did he throw himself into his characterization that he visited his brother-in-law disguised in the outfit and make-up he wore for the photographs of Challenger. For several minutes he carried off the impersonation.

Purchased in 1955.

28. Richard Austin Freeman. Autograph manuscripts of *John Thorndyke's Cases, A Certain Doctor Thorndyke,* and others.

Dr. R. Austin Freeman belongs to that unusual group of writers who abandoned medicine for literature. For a while he acted as assistant medical officer at Holloway Prison. After practising in England and in Africa, he was forced by ill-health to give up his medical career.

Freeman's own interests and training are reflected in the personality and accomplishment of his most famous creation, Dr. John Thorndyke, the scientific detective. The original of Dr. Thorndyke was a former teacher of Freeman's, a professor of medical jurisprudence. Each of Dr. Thorndyke's cases presents a problem in medical jurisprudence, and the chief interest of each story lies in the scientific means whereby the case is solved.

All the manuscripts shown here bear corrections. They are a selection from a large group in the Berg Collection.

Purchased in 1956.

29. John Galsworthy. Corrected typescript of "Corduroys."

Anyone who is aware of how much John Galsworthy drew upon his own family for material for the Forsytes in *The Forsyte Saga* will understand why he used a pseudonym — John Sinjohn — when he first began writing. The story shown here in typescript was thus signed, though he gave his real name and address on the covering leaf.

The typescript is heavily corrected. It was not accepted for publication in the John Sinjohn days. After Galsworthy's death it was privately printed by an admirer.

Purchased in 1956.

30. John Galsworthy. Annotated copy of *Justice. A Tragedy in Four Acts.* London: Duckworth, 1910.

Justice grew out of the investigations which John Galsworthy undertook between 1907 and 1909 in the interest of prison reform, particularly the elimination of solitary confinement as a punishment. As the play is much more than a tract, its emotional effect on audiences and legislators led to a change in prison methods in England.

Galsworthy's autograph notes in this second printing of the first edition of *Justice* appear to have been hastily jotted down during rehearsals or actual performances. They cover the speaking of lines, stage action, details of make-up. The copy remained in the author's possession and was sold after Mrs. Galsworthy's death.

Purchased in 1956.

31. John Galsworthy. Annotated copy of *The Fugitive. A Play in Four Acts.* London: Duckworth, 1913.

The annotated copy of *The Fugitive* shown here was prepared for the revival at the Liverpool Repertory Theatre in January, 1915, which followed the London production of September, 1913. Though the annotations are not in Galsworthy's hand, he went to Liverpool for rehearsals. He noted in his diary: "Estelle Winwood as Clare, very good. W. Armstrong, Malise. The play had some success, and created a great deal of flutter in the hen-roosts."

The Liverpool Repertory was then in a state of reorganization. It had been saved from closing by the energy of its principal actress, Miss Winwood, and by the capability of the director, Madge McIntosh. The copy of *The Fugitive* shown here contains comprehensive notes that a director would make to cover the entrances, exits, movements and stage business of all the characters. It is possibly Madge McIntosh's working copy.

Purchased in 1956.

32. John Galsworthy. Revised copy of *Beyond.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.

Beyond, written in 1915, was the ninth of Galsworthy's novels to be published. It was not well received by the critics, who labelled it a "pot-boiler." The pot it helped to boil, however, was for the Red Cross and other war funds, to which the author donated the royalties.

Galsworthy himself was not satisfied with *Beyond,* and when he was preparing the collected or Manaton Edition of his work, he revised it extensively. "This was my longest novel," he comments in a special preface, "but in revision for this edition it has become comparatively short. . . . [The author] thought it was quite well-written, he finds it very badly written." The amount of labor he put into the revisions is apparent in this copy of the first American printing,

which he used as a working manuscript for the Manaton Edition. He ruthlessly excised words, sentences, whole paragraphs.

Purchased in 1956.

33. John Galsworthy. Corrected typescript of *Escape. An Episodic Play in a Prologue and Two Parts.*

Escape was one of John Galsworthy's major successes in the theater of the 1920s. Produced by Leon M. Lion in 1927 with Nicholas Hannen in the leading role, it had a long run in London. The New York production, starring Leslie Howard, was also highly successful.

The typescript on display is marked "Copy 3" and was once the property of Leon M. Lion. It is heavily corrected, mostly in an unknown hand. There are, however, some corrections by Galsworthy.

Purchased in 1956.

34. David Garrick. Autograph letters to George Colman the elder.

Though David Garrick is better remembered as an actor than a playwright, he was the author of numerous comedies of manners highly successful in their time. One of these, *The Clandestine Marriage,* which he wrote with a fellow dramatist, George Colman the elder, is still revived. Though a brief coolness developed between the collaborators over their respective contributions to the play, Garrick and Colman were good friends until the actor's death. In the album on display there are thirty-eight letters from Garrick to Colman, six from Colman to Garrick, and other papers relating to their collaboration.

Purchased in 1954.

35. George Gissing. Autograph manuscript of *Will Warburton.*

George Gissing was not born to success either as a man or a writer. His future as a scholar was cut short by a pathetic mistake when he was eighteen. Most of his mature life was shadowed by two miserable marriages. Few of the twenty-one novels he produced before he died in 1903 at the age of forty-six had any sale. Yet in his last five years he achieved the greatest happiness he had known. He entered into a union with Mademoiselle Gabrielle Fleury, a young Frenchwoman of good family who nursed him tenderly through his last illness, and he published *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft,* which ran into several printings.

Only a few months before he died he completed a novel called *Will Warburton,* of which the manuscript is shown here. The corrected pages attest the care which the dying man devoted to this "Romance of Real Life," a tale of rewarded virtue. The manuscript remained until her death in 1954 in the hands of Madame Gabrielle Fleury Gissing, who wrote her name thus on a covering leaf and the note, "Son Dernier Roman achevé." It is the fourth manuscript of a Gissing novel to come to the Berg Collection.

Purchased in 1955.

36. George Gissing. Autograph letters to Gabrielle Fleury Gissing.

The handful of letters shown here are the earliest Gissing wrote to the Frenchwoman who was to brighten his last years. The first, written on June 23, 1898, was in answer to her request, as a stranger, to be allowed to translate *New Grub Street* into French. Most of the others are devoted to the arrangements he made for her to come down to Dorking, where he was living, to discuss a translation with him. The last and most interesting, however, is dated July 27, 1898, and carries the confession of a man who is falling in love against his will. "Perhaps it is well that I cannot see you again just now," he wrote. "Your character is too sympathetic, & I should wish to have you near me always."

Purchased in 1956.

37. George Gissing. Autograph notebook.

The sixty-odd pages of this notebook are full of comments on Gissing's wide reading — which embraced, to name a few subjects, the Elizabethan drama, English poetry, Ruskin, Dickens, psychology, the classics, and Roman history. Here he copied out passages with which he had been particularly struck. Here he jotted down ideas to be worked up in his own writing and lists of words under headings like "Modes of Utterance," "Countenances," and "Character." This notebook comes to join similar items — like his diaries — already in the Berg Collection.

A particularly interesting group of five pages is in Gabrielle Fleury Gissing's hand and is headed "Some Remarks of GG." One quotation carries special pathos: "Life is over. No thought of horror, but of mere bewilderment. Mind soon turns from it in weariness. Nothing done. . . ." These recollections of Gissing's conversation were, it is believed, recorded after his death.

Purchased in 1956.

38. Thomas Hardy. Autograph manuscript of "The Three Strangers."

For many years the grand old man of English letters, Thomas Hardy devoted the first quarter century of his writing life to fiction and the last to poetry. With each he achieved a great reputation. Though the peaks of his achievement as a writer of fiction carry familiar titles like *The Return of the Native* and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles,* he was also the author of many notable short stories.

One of these, "The Three Strangers," an eerie tale involving a man condemned to be hanged, is shown here in the manuscript which Hardy gave to Sir Sydney Cockerell. The story first appeared in *Longman's Magazine* for March, 1883, and later in the collection entitled *Wessex Tales,* published in 1888. Type was set for the periodical publication from this manuscript. In 1893, at the suggestion of Barrie, Hardy dramatized the story as "The Three Wayfarers." It appeared that June on a bill with a play of Barrie's and one of Arthur Conan Doyle's.

Purchased in 1956.

39. Bret Harte. Autograph manuscript of "The Judgment of Bolinas Plain."

In 1895 Bret Harte published in the *Pall Mall Magazine* a short story about California in the tradition of "The Outcasts of Poker Flat." This was "The Judgment of Bolinas Plain," and it was read by an invalid of Birmingham, England, with dramatic ambitions, Thomas Edgar Pemberton. Pemberton, who had known Harte for some fifteen years, requested permission to dramatize "The Judgment." As Harte had hoped for years that he would recoup his bedraggled fortunes in the theater, he proposed collaboration. The two men turned the story into a melodrama they called "Sue." The piece was successfully produced in New York in 1896 and in London in 1898.

In appreciation Harte gave Pemberton the manuscript of the short story, shown here. It was published in *Tales of Trail and Town* in 1898.

Purchased in 1952.

40. Bret Harte. Autograph manuscript of the dramatized version of "Snow Bound at Eagles."

Another attempt of Harte's to turn a short story into a play is found in this manuscript of the dramatic version of "Snow Bound at Eagles." The story was published in 1886. When Harte dramatized it is not known. It was, however, sent to Thomas Edgar Pemberton for comment. It was never produced.

Purchased in 1952.

41. Sophia Peabody Hawthorne. Autograph diaries and letters.

The Peabodys of Salem were an interesting family in their own right, and Sophia Peabody is of additional interest because of her marriage to Nathaniel Hawthorne. The happiness which his marriage brought Hawthorne helped to liberate the imaginative power that produced *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables.* Consequently material relating to Mrs. Hawthorne is indirectly related to the novelist. Sophia Hawthorne, moreover, was sensitive, observant and articulate. Her letters to members of her family give a far more intimate picture than any left by Hawthorne of the atmosphere in which he worked out his great stories.

The Berg Collection has many thousand pages of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's diaries and letters, dating from her girlhood to her widowhood. They illuminate the influences which shaped the character of Hawthorne's wife and the influence she had in turn on her husband. They give vivid pictures of the personalities in the Hawthorne circle from the Salem days onward — Elizabeth Peabody, Emerson, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Melville, Horace Mann.

Purchased in 1952–1954.

42. Henry James. Autograph manuscript of "Venice."

At the age of twenty-six, alone in Europe for the first time, Henry James discovered Venice in September, 1869. For two weeks, with Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* in his pocket, he absorbed the

sea smells, the sea colors, the architecture, the painting, the history of the city. It was love at first sight. His feeling for Venice found utterance more than thirty years afterwards in the defunctive music of *The Wings of the Dove*. In the decades before, he celebrated the sea-city in such lesser forms as *The Aspern Papers* and the descriptive pieces which he wrote for the *Century* and *Scribner's*. The manuscript of the earlier of the two descriptions, "Venice," is here displayed, bearing some interlinear corrections. From it type was set when the article appeared in the *Century Magazine* in 1882.

Purchased in 1956.

43. Vachel Lindsay. Corrected typescripts of "The Empire of China is Crumbling Down" and "King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba."

The author of "The Congo" and "General William Booth" experienced many frustrations. Disappointed in his ambition to be an artist, unsuccessful in obtaining satisfying work, Vachel Lindsay took to the road as a tramp and traded copies of his poems for food and lodging. His poetry had the freedom of his life in its exotic subject matter and its syncopated rhythm and music. It was written to be declaimed, sung, marched to.

On the margins of the typescripts shown here Lindsay has written notations as to the way his verse should be delivered. He sent them to his friend the poet Katharine Lee Bates, who wrote "America the Beautiful." The two versions of "The Empire of China" differ from each other, and the carbon of "King Solomon" differs from the published version.

Purchased in 1953.

44. George Barr McCutcheon. Autograph manuscripts of *Graustark* and *Brewster's Millions*.

From boyhood George Barr McCutcheon wanted to be a successful writer. And with his first novel, *Graustark*, shown here in manuscript, his publisher hit the jackpot for some half-million dollars, a large sum in the publishing world of 1901. McCutcheon himself had parted with the copyright for $500. The novel owed much of its atmosphere to Anthony Hope's Zenda stories. Its title added a word to the language.

Three years later McCutcheon published his next most popular novel under a pseudonym and won a bet that it would outsell another story simultaneously published under his own name. This was *Brewster's Millions* by "Richard Greaves," another best-seller, of which the manuscript is shown here.

Purchased in 1956.

45. Alfred Edward Woodley Mason. Autograph manuscripts of *The Four Feathers, At the Villa Rose, The House of the Arrow, The Prisoner in the Opal*, and others.

For several years when he was in his twenties, A. E. W. Mason was on the stage. In 1895 he made his debut in the field of romantic fiction. His most notable success was *The Four Feathers*, of which a fragmentary manuscript — all that seems to survive — is shown here. A member of Parliament, a major in Naval Intelligence during the First World War, he also had a flair for deep water sailing and for exploring.

At the Villa Rose, seen here in the manuscript of the acting version, introduced Mason's great creations, the detective Hanaud and his foil Ricardo. These characters reappear in *The Prisoner in the Opal*, on view here in the corrected manuscript. There are also shown a corrected typescript of Mason's dramatization of *The Four Feathers* and of *The House of the Arrow*, as well as the manuscript of the latter in its original novel form.

Purchased in 1956.

46. Charlotte Mew. Autograph letters to Sir Sydney Cockerell.

Charlotte Mew is one of those literary figures — so many of them women like the Brontë sisters and Emily Dickinson — whose quiet lives offer little clew to their imaginative work. Though she was a writer of short stories, one of which she contributed to the *Yellow Book* at the age of twenty-four, she is chiefly remembered for her poetry.

Charlotte Mew allowed few people to know her. Hence this collection of some hundred forty letters to Sir Sydney and Lady Cockerell is of unusual interest. Though they belong to the latter part of her life, they cover in considerable detail the decade leading up to her suicide. In these letters she made frequent mention of her writing. With them is displayed the manuscript of her poem "Love, Love Today," which she sent to Sir Sydney.

Purchased in 1956.

47. George Moore. Autograph outline of *Evelyn Innes.*

This notebook of ninety-six pages reveals George Moore, the Irish novelist, playwright and critic, working up a lengthy outline for his novel before he began writing. Even passages of dialogue were sketched. The heroine's first name was spelled Evelin, Evelen, and Evelyn before Moore decided on the last, and the family name was consistently spelled Innis. The synopsis was thoroughly revised. Corrections were made between the lines and on the facing blank leaves.

Evelyn Innes, which was followed by a companion piece, *Sister Teresa,* was one of Moore's most popular novels.

Purchased in 1952.

48. Christopher Morley. Inscribed copy of *The Eighth Sin.* Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1912.

Christopher Morley, who for more than forty years endeared himself to a wide variety of readers, was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship in 1910. The happiness of his life at New College, Oxford, was expressed in the volume of verse shown here, the first of many publications. The motto from John Keats on the title-page explains that the eighth deadly sin is to consider oneself a poet. The young writer signed himself C. D. Morley, not realizing, as the inscription on the half-title of this volume pointed out at a later date, "the Elizabethan sonority of his name."

Purchased in 1956.

49. Eugene O'Neill. Corrected typescript of *Welded.*

O'Neill had had considerable experience in the theater by 1923 when he wrote in *Welded* the dramatic study of a playwright and his wife, an actress. In the married life of this couple O'Neill presents the ever-present struggle of the man and woman to preserve their individual identity in the role of husband and wife. The play was produced in 1924 without success.

The carbon typescript shown here was signed by O'Neill on the cover. It contains considerable manuscript correction, though not in the playwright's hand. Before publication in 1924, the text was given another careful revision, doubtless on the basis of production experience. The typescript and the first edition present many divergencies.

Purchased in 1955.

50. James B. Pinker & Son. Autograph and typewritten letters from authors represented by the firm.

Every author writing today understands the function and value of the literary agent who cares for the financial advancement of the writers whom he serves. This invaluable service first became fully understood and developed at the end of the nineteenth century, largely through the efforts of men like A. P. Watt and James B. Pinker. Though Pinker, who died on a visit to this country in February, 1922, was best known for his relationship with outstanding writers like Joseph Conrad, John Galsworthy and Henry James, he also cared for the fortunes of less eminent men. The great bulk of the correspondence that these lesser figures had with him has passed into the Berg Collection in the last five years.

On display here are examples from long runs of letters written the firm of James B. Pinker & Son by Marjorie Bowen, St. John Ervine, James Hanley, Laurence Housman, Compton Mackenzie, Archibald Marshall, A. E. W. Mason, Charles Morgan, Eden Philpotts, Marmaduke Pickthall, Dorothy Sayers, Frank Swinnerton, Arthur Symons, Rebecca West, P. G. Wodehouse.

Purchased in 1952–1956.

51. Frederick William Serafino Austin Lewis Mary Rolfe. Autograph letters to G. T. Maquay and to Canon Lonsdale Ragg.

In the galaxy of minor talents and disturbed personalities that gave color to the yellow nineties there was no more lurid figure than Frederick Rolfe, the self-styled Baron Corvo. A spoiled priest, he was preoccupied in his writing with justifying himself and confounding his enemies. His relationships were poisoned by grievances. He was obsessed with the church, and his best known works, *Chronicles of the House of Borgia* and *Hadrian the Seventh,* stem from his obsession.

In the correspondence with G. T. Maquay, who was private secretary to W. W. Astor, Rolfe was concerned with the Borgias, with an attempt to obtain money ostensibly for further research into the family, and with publication of his research.

The letters to Canon Ragg belong to Rolfe's last days in Venice. There he was living with one foot in the respectable English colony and the other in a vicious underworld. Delusions of persecution possessed him. The brilliant vituperation to which he treated Canon Ragg casts light on the novel he was writing defending his life in Venice, *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole*, in which the unfortunate Canon is pilloried as Mr. Warden, the Thiasarkh.

Purchased in 1954.

52. Sir Walter Scott. Autograph manuscript of *Bizarro. A Calabrian Tale of Recent Date.*

When the failure of the publishers Ballantyne and Constable involved him in heavy debts, Sir Walter Scott made an heroic attempt to pay off all creditors as fully as possible. The effort was great, and in 1830 he suffered the first of a series of strokes. So high did he stand in public esteem that late the next year the government provided a frigate to take him to the Mediterranean. He visited Malta, Naples, Rome, and Germany. In Holland, in June, 1832, he suffered another stroke and survived his return to Scotland by only a few months.

Bizarro represents Scott's final effort to continue to earn money by his pen. Begun in Naples, it seems to be based upon the bloody history of a local bandit operating in the mountainous province of Calabria. Scott never completed the tale, though there was once apparently a third notebook, now lost sight of, to go with the two shown here.

Purchased in 1955.

53. Bernard Shaw. Autograph notebook.

During his early days in London Shaw lived off his mother, completed his education by reading in the British Museum and wrote five novels which no one was at all eager to publish. When three of these had been written — in 1879, 1880, and 1881 — and refused, even his buoyant spirits began to sink. Early in 1882, happy to earn a little money by his pen, he undertook to help George Vandaleur Lee, a musical friend of his mother's, to revise Lee's book on singing entitled *The Voice*. The revisions are found in the notebook, dated January 10, 1882, which is here displayed.

This, at least, was the account Shaw gave in 1947 — sixty-five years after the event — when he was shown the notebook. It contains nineteen pages of his Pitman shorthand devoted to little essays on "Singing in Tune," "Qualifications of a Singer," "Classification of Voice," and other kindred topics. To these he added a four page explanation of the material, cautioning the reader, however, that his "imagination has always arranged facts into stories."

Purchased in 1950.

54. Bernard Shaw. Presentation copy of *Three Plays for Puritans: The Devil's Disciple, Caesar and Cleopatra, & Captain Brassbound's Conversion.* London: Grant Richards, 1901.

Shaw's second collection of plays, *Three Plays for Puritans* contains some of his most popular work. The volume was published by Grant Richards, who had also brought out its predecessor, *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant*. Though Shaw broke off his business connection with Richards in 1903, the men remained on friendly terms. In 1929 the playwright gave the publisher the copy of *Three Plays for Puritans* shown here. As Shaw's inscription reveals, it was his own copy, the one he and Mrs. Shaw kept in the country. The front cover carries the word "Country" written in her hand.

Purchased in 1956.

55. Bernard Shaw. Autograph and typewritten letters to Siegfried Trebitsch.

In November, 1900, a young Austrian novelist and playwright, Siegfried Trebitsch, called at No. 10 Adelphi Terrace with the courageous proposal that Bernard Shaw accept him as his official German translator. Despite the Irishman's insistence that a writer should devote himself to his own work and not to translations of another's, he agreed. The two men developed a friendly as well as a literary relationship that lasted half a century and through the vicissitudes of two wars in which they were official enemies. Indeed, Trebitsch contributed no little to Shaw's reputation, which he made great on the Continent long before it was established in England.

The examples shown here are selected from more than three hundred letters and two hundred postcards from Shaw to Trebitsch and fifty letters and postcards from Charlotte Shaw, covering the years 1902 to 1952. In rich profusion they reveal Shaw's care for the rendering of his lines into the German language and for details of production of his plays on the German speaking stage. They demonstrate his short way with publishing pirates and his generosity toward his translator. And they give the story of Shaw's translation of Trebitsch's tragedy *Jitta's Atonement*, which with the best will in the world the Irish playwright turned into a Shavian comedy.

Purchased in 1956.

56. Bernard Shaw. Presentation copy of *Saint Joan: a Chronicle Play in Six Scenes and an Epilogue*. London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1924.

When he was sixty-seven years old, Shaw produced the play usually acclaimed as his masterpiece, *Saint Joan*. The copy shown here was presented to another dramatist, younger and of lesser stature than himself, John Drinkwater. Yet Drinkwater had a high reputation in the theater as the author of three excellent poetic dramas on historical subjects, *Abraham Lincoln*, *Mary Stuart*, and *Robert E. Lee*. The inscription with which Shaw presented *Saint Joan* was flattering indeed: "To John Drinkwater (who ought to have written it). . . ."

Purchased in 1956.

57. Bernard Shaw. Autograph letters to Floryan Sobieniowski.

Floryan Sobieniowski translated plays and articles by Shaw into Polish. Indeed, he was instrumental in obtaining the world première of *The Apple Cart*, which he translated, for the Teatr Polski in Warsaw on June 14, 1929. As the letters shown here reveal, Shaw regarded him with an indulgent disapprobation. He deplored his habit of borrowing money, of pretending to influence he did not possess, and of expecting Shaw to rescue him from his varied embarrassments.

There are also on display letters from Sobieniowski in regard to translations of the playwright's work, with marginal notations by Shaw. One of these pertains to an article by Shaw on "The League of Nations" and the other to *Caesar and Cleopatra*. For the latter Sobieniowski adapted for a Polish audience the immensely long speech of the God Ra that Shaw had added to the play nearly fifteen years after the first production. The Berg Collection already owned a typescript (in English) of the adaptation approved and initialed by Shaw, which is a fair copy incorporating the suggestions the playwright made in the Sobieniowski letter seen here.

Purchased in 1956.

58. Robert Southey. Revised copy of *Joan of Arc. An Epic Poem*. Bristol: By Bulgin and Rosser, for John Cottle, and Cadell and Davies, and G. G. and J. Robinson, 1796.

Robert Southey's career at Oxford was distinguished by two events. In 1792 he wrote the first draft of *Joan of Arc* to express his enthusiasm for the French Revolution. In 1794 he met Samuel Taylor Coleridge, then in his most revolutionary state of mind. The two collaborated on a drama entitled *The Fall of Robespierre*, published that same year. With assistance from Coleridge, who contributed some four hundred lines to the second book, Southey rewrote *Joan of Arc*. Joseph Cottle, his friend the bookseller, encouraged him by giving £50 for the privilege of publishing his first independent work in 1796.

Even before publication Coleridge and Southey quarrelled over personal matters, and the former made sport with the ineptness of *Joan of Arc*. Southey set to work on the copy of the epic shown here to remove all trace of Coleridge's help — and to improve his own lines. These corrected leaves of the 1796 edition and extensive interleavings were used for the second revised edition which Cottle brought out in Bristol in 1798. Ultimately Coleridge gathered his shorn contributions to *Joan of Arc* into a poem entitled "The Destiny of Nations."

Purchased in 1955.

59. Robert Southey. Autograph letters to Anthony Ashley Cooper, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury.

The seventh Earl of Shaftesbury was one of the great reformers of mid-nineteenth century England. A man born to high social privilege, he devoted his best efforts to improving the working conditions and lives of coal miners, factory workers, and slum dwellers. The serious turn of his mind led him to the writing of a man like Southey, and he made himself the patron, correspondent, and friend of the poet.

The thirty-five letters include the first written in 1830 by the Earl, then twenty-nine and a complete stranger to the poet, offering to interest himself in the career of any son or nephew of Southey's. The last is from Mrs. Southey to Shaftesbury in 1840, telling him that the poet's mind has become irrational. When Southey died in 1843, the Earl wrote in his diary: "I loved and honoured him; that man's noble writings have, more than any other man's, advanced God's glory and the inalienable rights of his race."

Purchased in 1954.

60. James Stephens. Autograph notebook.

Irish to the core, James Stephens drew himself up from Dublin slums by his knowledge of the Irish heart and the Irish imagination and by his command of the English spoken in Ireland. His gifts were great. He was primarily a poet but also a writer of short stories, novels, and essays. After the success of *The Crock of Gold* in 1912 he was able to live by and for his pen.

Stephens did much of his writing in cheap notebooks like the one shown here. There were already more than a dozen of these in the Berg Collection, containing the manuscripts of *The Crock of Gold, The Charwoman's Daughter,* and other lesser work. The new acquisition bears a Paris address with the date 1914 and a Dublin address dated 1916. It is a catch-all of prose and verse, containing an abandoned story called "Any Man's House," a series of essays on the First World War, and considerable poetry.

Purchased in 1956.

61. James Stephens. Corrected typescripts of three versions of an elegy in memory of Erskine Childers.

Robert Erskine Childers was born of an English father and an Irish mother. A gradual convert to the cause of Irish independence, he went beyond the aims of the Home Rule party to an insistence on an Irish republic. In 1922, while a member of the Republican army he was captured by Free State soldiers, court-martialed in Dublin by a court which he refused to acknowledge and executed by a firing squad. As the passionate feelings that inflamed Ireland in the first quarter of the twentieth century die down, he is remembered as the writer of the great secret service novel, *The Riddle of the Sands.*

Stephens worked tirelessly over the elegy he wrote in memory of Childers. The earliest of the three heavily corrected typescripts on display seems to be the one entitled "Erskine Childers"; the second, "Requiescat in Pace"; and the third "To E. C. executed November 1922." The last is closest to the published version, which is called "In Memoriam."

Purchased in 1956.

62. Robert Louis Stevenson. Autograph manuscript of *The Great North Road.*

In 1885, toward the middle of the three years he spent courting health at Bournemouth in Southern England, Stevenson decided to try his hand at another tale of adventure like *Treasure Island.* During the month of February he produced eight chapters of *The Great North Road,* of which the manuscript is shown here. The corrections reveal how hard he worked over the story. But the material kept expanding until it became unmanageable. To regain control, he put it aside — to write *Kidnapped* — and never took it up again.

A year after his death, the incomplete tale was published in England in the Christmas, 1895, issue of the *London Illustrated News* and in the United States in the December, 1895, and January, 1896, issues of the *Cosmopolitan,* copies of which are bound with the manuscript.

Purchased in 1956.

63. Robert Louis Stevenson. Annotated copy of *New Arabian Nights.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887.

In this American edition of *New Arabian Nights* Robert Louis Stevenson wrote at the end of each story the place or places in which he had worked on the piece. The book, having been in his library at Vailima in Samoa, was varnished to protect it from tropical dampness. It had been given by Stevenson himself to the Apia Public Library on March 30, 1892, more than two years before he died. Mrs. Stevenson must have withdrawn it, for it was sold with the rest of the Stevenson items in her estate by her daughter Isobel Strong Field, in 1915.

Purchased in 1956.

64. Algernon Charles Swinburne. Autograph manuscripts, including *Mary Stuart.*

One of the controversial figures of Victorian literature, Algernon Swinburne gave promise of more genius than he later demonstrated. He was born to a position of privilege from which he gradually alienated himself. Dissipation led him to the brink of dereliction, from which he was rescued by Theodore Watts-Dunton. The last thirty years of his life were respectable and productive but far less inspired than his youth.

Though extremely uneven, Swinburne's work always reveals imagination and stylistic power. A selection from some fifty manuscripts and proof sheets, including poetry and prose and mostly later work, is on display. The manuscripts of essays on the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists — Chapman, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ford, Marston — indicate Swinburne's interest in English drama. He wrote several poetic dramas himself, the best known being a trilogy built around the life of Mary, Queen of Scots — *Chastelard, Bothwell,* and *Mary Stuart.* An autograph manuscript and variant proof sheets of *Mary Stuart* can be seen here. The manuscript of *Chastelard* was already in the Berg Collection.

Purchased in 1953 and 1954.

65. Alfred Lord Tennyson. Autograph manuscript of *The Cup.*

Although Alfred Tennyson's poetic dramas and long poems, with the exception of *Maud* and *Idylls of the King,* are not widely read now, they were esteemed in their day. One of the dramas is *The Cup,* of which a complete manuscript is here displayed. Tennyson took his subject, the life of the heroic matron Camma, from Plutarch's *De Mulierum Virtutibus.* The manuscript of the two-act drama differs decidedly from the text printed in 1881.

Purchased in 1952.

66. William Makepeace Thackeray. Manuscript in the hand of an amanuensis, with some corrections by the author, of "Lecture the Second" in *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century.*

In the 1850s Thackeray developed a successful secondary career, in the manner popular with mid-nineteenth century novelists, by giving lectures. The first series, devoted to the English humorists of the eighteenth century, was delivered in the British Isles and the Eastern United States in 1852–53. There were six lectures in all, and the manuscript of the first lecture, on Dean Swift, with portions of lectures four and five, was already in the Berg Collection. To these has now been added a companion manuscript for "Lecture the Second" on Congreve and Addison, here displayed.

The manuscripts of the first and second lectures are in the hand of Miss Alice Jane Trulock, the Thackeray girls' governess and their father's amanuensis, with his corrections. According to his daughter Anne Thackeray Ritchie, her father used Miss Trulock's manuscripts to lecture from — possibly because of her large, clear hand.

Purchased in 1956.

67. Henry David Thoreau. *Land Surveying.* n.p., n.d.

Henry David Thoreau is better known as the author of *Walden* than as a professional surveyor. Yet an example of the way in which he advertized his engineering services has recently come to light in the handbill shown here. Thus far no date or place of printing has been established for the piece, and no definite evidence has been found that Thoreau himself actually wrote the text. It is not impossible, however, that this advertizement is the first separate signed publication of any of his work. At the moment this is the only copy of the handbill known.

Purchased in 1955.

68. T. Fisher Unwin. Autograph and typewritten letters from authors published by the firm.

Thomas Fisher Unwin was one of the publishers who came forward amid the new conditions brought about by the demise of the three-volume novel, the expensive "three-decker" that had long handicapped publishers and authors. He was the son of the founder of the Gresham Press. His mother's people had been printers who successfully published the *Cheap Magazine.* Learning his profession at Hodder and Stoughton, Unwin started business under his own name in 1882 when he was in his mid-thirties.

Because of the decreased cost in production that came with the one-volume novel, Unwin was able to risk publishing the work of unknown authors. Now that the casual reader as well as the

circulating library could afford to purchase novels, Unwin caught the public taste with the titles in his Pseudonym and Autonym Libraries and his First Novel Library as well as in various other series. He introduced John Oliver Hobbes (Pearl Mary Teresa Craigie), Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), Ralph Iron (Olive Schreiner), S. R. Crockett, and Somerset Maugham. He also served the scholarly world by developing the Mermaid Series of sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century dramatists.

On view is a selection of letters from several thousand written him by more than one hundred twenty-five of his authors. There are long runs of correspondence from Mrs. Craigie, S. R. Crockett, George Moore, and Israel Zangwill. In addition, the Unwin papers contain more than a hundred reader's reports by Edward Garnett and Gilbert Keith Chesterton, of which some are here displayed.

Purchased in 1956.

69. Elinor Wylie. Association copies from her library.

Elinor Wylie has become one of the legends of American literature. Like the poet Shelley, the object of her passionate admiration, she was a rebel against convention. Her novels and her poetry, aristocratic in outlook and finely wrought, have earned her a literary reputation that will grow as the memory of her beauty and of her intense personality recedes.

The books on display were once hers. One she gave to her second husband, Horace Wylie — "H. from E." Others she gave to William Rose Benét, her third husband, who in turn presented her with several.

Purchased in 1954.

70. William Butler Yeats, editor. Inscribed copy of *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*. London: Walter Scott, 1888. (The Camelot Series)

Early in 1888 William Butler Yeats was asked by Ernest Rhys, the Welsh poet and editor, "to bring out in the Camelot Series a book of selected Folklore." For several months the young man, who was only twenty-three, collected material. The volume was ready for publication that autumn. It was the first book in hard covers to bear the name of Ireland's greatest poet.

The interest in this copy of *Fairy and Folk Tales* lies in Yeats' inscription, dated July 21, 1889, to his "good friend," Katharine Tynan. There are also a few corrections in the poet's hand. Miss Tynan, who was four years his senior, made a friend of Yeats in 1885 and was in constant correspondence with him in his early days in London. She was herself a poet and a novelist. Yeats entertained serious thoughts of asking her to marry him because he thought she was in love with him. In 1893 she married Henry A. Hinkson.

Purchased in 1955.

71. William Butler Yeats. Autograph and typewritten letters to Lord and Lady Dunsany.

In April, 1909, Yeats, who was staying at Dunsany Castle, County Meath, wrote his brother, "Dunsany is a man of genius I think. . . . He is a handsome young man with a beautiful house full of pictures. I want to get him into 'the movement.'" Though the 18th Baron Dunsany had been recently discovered by the leaders of the Irish literary renaissance and his play *The Glittering Gates* was being produced by the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, he was too eclectic in his interests — sport, soldiering, and literature — to be absorbed by any group. But the Dunsanys and Yeats remained friends over the years. Part of the record of that friendship is contained in these letters, which range across the work of both men, the productions at the Abbey Theatre, and the activities of literary friends.

Purchased in 1952.

(For index of authors and correspondents, see "Analysis of Contents," in the June Bulletin, *page 304.)*

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ALEXANDER HAMILTON — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

Manuscripts, prints, rare broadsides and circular materials on his role as a statesman and his close relationship to Washington, both as military aide and as adviser in drafting "The Farewell Address." Concluding section deals with the famous duel with Burr resulting in Hamilton's death 153 years ago. July 12–September 30.

LANDMARKS OF BYELORUSSIAN LITERATURE — SECOND FLOOR CORRIDOR

Books, periodicals, photographs, facsimiles, and manuscripts from the Slavonic Division. July 16–August 16.

25 YEARS OF JACOB'S PILLOW — MUSIC DIVISION

A showing of photographs, programs, posters, and books in celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Pillow as a major school of the dance and as an international dance center. July 8–August 10.

NEW IN THE BERG COLLECTION, 1952–1956 — ROOM 318

A selection of acquisitions of the last five years: manuscripts, autograph letters, first editions.

GREAT AND RARE WORKS IN PARTS — ROOM 324

Masterpieces of literature from the Arents Collection of Books in Parts.

VIRGINIA & TOBACCO — ROOM 324

350 years as represented in books, manuscripts, letters, and prints from the Arents Tobacco Collection.

BIRDS AND BEASTS IN PRINTS — PRINT GALLERY

An exhibition of prints from the 15th to the 20th century.

BOOK BINDINGS, OLD AND NEW — ROOM 322

An exhibition of manuscripts and books in fine bindings from the 15th to the 20th century, selected from the Spencer Collection. Through July.

HISTORICAL VIEWS OF AMERICAN CITIES — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

Exhibition from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection of American Historical Prints.

PERMANENT EXHIBITIONS

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY

An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1926.

WASHINGTON IRVING — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc.

HISTORY OF PRINTING — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR

Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTRAITS AND OTHER NOTABLE PAINTINGS — ROOM 318

Works by Copley, Stuart, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Morse, Raeburn, and others.

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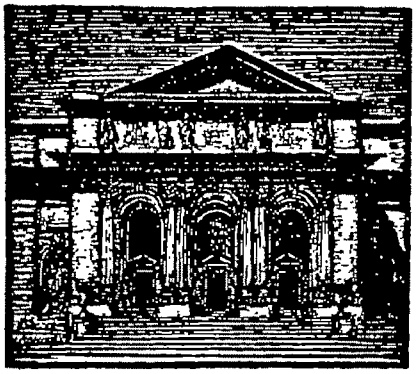

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form p5 [viii-10-5f 19c]

MOTHER MIDNIGHT'S COMICAL POCKET-BOOK: OR, A Bone for the Criticks.

Being a ſure and certain

CURE for the HIP.

Containing the niceſt and largeſt

DISH of NOVELTIES,

That ever was

SEEN—HEARD—SMELT—or TASTED;

Carefully Cook'd-up by

Mother Midnight's merry Grandſon;

CONTAINING

Nothing but ORIGINALS, all very Humorous, prodigious Satyrical, and quite Uncommon;

Informing the Publick, that this

DISH of DISHES

Was wrote in an uncommon Place, at an uncommon Time, by an uncommon Hand,

HUMPHREY HUMDRUM, Eſq;

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DOWSE, oppoſite *Fountain Court* in the *Strand*.

CALCUTTA CENTRAL LIBRARY

Front Matter

Bones of Evidence

The facsimile on the preceding page is not, alas, a new title-page for the *Bulletin*. We say alas because we are fond of "prodigious Satyrical" title-pages and often covet for this magazine no higher merit than to be described as a Dish of Dishes or a certain and sure Cure for the Hip. We do pride ourselves, this month at least, on "containing Nothing but Originals," all "quite Uncommon" if not "all very Humorous."

The Humphrey Humdrum book comes to our attention as an obscure treasure in the Library's Reserve Division, scarce in any form and quite unique in our extra-illustrated copy, the authorship remaining as murky as midnight despite an apparent clue in the title. Now Professor Sherbo (see below, p. 373) pushes aside the flimsy external evidence and proceeds to dig up several kinds of internal clues, enough to identify the "uncommon Hand" of the author. We recently introduced this sport of author-hunting in an article in the February *Bulletin* tracing Coleridge's literary "walk" in some anonymous essays on Washington. Professor Sherbo enlarges the area of discussion by presenting a critical defense of the use of internal evidence and deploring the timidity of scholars who mistrust it. This makes a good meaty "Bone for the Criticks," and we give it a serial number in the hope that others will continue the discussion, pro and contra. (We have another Coleridge hunt of our own in reserve, if criticks are slow to come forward.)

Meredith's Projected Volume

Evidence in a different category is to be found in Professor Bartlett's article describing a unique volume in our Berg Collection. Her examination of manuscript poems found in an interleaved copy of George Meredith's first (and last) volume of *Poems* yields, among other things, "evidence that there should be a scholarly edition of Meredith's poems." We hope a "competent" publisher takes the hint. This article is evidence of the care and enthusiasm with which she would undertake the work.

The Cia Fornaroli Dance Collection

The gifts made to the Library by Walter Toscanini during the past three years in memory of his wife, Cia Fornaroli, the dancer, represent the acquisition by the Dance Collection of one of the finest private dance libraries extant. The materials are varied and cover every phase of dance. Included are prints, musical scores, librettos, autograph letters, programs, clippings, photographs, manuscripts, rare books, almanacs, and theatrical histories as well as many items of standard dance literature. Adequate brief description would fill a volume. As a sample "pocket-book" of rareties among the printed books alone, numbering over 900, several items not found in any library in this country have been selected for the Music Division's coming exhibit (see back page). And it is our good fortune to have a critical-descriptive account (see p. 383) of these by Marian Eames, an expert on the dance who has been on the staff of the Museum of Modern Art and co-editor with Lincoln Kirstein of the scholarly magazine, *Dance Index*, during three of its impressive years (1946–1948).

The illustration on the following page is taken from one of the many fascinating works of the most curious of her authors, Carlo Blasis, who felt that to

cover the subject of dancing he must illustrate and explicate all Man: Physical, Intellectual, and Moral. His drawings enliven his own volumes and a shoal of successors.

Other categories of the Collection — and of the exhibition — must be dealt with summarily here, perhaps to be given fuller treatment in a later issue. In the realm of music alone are 119 bound scores and 716 pieces of unbound music, the latter constituting almost a history of Italian dance. The bound volumes are ballet scores, mostly 19th century. The loose music includes solo dances, intermezzi, ballet excerpts from operas, original MS scores, lesser known works of great composers, modern editions of dances taken from renaissance sources, autograph scores of dances created for specific ballerinas, folk dances, marches, music for ballet classes — a multicolored and prodigious potpourri. Selected for exhibition will be the variations and class music written by Enrico Cecchetti in his own hand and used by him when he taught in Warsaw; the orchestral score for a waltz "La Bella" danced by Virginia Zucchi, the famous 19th century Italian ballerina, and given by her as a memento to Cia Fornaroli. Also shown will be a charming "Taglioni Waltzer" written by Johan Strauss for Marie Taglioni and bearing a print of the dancer on its cover.

Selections from the collection of over 1,000 fine prints and drawings will include original designs by several artists, some stage designs by Sanquirico, and lithographs of four centuries portraying such famous ballerinas as Carlotta Grisi, Carlotta Pochini, and Marie Taglioni. One of the rarest prints in the exhibition is an Italian lithograph of Taglioni by Focosi (see Plate facing p. 384).

From the collection of over 11,000 clippings, photographs, and autograph letters, one early clipping selected is a review of an Italian performance by the American ballerina Augusta Maywood. (Maywood left in 1838 for Europe to become the Continent's most famous ballerina and never to return to the United States.) Also shown will be autograph letters of Anna Pavlova, Marie Taglioni, and others and rare photographs of Pavlova and her company on stage during a tour in 1914.

Material documenting the career of Salvatore Vigano, nineteenth-century choreographer, constitutes one of the most valuable collections received from Mr. Toscanini. The donor himself had done considerable research on Vigano, amassing a wealth of scores, librettos, stage designs, critical tracts, etc. Of these, the materials pertinent to the ballet "Prometheus" — music commissioned from Beethoven by Vigano — will be on display.

From the manuscript materials of the collection several items have been chosen. There is a manual of exercises and technique written by Cecchetti in 1904 in St. Petersburg, a book of carefully organized material from which he later taught Pavlova, Nijinsky, and most of the great dancers of the first quarter of this century. Also shown will be an autograph ballet score by Count Gallenberg, a friend of Beethoven's, parts of which were rumored to be the latter's own contribution. Perhaps the rarest

item shown will be a heretofore unknown MS by a Jewish dancing master of about 1460 in Tuscany.

New Publications and Old

Mrs. Eames's article is being reprinted as a separate, slightly expanded, pamphlet in a canary-yellow cover: 16 pages, 25 cents, available at once.

April's promise (see above, p. 164) bears fruit in August. *Crossing the Line: Tales of the Ceremony during Four Centuries*, compiled by Harry Miller Lydenberg, 256 pages, blue cloth cover with silver stamping, is now off the press and out of the bindery and for sale at $5.

A full index of authors and ships and places has been provided, with a chronology of sailings by nationality, and four appendixes of entirely new matter: *Appendix A:* Crossing of the River Platte, "the Equator of the Missouri"; *Appendix B:* Crossing by Air, e. g. "Mrs. Roosevelt 'Hazed' In Flight Over Equator"; *Appendix C:* Crossing on Land, i. e. the divide near Rainy Lake in 1793; *Appendix D:* Crossings in Scandinavian Waters, at Elsinore and elsewhere, a reprint of Henning Henningsen's compendious essay in the *Mariner's Mirror*. Illustrated.

A new publication that should have been announced here last month is the 1957 edition of *NYPL Publications in Print*, a completely reorganized and recomposed list based on fresh inventory of the Library's stock in hand. Free upon request. Listed here as "not included in 1956 list, but still in print" are several rediscovered works, including John D. Gordan's *First Fruits: An Exhibition of first editions of first books by English authors* (1949, 40 cents); Arents Tobacco Collection Publication no. 1, *A Few Words about Pipes, Smoking, and Tobacco* (1949, $7.50); and Massey Trotter's *Catalogue of the Work of Kitagawa Utamaro* (1950, 50 cents).

Expanding Services

Records can now be listened to and borrowed, free, from our three library centers, Donnell, Fordham, and St. George. The rapidly growing record collections include symphonies, lieder, hit musical scores, drama and poetry readings.

Donnell Library Center has now opened a collection of art books for home reading — nearly seven thousand titles ranging from fine art picture books to gardening and from architecture to advertising.

Duel on a Fine Cool Day

Well worth an attentive ten minutes is the current Alexander Hamilton exhibit (see back cover). After exchanging glances with the lifelike marble bust of Hamilton sculptured by Ceracchi in 1794, we examined with fascination the open spread of two pages for "July 1804" from the diary of a young Mrs. Bleecker in a tiny but legible hand. Out of a firm series of reports of daily weather, walks, and visitors, the brief news emerges: "Wednesday 11th A fine cool day — A Duel was fought at Hoboken between General Hamilton and Coll Burr in which the former received a mortal wound in the side — he was brought over to Greenwich to the house of Mr Wm Bayard —" "Thursday 12th A fine day — General Hamilton is still alive, but no hopes of his recovery — had my Bed Room clean'd out — 'about two o'clock the great Hamilton died' — Mr Baldwin was here after dinner — in the afternoon there came up a little shower of rain. Some of the Bells were muffled and toll'd for the death of General Hamilton —" "Saturday 14th A fine day — I took James and went to Mama's — General Hamilton was buri'd with Military Honors — it was one of the largest and most affecting, procession[s] ever witness'd in this place I believe —"

(Use and Additions July will appear next month.)

BULLETIN OF THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

AUGUST 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 8

The Case for Internal Evidence (1)

Can *Mother Midnight's Comical Pocket-Book* be Attributed to Christopher Smart?

By ARTHUR SHERBO
Michigan State University

THE desire to introduce a new work into the canon of a writer of merit often leads scholars to absurd extremes; at no time is the danger of committing an absurdity so great as when sole reliance is placed on internal evidence. One recalls particularly the abuse of this tool, method, or approach (call it what you will) in certain studies of Elizabethan plays of doubtful or composite authorship. And yet the value of internal evidence is great, greater indeed than the value set on its brother and helpmate, external evidence. Unfortunately, most modern scholars have tended to be so fearful of resting their case for a new attribution on internal evidence alone that they have often been guilty of oversights of major proportions. Ideally, of course, one should have both kinds of evidence, and the happy combination of the two, in sufficient strength, is usually enough to satisfy even the staunchest conservative. Most often, however, a bare attribution by an intimate of the author is enough to lend authority to an otherwise dubious addition to the canon. And almost no amount of internal evidence will exercise similar authority in the absence of such an attribution. All this is, obviously, in the realm of the general; it is only when one can come to the particular that judicious evaluation is possible. There are degrees of importance that can be accorded either or both kinds of evidence, depending on a number of circumstances. Perhaps a hypothetical example is in order at this point. Writer X has been dead more than three decades; the canon of his writings, many of them fugitive journalistic pieces hastily written and often not reread by their author, is understand-

ably not yet fixed. "Veterrimus" contributes a short letter to a newspaper affirming that he has heard Y, X's close friend, himself dead some fifteen years, state that such-and-such an anonymous essay in the *London Chronicler* was "indubitably" the product of his friend's "genius." This, such as it is, is considered sufficient external evidence, especially when coupled with some evidence of style and ideas, to warrant canonical consideration for the essay in question. And it is only just that it should be so considered. But the same internal evidence unallied with the tenuous authority of "Veterrimus's" recollection of Y's *obiter dictum* would hardly be allowed a hearing at the bar of present-day scholarship. Cancel "Veterrimus" from the above equation and allow Y to speak *in propria persona* to the same effect; the authority is greater, of course, because the link to X is closer, but who, pray, constituted Y an authority on the anonymous products of his friend's "genius"?

I

Internal evidence concerns itself with style, ideas and areas of interest, verbal parallels and echoes, and peculiarites of spelling and (sometimes) punctuation. External evidence concerns itself with attributions by contemporaries or near contemporaries of the author, place of appearance or publisher (for article and book, respectively), and use of a pseudonym or distinguishing mark of some kind. My purpose in this study is to examine the value of internal evidence in determining the canonicity of a work which I take to be by Christopher Smart. The rare 64-page pamphlet entitled *Mother Midnight's Comical Pocket-Book* . . . by Humphrey Humdrum, Esq., 2nd edition, London, "Printed for J. Dowse,[1] opposite Fountain Court in the Strand" n.d.[2] is the work which I wish to claim for Christopher Smart. The miscellany — for the pamphlet is a collection of satirical and non-satirical poems, epigrams,

[1] J. Dowse, of whom so little is known, is worth a note. Plomer *(Dict. of Printers . . . 1726–1775)* says only that he was a "bookseller and publisher in London, opposite Fountain Court in the Strand, 1753. Publisher of pamphlets." Dowse sold the pamphlet *Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison, Clarissa, and Pamela* (1754) and is characterized as "an obscure pamphlet-shop proprieter, not a prominent bookseller" by Professor Alan D. McKillop in his introduction to the reprint of the pamphlet for the *Augustan Reprint Society*, No. 21, 1950, p. ii. Since the name is an unusual one, the following obituary may be our man's. It appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1783 (Vol. 53, pt. 1, p. 93): "Mr. Dowse, formerly a vocal performer of some celebrity at Vauxhall, Marybone-Gardens, Sadlers-Wells, etc. He was found dead upon a dunghill at an inn in High Holborn." Although I may be accused of excessive hypothesizing I cannot resist linking this Dowse with Smart, and with the *Comical Pocket-Book*, on the basis of the Vauxhall and Sadler's Wells connection (see my second, numbered argument below).

[2] Recourse to the Union Catalogue reveals copies at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston and in the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Mass. I have photostats of the New York Public Library copy. There is also a copy in the British Museum, with the error of "Council" for "Comical" in the title.

epitaphs, acrostics, and songs, with an occasional short bit of prose, usually introducing one of the poems — is listed in the *Gentleman's Magazine's* list for December 1753 (p. 593) and reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, X (January 1754) 74. The only remark of the reviewer is that the work "consists of scraps of foolish, illiterate verses, and prose of the same stamp." This judgment is unnecessarily harsh, as the *Pocket-Book* contains some entertaining bits, albeit there is no poetry of a high order of excellence. To my knowledge, the only modern scholar aware of its existence is Roland Botting. In his *Christopher Smart in London* he suggests that the work may be Smart's but rejects it for the following reason: "In view of its not having been published by Newbery or Carnan, it is doubtful that Smart had any connection with the *Comical Pocketbook*" (p. 40).[3] There is no discussion of the contents. No other student of Smart's work has seen fit to question Botting's decision. It must be further remarked that an acrostic poem, "The Author's Epitaph" (p. 25), spells out the name Joseph Lewis, and it is doubtless this fact which caused Halket and Laing to attribute the pamphlet to him. They, incidentally, hesitantly date the publication as "1780."

Since "Mother Midnight" was Smart's pseudonym, one of very many, one is tempted to claim this fact as some slight external evidence, but Botting mentions a *Mother Midnight's Miscellany* (1751) which is probably the "poor faulty Pamphlet lately publish'd in her [Mother Midnight's] Name," disclaimed by Smart (p. 17 and note). There is not, hence, the slightest shred of external evidence for attributing the collection to Smart. Yet despite my awareness of the suspicion excited by attributions based solely on internal evidence I feel certain that Smart was responsible for the entire contents.

In the presence of a possible author in the person of one Joseph Lewis some proof of mistaken attribution is demanded. I have searched long and diligently for any trace of a Joseph Lewis, eighteenth-century poet, without success. Further, I have asked a number of my friends, experts in the literature and ana of the century, for help in tracking him down. None could give me the slightest clue. This is hardly proof positive of Joseph Lewis's non-existence, but, then, how does one prove the non-existence of a Joseph Lewis? Since the *Comical Pocket-Book*, so the long subtitle runs, contains "the nicest and largest Dish of Novelties . . . Carefully Cook'd up by Mother Midnight's merry Grandson," it is clear that the author is warning that he is

[3] *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, VII, No. 1 (March 1939) p. 3–58. In an advertisement in Volume I of *The Midwife*, p. 144, Mrs. Midnight says that only T. Carnan will print her "Pieces" as usual. This, I should say, is one way to strengthen one's pseudonymity should one wish to employ another bookseller.

not to be confused with his grandmother, i. e. Christopher Smart. On pain of correction, I would suggest, therefore, that Joseph Lewis is a ghost, that he never existed, but that if there was a Joseph Lewis, Smart usurped his obscure name (for who has seen any work by Joseph Lewis?) for his own purposes of mystification. One need only accept "Joseph Lewis" as another of a bewildering number and variety of pseudonyms employed by Smart. The parallels in arguments 3, 5, 6, the last paragraph of 7, 9, and 13 below are of such picayune details as to point to the author of the original pieces repeating himself rather than to a highly gifted and observant imitator.

What, then, is the exact nature of the internal evidence which makes an attribution to Smart possibe? For sake of convenience I shall number each piece of evidence separately; the order followed is not in ascending or descending scale of importance.

1. The first poem in the *Comical Pocket-Book* is on tea drinkers; it is one of the better poems in the collection, consciously echoing Pope's *Rape of the Lock*. In the poem the tea-drinkers indulge in a malicious exchange of gossip; at the conclusion of this school for scandal, the author writes,

> How much perverted now are female ways
> Since times of yore — in Bessy's golden days;
> When hearty food for spleen was a relief,
> And dames of honour breakfasted on beef;
> With pond'rous joints the groaning-boards were spread,
> And ev'ry damsel had her pound of bread. (p. 7)

Compare Smart's fable, *The Tea Pot and Scrubbing Brush* (1752), in which, after the scrubbing brush has given several examples of the gossip and scandal owing to tea-drinking, he continues

> 'Twas better for each British Virgin,
> When on roast Beef, strong Beer, and Sturgeon,
> Joyous to breakfast they sat round,
> Nor was asham'd to eat a Pound.
> These were the Manners, these the Ways,
> In good Queen *Bess's* golden Days (I, 45) [4]

The parallels are striking.

2. Smart's interest in the theatre and in actors and entertainers is well known. He wrote songs to be sung at Vauxhall Garden, and he moved in "theatrical" circles as producer of, and possible actor in, *The Old Woman's Oratory*, best described as early vaudeville. On pages 26–28 of the *Comical*

[4] Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Smart's poetry are to the edition by Norman Callan for the Muse's Library, 2 vols., 1949.

Pocket-Book one finds a series of epitaphs on entertainers at Sadler's Wells.[5] The first is "Design'd for that well-known facetious Mortal, late of Sadler's Wells, P. H." P. H. is identified in the epitaph as "Peter Hough." I have recently (*Modern Language Notes*, 1956, 177–82) shown that Smart's catalogue of names in section D of *Jubilate Agno* is important for the probable light it throws on his past friends and associations, a name encountered in a newspaper or periodical calling to his mind a friend or acquaintance of the same name. The epitaph just cited allows me to identify another of these associations, for line D110 of *Jubilate Agno* (ed. Bond, 1954) reads "Let Hough, house of Hough rejoice with Pegasus The Flying Horse there be millions of them in the air. God bless the memories of Bsp. Hough & of Peter." Another of these epitaphs is for Thomas Rosoman, proprietor of Sadler's Wells from 1753 on. Rosoman was one of two witnesses to the contract between Smart and Richard Rolt and Thomas Gardner and Edmund Allen for the writing of the *Universal Visiter* (*TLS*, 1929, 474). And Rolt wrote for Sadler's Wells (*DNB*). What is more, Rosoman's was another name from the past to be recalled and recorded in *Jubilate Ango*, "God be gracious to Thomas Rosoman & family" (D156).

3. Reference is made in a short prose passage on page 39 to "the old trunk-makers, corner of Paul's-church-yard." Of Smart's two dedications of his *Horatian Canons of Fiendship* (1750) one is to "my good friend, the Trunk-Maker at the Corner of St. Paul's Church-Yard." Smart refers to "trunk-makers" in an essay in *The Universal Visiter*, March 1756, p. 137. The essay was claimed for Smart by me in *The Library*, 5th Series, X (1955) 203–05. In the last two of these references the trunk-maker is dependent upon writers for the paper with which to line his products. See also *The Midwife*, I, 67, for another reference to trunk-makers as destroyers of literature, i. e. paper.

4. On page 37 as part of a poem entitled simply *Song the Second*, in praise of Bessey's and Nancy's charms, there appears this stanza:

> Their panting breasts, that gently move,
> Our am'rous bosoms fire;
> Those pretty rising alps of love,
> Are all our soul's desire.

And in a *Letter to Caelia*, page 53, occurs the couplet

> Each amorous, gazing youth doth not disown
> Love on thy snowy breasts hath fix'd her throne

[5] It is worth noting a "Letter from an Eminent Tumbler [a fictitious one] at Sadler's Wells, to Mrs. Mary Midnight" in *The Midwife*, III, 7.

Now female breasts have always been likened to snow for their whiteness, and poets have had an observant eye for their rise and fall, but no poet I know seems to have been so fascinated with this part of the female anatomy as Christopher Smart. One recalls particularly the youthful poem "To Ethelinda. On her doing my verses the honour of wearing them in her bosom.—Written at thirteen" with its sexual precocity, and its description of the young Miss's breasts as "that ivory throne" (I, 198). In another poem Smart speaks of "her breast the throne of love" (I, 140). And if the reader wishes to trace Smart in his descriptions, he may look at I, 79, 85, 103, 113, 131, 191, 193, 201 ("snowy heaps"), and 202.

At this point I should like to press the method of internal evidence to its extreme by using parallels between a poem not universally accepted as Smart's and the poems quoted in the paragraph above as another in my chain of evidence. Wilbur Cross hesitantly attributes two poems in *The Covent-Garden Journal* to Smart (*Henry Fielding*, II, 381–82). One, a song to Jenny Weston, bears many resemblances to Smart's poetry, some of which are given by Cross; I will suggest others after full quotation of the poem.

Tho' Polly's and tho' Peggy's Charms,
Each Youthful Poet's Bosom warms;
None gives the Heart such fierce Alarms,
As Lovely Jenny Weston.

No Violet, Jessamin, or Rose,
Or spicy Gale that Afric blows,
Does half such fragrant Sweets disclose,
As waft round Jenny Weston.

Let other Swains to Courts repair,
And view each glitt'ring Beauty there,
'Tis Art alone makes them so fair,
But Nature Jenny Weston.

What Paint with her Complexion vies?
What Jewels sparkle like her Eyes?
What Hills of Snow so white, as rise
The Breasts of Jenny Weston?

Give others Titles, Honours, Pow'r,
The Riches of Potosi's Shore,
I ask not Bawbles; I implore
The Heart of Jenny Weston.

Possest of this, of this alone,
On India's Monarch I'd look down,
A Cot my Palace, and my Throne
The Lap of Jenny Weston.

The song appeared in *The Covent-Garden Journal* for June 30, 1752. Besides the parallels to the descriptions of female breasts in the acknowledged canon of Smart's poetry, there is the use of "cot," appearing in three poems by Smart in 1752 (I, 128, 143, 151). "Polly" appears twice in poems by Smart in the same year and twice in *Jubilate Agno*. And there is a poem, "On Lovely Peggy," appearing in *The Midwife*, III, 21, 1753, which begins "Though Peggy's Charms," suggesting at least the possibility that Smart had some hand in it. I would, understandably, not place too much weight on this last, but I would point out that the *Comical Pocket-Book* contains a poem *To Miss Mary Midnight* beginning "Polly, how cruel you are grown." To come back, however: compare lines 5–8 of the poem to Jenny Weston with stanza VI (p. 37) of the song on Bessy and Nancy in the *Comical Pocket-Book:*

> No odour, from sweet vi'let beds,
> Nor Afric's fragrant spices;
> As these two fair coelestia maids,
> So lovely and so nice is.

Again, these parallels need no pointing up. *To Health,* a poem signed S. and accepted as Smart's, in the *Universal Visiter,* March 1756 (p. 140–141), contains "spicy Zephyrs" and "Afric." One should also observe the "spices — nice is" rhyme, the sort of rhyme made so popular by Ogden Nash but used often to good effect earlier by Christopher Smart and by one of his nineteenth-century admirers, Robert Browning. Nor should one forget that Smart's wife's name was Nancy and she is frequent in his poetry. And, of course, the "Hills of Snow so white, as rise / The Breasts of Jenny Weston" finds its counterpart in the "pretty rising alps of love," while "My Throne the Lap of Jenny Weston" is in slight degree similar to the line quoted from page 53 of the *Comical Pocket-Book.*

5. One of the epitaphs in the collection is for "Dr. Rock" (p. 28–29); his name also occurs in the poem *Mother Midnight's Power of Gold* (p. 9–10):

> And Rock can make your body whole,
> Tho' rotten to the bone.

A note in Smart's *Hilliad* contains a paraphrase of Dryden's epigram on Milton; one of the "three great wise men" is Rock: "Rock shone in physick, and in both John H–ll" (p. 39). There is the strong probability that Arthur Murphy wrote or helped with the notes to the *Hilliad;* this fact, if proved, would not seriously affect my argument here. What is more, "Dr. Rocko" occurs in an essay in *The Midwife,* II, 25.

6. Another poem, pages 41–2, ends with the line "When beauty is their theme." In *A Song to David,* "God the eternal theme" and "God's the theme" appear, respectively, in stanzas 10 and 85. In Smart's version of the psalms one finds "Christ thy God and theme" (II, 494). And in the *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* occur "their Saviour for their theme" and "When Infinite's the theme" (II, 793 and 818).

7. There is a point at which the close student of a poet's work should be entitled to say that a particular poem sounds very much like the work of his man — and his opinion should command some respect. I would therefore ask that the reader remember the evidence already advanced for Smart's authorship of the *Comical Pocket-Book* in what follows. Smart wrote a few verse epistles which immediately came to mind as I read the poem on p. 52–53. The poem is introduced thus: "The author being t'other night at a merchant's house in the city, who entertain'd him in a very agreeable manner, after he'd done supper, wrote the following lines, in gratitude for the favour he receiv'd."

Sir,
At your kind cost, I'm proud to tell ye,
With ham and veal I fill'd my belly;
Permit this next to be inserted,
Bett's spinnet both my ears diverted;
Nancy's celestial voice has charm'd me;
Blythe Peggy's presence twice or thrice
Your kitchen chang'd to Paradice;
Dick with me ev'ry now and then
Kept from revolving back again:
Thus rarely blest, I'd have you know it,
I thought myself a happy poet;
For invitation, pot, and plate-full;
Expect to find me ever grateful;
For such an unexpected favour,
You'll always have my best behaviour;
May rigid fate, first time I faulter,
Provide a gibbet, cart, and halter;
This done, grant I may swing away,
Like Taffy, on St. David's day.

Notice the rhymes "tell ye — belly," "know it — poet," "plate-full — grateful." Compare with this Smart's poems, "To the Rev. Mr. Powell, On the non-performance of a promise he made the author of a Hare," "Epistle to Dr. Nares," "An Invitaton to Mrs. Tyler, A clergyman's lady, to dine upon a couple of ducks on the anniversary of the author's wedding day," and "Epistle

to Mrs. Tyler" (I, 206–10). It is in these four poems, incidentally, that Smart's Ogden Nashian rhymes occur.

"Taffy" of the last line of the poem quoted above is a common nickname for a Welshman; "Honest Taffy" speaks three lines of Welsh dialect in Smart's epilogue written for a performance of *The Conscious Lovers* in 1755. I must confess to not having encountered "Taffy" elsewhere in eighteenth-century poetry, and the OED does not give any examples of its appearance in poetry.

8. *A Castle built in the Air; or, The Author's Dream* (p. 43–47) recalls the series on "castle-building" that Smart contributed to *The Student.*

9. Mary Midnight's very possession of a "pocket-book," the germ of the pamphlet's title, appears only once, to my knowledge, in *The Midwife* (I, 177). A detail as small as this would be *best* known to Smart.

10. In the introduction to the *Comical Pocket-Book* the author refers to his grandmother "when she gave Caudle in the Hay-market" (p. 3). Caudle has unfortunately been identified as a performer; [6] it is actually "a warm drink, consisting of thin gruel, mixed with wine or ale, sweetened and spiced, given chiefly to sick people, esp. women in childbed; also to their visitors" (OED); and Mrs. Midnight is a "Midwife." (In *The Midwife,* III, 81 and 108, the author uses "caudle.")

11. On one occasion, the "Epigram by Sir Thomas More translated: The Long-nosed Fair" (1751), Smart assumes the pseudonym "Master Christopher Midnight, My [Mrs. Midnight's] Great Grandson." Humphrey Humdrum, author of the *Comical Pocket-Book* is, according to the title-page and page 3, Mother Midnight's grandson. I intend here simply to emphasize my initial suggestion that Humphrey Humdrum, Mother Midnight's "grandson," is simply another pseudonym for Smart who had already been Mrs. Midnight's "great grandson."

12. On pages 22–23 of the *Comical Pocket-Book* the presumably male author of the pamphlet so forgets his identity as to speak of himself as "an old woman," continuing in language reminiscent of Mrs. Midnight, author of *The Midwife.*

13. On page 8 of the pamphlet, "Mother Midnight" is named as the writer of a "New Song" entitled "The True Patriot." Internal evidence corroborates the authorship as Smart's, a number of the naval heroes mentioned in the poem being encountered elsewhere in his writings. Smart, one may add, turned to the navy and some of its heroes for a few of his patriotic efforts. See, especially, the "Ode to Admiral Sir George Pocock" and "The King's Restoration," the seventeenth of his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs.*

[6] E. G. Ainsworth and C. E. Noyes, *Christopher Smart* (Columbia, Mo., 1943) 61.

II

Some years ago Mr. Robert E. Brittain called attention to a poem in Dodsley's *Museum*, claiming it as Smart's.[7] It was almost immediately pointed out that "The Benedicite Paraphrased," the poem in question, was by the Reverend James Merrick.[8] What I am interested in is the final paragraph of Mr. Brittain's article.

> If the *Benedicite Paraphrased* be accepted as Smart's work, its significance is very great. It establishes once and for all that *A Song to David* is no miracle of insanity, but a perfectly logical development of Smart's natural bent. It suggests that *The Hop-Garden*, the *Midwife*, the clever epigrams and witty lyrics — in short, virtually all the poetry included in the 1791 "Collected poems" — are really extraneous from the main stream of his work. The period of confinement gave him rest and a chance to write as he pleased. His natural talent was for the composition of religious verse of an unusual and very high order, and that talent, first strongly apparent in the *Benedicite Paraphrased*, finds its ultimate expression in the great *Song*.

The arguments advanced for Smart's authorship were highly attractive, but, and here is the point I wish to make, they should have been iron-clad and impregnable. Mr. Brittain was not only adding a poem to the Smart canon, he was using his attribution to formulate a new and revolutionary view of the whole of Smart's poetic output.

The attribution of the entire contents of *Mother Midnight's Comical Pocket-Book*, save a few songs and their accompanying musical scores, does not in the least change the picture of Smart's early years in London that has long prevailed. Such an attribution merely emphasizes certain well-known facts about this period in his life: he was incredibly busy and prolific; he was fond of, and was possibly forced to, various pseudonymns and mystifications; he was a ready and excellent composer of light verse; and, in the hurry of his writing, he often borrowed, now a phrase, now an idea, now a rhythm, from himself. There is no thought of claiming greater poetic stature for Smart on the basis of my attribution; I would simply add a few inches to his stature as a humorist.

[7] *PMLA (Publications of the Modern Language Association)* LVI (1941) 165–174.
[8] *ELH, a Journal of Literary History*, IX (1942) 136–140, and *PMLA*, LVIII (1943) 582.

When All the World Was Dancing

Rare and Curious Books from the Cia Fornaroli Collection

By MARIAN EAMES

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY has recently received for its Dance Collection over a thousand books as a gift from the distinguished bibliophile, Walter Toscanini. This generous donation includes many rare and handsome volumes and is part of the Cia Fornaroli Collection which Mr. Toscanini is presenting to the Library as a memorial to his wife. From August 16 to October 16 an exhibition of some of the more important items in the collection is scheduled to be on display in the Library, and it is in conjunction with this exhibition that the following notes have been compiled. The titles dealt with are representative of the whole — at least in that they cover the principal divisions of dance literature: the history, theory, and technique of social and theatrical dancing. They have the further distinction of being unique in this country: no duplicate copies are known to exist in any library in the United States.

To bring into focus the handful of books described below two things are essential. First to review briefly the development of dancing and dance literature in modern Europe, and then to relate the particular items under discussion to their own periods. For like all manifestations of art these books — curious and rare — are also valid expressions of their age.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries balls, pageants, and masques were immensely popular in all the courts of Europe. As yet there was no formal theatrical dance apart from court life. By which we mean that dancing entertainments were not performed by professionals in theatres, but by, as well as for the amusement of, kings, princes, and noblemen in their own palaces. As with all the arts, Italy led the rest of the world in dancing at this time, and the literary highlights of European dance history begin with the writings of Italian dancing-masters — the first notable work being a treatise by Guglielmo Ebreo written toward the end of the fifteenth century. A hundred years later the center of interest shifted to France where, under the patronage of the Italian-born queen of Henri II, Catherine de Medici, the world's first ballet (as we understand the term) was staged. This "Ballet Comique de la Reine" (1581) is generally conceded to mark the beginning of modern theatrical dancing. In 1588 the first significant French work on dancing was published. Curiously, the author was not a dancing-master at

all but a scholarly priest who used the pseudonym of "Thoinot Arbeau." Just as the Italian Ebreo left descriptions of the style, steps, and figures of his earlier day, so through Arbeau we have a record of the dances popular in France during the sixteenth century.

In 1661 Louis XIV established the Académie Royale de la Danse and from this point on professional ballet-masters, musicians, and dancers figure as important influences in the progress of the art. Contemporary records are filled with allusions to the composers Lully and Rameau, the *maîtres de ballet* Beauchamp and Vestris, and the brilliant dancers Sallé and Camargo, all of whom helped to shape the course of theatrical dancing. During the eighteenth century elaborate ballets were presented in opera houses all over Europe, but Paris remained the artists' Mecca. Here, however, all was not entirely serene, for questions of policy, theory, and taste were perpetually raised and vehemently argued. As the Age of Enlightenment extended its search for truth and meaning to all the arts, the Académie de la Danse soon found itself under attack for the shallowness of its productions. Frenchmen in all walks of life, fired by the spirit of the times, took up their pens to extol the ancient classical ideals of mime and drama and to deplore the current trend of superficiality. "On our stages we have excellent feet, brilliant legs and admirable arms. What a pity that we lack the art of dance!" So wrote Louis de Cahusac in 1754, speaking for his generation.

The outstanding personality of this period was Jean Georges Noverre (1727–1809), dancer, choreographer, and ballet-master hailed by Garrick as "the Shakespeare of the dance," and chief agent in the ultimate metamorphosis of extravagant dance spectacles into dramatic ballets — the so-called *"ballets d'action."* Despising the popular emphasis on virtuosity for its own sake and the weak scenarios which were mere pretexts for exhibition dancing, Noverre berated his fellow artists for their inertia, stressing the importance of dramatic feeling and action in ballets and demanding a return to the lofty standard of antique pantomime. In 1760 he published his famous *Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets,* a group of angry, analytical essays which are still, according to most authorities, the best introduction to the concept of theatrical dancing. Yearning for the coveted post of ballet-master at the Opera, Noverre practised what he preached by devoting his full energies to the composition of *ballets d'action* in Stuttgart and Vienna while he waited for recognition from Paris. This came at last in 1775.

Unquestionably his influence was profound, though perhaps not quite unique as he himself implied when, writing in 1803, he said: "The glory of my art . . . and my numerous brilliant successes permit me to state that I have

Unique Focosi lithograph from the Cia Fornaroli Collection

Rare print from the Cia Fornaroli Collection

achieved a revolution in dancing." A spirit of reform was in the air and it had other champions, too, who must be credited with original ideas and independent activities. Of these the Italians Gasparo Angiolini (1723–1796) and Salvatore Vigano (1769–1821) were of special importance since through them, and their successor Carlo Blasis (1795–1878), Italy regained for a time her old ascendancy in the world of the dance.

If Noverre was the foremost dance innovator of the eighteenth century, as much can be said for Blasis in the nineteenth. Perhaps more. For while Noverre concerned himself largely with the substance and purpose of ballets (and these will always be determined, finally, by the temper of the age), Blasis codified a system of dance training that is still the basic discipline of what we now call "classical ballet." Though he was acclaimed as both dancer and choreographer, Blasis' enduring fame rests on his success as a teacher. It is through his writings and his brilliant administration of the Imperial Academy of Dancing at Milan that he will be remembered.

Few dance instructors in history can have brought a richer endowment of general knowledge to the practice of their profession. For Blasis had received an exceptional education in the classics, in mathematics and anatomy, in painting, drawing, and architecture, and above all in music since his father was an accomplished musician. He was also taught dancing, and at a fairly early age it was decided that this would be his vocation. All his training took place in France, the family having emigrated from Naples when he was still an infant, and his teachers were among the best in the country. Once launched on his career (he is said to have made his debut in 1814), Blasis soon became famous as a dancer and composer of ballets. His early triumphs in France and Italy were followed by a trip to London where, in 1828, he published his most important work: *The Code of Terpsichore,* subtitled *The Art of Dancing, Comprising its Theory and Practice, and a History of its Rise and Progress from the Earliest Times.* The germ of this comprehensive study is to be found in his first literary effort, a brief treatise on the theory and practice of dancing which had been published in Milan eight years before (see below). All of his later writings about dancing are either variations on, or extensions of, themes set forth in the *Code.* The subject of pantomime, for instance, never ceased to engross his own attention, and the section on "Private Dancing" proved so popular with the public that it appeared again and again in various languages and numberless disguises. The whole book was immediately translated into French (with the title *Manuel complet de la danse*) and subsequently into many other languages. It became, and has remained to this day, the nearest thing to a standard text-book of instruction in all prominent ballet schools.

Not the least of its merits as a "teaching tool" are the clean, precise line drawings, engraved from Blasis' own sketches, that demonstrate the great range of positions and movements which are possible within the established framework of classical grammar.

Blasis' writing was not confined to dancing alone. Among his other works are biographies of Raphael, Garrick, Pergolesi, and Fuseli, and essays on Catullus, on sacred music, and on the theatre in Russia. In the year 1847, at the height of his activities as Director of the Academy at Milan, and with over a dozen books already published, he is reputed to have had three new works in the press and eighteen more in preparation.

Coincident with the teachings of Blasis, nineteeenth-century romanticism exerted a powerful, though very different, influence on dancing. In 1832 the great Taglioni floated onto the stage of the Paris Opéra in the role of "La Sylphide," and in no time at all a succession of airy sprites and bewitched maidens appeared on all the stages of Europe. The cult of Romantic Ballet was fairly under way. Queens and courtesans, men-about-town and literary geniuses flocked to the ballet, wildly applauding their favorite dancers and passionately defending them against on-coming rivals and their supporters. Never was such a to-do about dancing, and never such a galaxy of popular stars — dancing like angels and wearing their Mona Lisa smiles in public while all but clawing one another's eyes out in jealous rages behind the scenes. The whole lively panorama was judiciously observed and recorded for all time by the French poet Théophile Gautier, whose devotion to the ballet made of him the world's first dance critic. From constant attendance at the theatres laymen, too, learned to be both more critical of dancers and more appreciative of their performances. Possibly they were stimulated by the fact that the popular social dance at that period still adhered closely to the basic formula of primary positions and steps in theatrical dancing. Ballet terminology was familiar in the ballroom and the private dance instructor could be quite as fierce as the ballet-master about the proper placement of the arms and hands, the turned-out foot, or attention to the musical beat. Viewing the middle and late nineteenth century through the eyes of contemporary writers, one has the impression that all Europe was dancing the waltz or the polka, quadrilles or cotillons, whenever it wasn't busily engaged in watching professional dancers on the stage. An impression very different from the days of Noverre.

The books selected for discussion below do not in any sense tabulate the history of dancing during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They rather represent varied facets of this history. Some are more interesting than

others in content; some are provocative because so little is known about them or their authors; and some are like footnotes which illumine already familiar texts. But all are echoes from a world in which dancing was considered worthy of careful study and serious comment by more than an elect group of professional devotees.

* * *

I. Eighteenth Century: History, Theory, Technique

Paschens, Johann. *Beschreibung wahrer Tanz-Kunst nebst einigen Anmerckungen uber Herrn. J.C.L.P.P. zu G. Bedencken gegen das Tantzen und zwar wo es als eine Kunst erkennet wird,* 475 p. Franckfurth: Wolffgang Michabelles und Johann Adolph, 1707

In 1704 a German signing himself J.C.L.P.P. wrote what he called "A Reasonable and Unprejudiced Consideration of the Quarrel over Dancing which has been Aired in Many Published Works." Without access to the "many published works" referred to, we can only assume from the author's own text that the quarrel had to do with whether or not dancing was a good idea. In Herr J.C.L.P.P.'s impartial view it wasn't, being not only unnatural, unreasonable, and useless, but a breeder of bestiality, brutality, and vileness — practically a mortal sin. Such sweeping condemnation recalls the stern voice of St. Chrysostom: "Where dancing is, there is the devil . . . in dances men exult and the ministers of demons rejoice." There have always been men who preached the evils of dancing. Even the humanist Erasmus warned against its corruptive effect upon the powers of the mind, saying "as thou desirest thine owne credite and welfare, eschewe these scabbed and scurvie company of dancers." A considerable mass of "anti-dance" literature exists, written in many languages in many periods of history. J.C.L.P.P. could have quoted any number of distinguished thinkers in support of his attack. That he failed to do so was a cause of wonderment to Johann Paschens, the author of our little-known book which offers a description of "the true art" of dancing by way of reply to its anonymous vilifier. Paschens maintains that dancing is a natural mode of expression, a product of reason, and an exercise which seems to promote external grace and agility. As to its moral aspect, he cites the classic Biblical examples of Miriam and David. Beyond this he will not go though he, too, could have summoned weightier opinions in his defense, from St. Basil to Luther.

Actually Paschens appears to have had some private reservations about the wholesomeness of mixed dancing, for he declares that men and women should never dance together except in the presence of elderly and respectable people; that it is improper to approach a lady closer than one pace, and that the faces of dancers should be neither smiling nor sour.

If the dance has had more eloquent champions than Paschens (and fortunately it has), at least we must give him credit for a sincere and painstaking effort. His dissection of J.C.L.P.P.'s assault covers many pages and required much time in the writting because, he tells us, he could only work at it in "off-hours." This brings up the question of Paschens himself. Who was he, and what was his profession? His book offers no information and an eager (though admittedly not exhaustive) search has so far yielded no results.

Bonin, Louis. *Die neueste Art zur galanten und theatralischen Tanz-Kunst,* 285 p. Franckfurt und Leipzig: Johann Christoff Lochner, 1711

This book is particularly interesting on several counts. It is probably the earliest comprehensive treatise on dancing known to have been written by a French dancing-master; its contents cover a remarkably wide range of aspects; and its author held the somewhat surprising position of dancing-master at the University of Jena.

Regarding the first point it should be noted that all previous French writers on the dance were priests and scholars with the exception of Feuillet, a ballet-master who published a system of dance notation in 1700, and the *possible* exception of de Lauze (*Apologie de la danse,* 1623) whose profession is not known. As to the second point, theatrical ballet had so recently come into its own (1661) as an art clearly distinguished from social dancing that Bonin's comments on the various types of ballets, on ballet composition, and on the different styles of dancing

have a very special value. Expatiating on the stage dance, he discusses music and opera, comedy, costumes, national dances, and the dances of antiquity in relation to modern forms. In dealing with the purely social dance he offers a great deal of general information and advice as well as descriptions of how to perform a number of popular steps and figures. Convinced that a thorough knowledge of dancing was vital in the polite world, he even includes a chapter on how to talk intelligently about it.

Coming now to the author himself, in the introduction (written by an admiring friend over the signature "Meletaon") we are told that Bonin was a "true Frenchman" who studied with the best masters in Paris and had danced in opera in France and Germany before coming to Jena. He seems to have been a man of some learning and considerable talent, friendly, modest, and hard-working. Though his lightness and agility in dancing provoked the envious to say he was nothing but a "jumper," his undoubted mastery of the subject must have won the respect of many others, for he stayed on in his adopted country, learned to speak the language like a native, and came in time to be described as a "good German."

For its frontispiece the book has an engraving of a fashionable dancing lesson. Accompanied by his violinist the instructor is shown putting an elegantly dressed gentleman through his paces while several other gallants and a few ladies stand about as though awaiting their turns.

Anonymous. *Lettre critique sur notre danse théatrale,* 27 p. Paris: L'Imprimerie du Magasin de la rue Saint-Nicaise, 1771

Letters to the editor are so often cranky and abusive that it is pleasant to come on one which displays controlled feelings. In this little pamphlet we have the example of an eighteenth century Frenchman gently letting off steam in a very civilized manner. It seems that he went to the Opéra one night, being in low spirits and hoping to be cheered up. He went to see the great Vestris dance, and he came away yawning. This set him thinking, and being naturally articulate he composed his thoughts in the form of an epistle addressed to the editor of a literary periodical.

"Nous n'avons pas de Danse, M. le Spectateur; mais ne pourrions-nous pas en avoir?" he begins, bewailing the type of entertainment — *"ce bizarre ménage de notes et de cabrioles"* — currently offered by the august Académie de la Musique et de la Danse. He then recalls the glorious state of theatrical arts in classical antiquity and suggests a few therapeutic measures for the ailing dance of his own time. There is nothing startling or even new in all this. Frenchmen had been complaining about their ballet since 1688 when the Abbé de Pure issued an impassioned plea for reform. And the main point of criticism was always the same: The dance should be an imitation of human actions and passions; it is nothing without pantomime. Steps are only the mechanics of dancing; pantomime is its soul and its life. M. X makes all the usual points suavely and with good humor. To these he adds a more original idea — that dancers and ballet-masters need encouragement and patronage. And he goes further than Diderot, who felt that the dance was only awaiting a man of genius, by stating that the man of genius was obviously Noverre who should instantly be summoned from Stuttgart to restore the honor of Paris. Four years later this wish came true.

Whoever M. X was, one feels that he would have been an interesting and agreeable companion. The journal in which he unburdened himself (as of September 20, 1771) was *Le Spectateur Français,* once edited by the novelist and playwright Marivaux, but at this time under the editorship of Jacques-Vincent Delacroix.

Lucian. *Della danza, dialogo di Luciano con annotazioni,* 44 p. Firenze: Gaspero Pecchioni, 1779

Lucian. *Della pantomima, dialogo filosofico di Luciano, traduzione con note,* 52 p. Venezia, 1783

Lucian's dialogue "On Dancing" is the world's oldest and most often quoted discourse on the subject. During the eigthteenth century when the interest in dramatic dancing was spreading rapidly throughout Europe, Lucian might almost have become a best-seller in the hands of a shrewd publisher. Every treatise on dancing invoked his name, every ballet-master knew and studied his precepts. Indeed he has much to say that was applicable to the *ballet d'action.*

Sensing its timeliness an unknown scholar using the pseudonym "Crittodunamio" made a translation into Italian, of which two rare editions are listed above. Despite their different titles

the text and notes are identical in both books. Only the dedications differ. The first is inscribed to Muzarelli, a noted dancer and choreographer who was a pupil of Angiolini, the second to Conte Paolo Spineda, a scholar and patron of the arts. In his dedication to the noble Count the translator states that Lucian's valuable treatise deserves to be better known and more generally appreciated, which would explain his bringing out a second edition.

Since Lucian's text is familiar to many and readily accessible to all, the main point of interest here lies in the translator's annotations, which reflect an association of ideas belonging to his particular period of time. The most pertinent of these contain various references to Angiolini and Noverre. One note, after drawing a comparison between ancient and modern dances, ends with the declaration that just as all Europeans are superior dancers compared to Americans, so among Europeans every German and every Prussian is a Noverre or an Angiolini compared to the others. A little farther on he suggests that the differences in the theories of Angiolini and Noverre may be more apparent than real. Perhaps the most interesting of all is a footnote to Lucian's story of an unfortunate dancer who mixed up two different roles in one performance because of the similarity of their actions. Here the translator emphasizes the importance to dancer and choreographer of adhering strictly to certain fixed rules and principles. "We do not agree with M. Noverre," he continues, "who does not want to subjugate the dance to any rules whatever. This idea is not worthy of the fame which he has acquired on the basis of his inventions." Insisting further that the dance-pantomime, which deals with human passions and emotions, is no less dependent on aesthetic laws than are the other arts, he defines his standard in these words: "If someone should ask me, what are the laws of the dance and who will establish them? I would answer that they have already been established — by Aristotle."

II. Nineteenth Century: Carlo Blasis

Blasis, Carlo. *Trattato elementare teorico-pratico sull'arte del ballo,* 89 p., illus. Forli: Bordandini, 1830

Blasis' first work — *Traité élémentaire théorique et pratique de l'art de la danse* — was written in French and published at Milan in 1820. He was then just twenty-five years old, had been dancing professionally for only six years, and had recently come a cropper with his initial venture as choreographer at La Scala. Under the circumstances it wouldn't have been surprising if his book had turned out to be immature and filled with vague romantic ideals. As it happened he produced a treatise full of sound advice and practical technical instruction, presented with authority and considerable erudition. In about a hundred pages the young Blasis had managed to reduce the art of dancing to fixed principles for the first time. Certainly a major achievement, and a fitting curtain-raiser for the many books, essays, and treatises he was yet to write. Here, too, we find the first of the incomparable illustrations, engraved from his own designs, which embellish most of his published works.

The *Traité* had a favorable reception by both press and public and was soon translated into various other languages. Perplexing references to several Italian translations, *without dates,* provide no evidence that any such translation appeared before this version by Pietro Campilli was published at Forli in 1830. If Campilli's was not actually the first Italian translation made, it would seem to be the earliest one that has survived.

Campilli was himself a dancer and is said to have danced with Blasis. Whether he did or not, his rendering of the original text suggests a dog-like respect for the master's word. It is so very faithful that in one place he forgot to allow for the ten-year interval between publication dates, and in another carefully translated Blasis' credit for the plates of the French edition though a different artist was responsible for those in the Italian one The Italian and French editions are very similar in all respects, even to design and format of the books. But the *Traité* bore a dedication to the author's father, and an Index, neither of which appear in the Forli publication.

[Blasis, Carlo] *Lezioni di ballo giusta l'uso delle civili conversazioni,* 132 p., illus. Milano: Giuseppe Crespi, 1830

This is a pretty and elegant little book, intended to help pretty girls and elegant young gentlemen put their best feet forward in the ballroom. It begins with simple instructions for basic steps, positions, and exercises, touches on the *Waltz* and *Gavotte,* and then goes on to describe a variety of steps and figures in the *Contraddanza,* an extremely popular social dance of the time. There are four plates showing the proper positions and attitudes, and a particularly interest-

ing short glossary of dance terms in which Blasis' French vocabulary is compared with the old Italian terms used by Cesare Negri in his *Nuovo invenzione di ballo* (1604).

The book was published by Giuseppe Crespi with an almanac for the year 1831 at the end, and while it bears no author's name on the title-page, the Preface clearly states that the *Lezioni* (Lessons) are taken from Blasis' *Code complet de la danse*, Paris, 1830 (itself an abridgement of Blasis' major work, *The Code of Terpsichore*). Since they obviously *are* taken from the *Code complet* (Part III, "Leçons de danse pour la ville"), and the four plates as well, it is not easy to see why this little book is often described in bibliographies of Blasis' works as a translation from *The Young Lady's Book* (London, 1829). Blasis did indeed contribute two unsigned articles, on music and on dancing, to a "Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises and Pursuits" called *The Young Lady's Book* (London, 1829; Boston, 1830 and 1833; Philadelphia, 1830); but the piece on dancing is quite different from the *Lezioni*. It begins with an historical sketch of dancing and continues with "practical observations and exercises" — how to hold the head, how to curtsey, even how to walk gracefully, but *not* how to do the *Contraddanza*.

[Blasis, Carlo] *Neue vollstandige Tanzschule für die elegante Welt*, 162 p., illus. Ilmenau: Bernh. Fr. Voigt, 1830

This book, like the above mentioned *Lezioni*, was published anonymously, but is described in the new Italian *Enciclopedia dello Spettaccolo* as "compiled from the works of Blasis and others." It is not listed at all in four major sources of information about Blasis' writings, which seems curious in view of the fact that the 61 separate figures reproduced in its six plates are clearly taken from *The Code of Terpsichore*, and that even a cursory glance at the table of contents indicates the text is a rearrangement of material contained in the *Code complet* and more inclusive than the *Lezioni* (see above). The Preface contains historical and general notes while the four remaining sections cover various rules for aspiring students of social and theatrical dancing, a number of popular dances including the *Contre-danse*, nine chapters on the stage dance and fifteen on national dances. The "national dances" keep reappearing in Blasis' books and it always comes as a bit of a shock to discover under that heading one dance called the *chica*, originating in Africa; one called the *angrismena* from Greece; and upwards of twelve characteristic dances from Spain. These and no more, as though the author had forgotten to finish the chapter.

Blasis, Carlo. *Saggi e prospetto del trattato generale di pantomima naturale e di pantomima teatrale fondato sui principi della fisica e della geometria*, 79 p. Milano: Guglielmini e Redaelli, 1841

At the beginning of the section on pantomime in his *Code of Terpsichore* Blasis states that "Pantomime is undoubtedly the very soul and support of the Ballet." This he believed profoundly to the end of his days, ever and again plunging into the subject to fathom its deepest roots, ever and again trying to reduce its assorted components to an exact formula. Judging from his published works, he must have covered reams of paper with synoptical tables cataloguing the body's anatomy, the physical expressions of emotions, the passions, age, temperament, beauty, and imagination of mankind. He sought for clues in the philosophy of the ancients and in the writings of modern poets and scientists. His printed outlines for a projected magnum opus on pantomime are staggering in their detail. Perhaps too staggering, for it seems that the ultimate, definitive *Grande trattato* never materialized. Nevertheless, all that he did write and publish about pantomime is full of interest and offers extraordinarily practical guidance to the study of this art.

The *Saggi e prospetto* of 1841 opens with just such an elaborate "Prospectus" as we have described. This is followed by five essays: on pantomime; on the *beau ideal;* on the poetic expression and philosophy of the ancients; on grace and the "Graces"; and on beauty of posture and movement in exercises, games, dancing, and pantomime.

Blasis, Carlo. *L'Uomo fisico, intellettuale e morale*, in two parts, 329 p., illus. Milano: Guglielmini, 1857

It is said that Blasis himself considered this extraordinary treatise on the nature of man his most important work. Certainly it is a highly original, erudite study — almost encyclopedic in character, covering as it does the whole range of man's physical, spiritual, and emotional being. Into it Blasis seems to have packed the total sum of his tireless researches into the metaphysics

of dramatic expression. It is at once a detailed analysis of basic elements and a synthesis of theories derived from his investigations.

Basing his work on the principles of geometry, physics, and drawing, Blasis uses a variety of graphic devices to render his theses intelligible to the average mentality. A line drawing on the cover shows Prometheus bringing the gift of heavenly fire (inspiration?) to man. The frontispiece indicates the argument of the book. Here a central group of figures representing the Passions is surrounded by figures representing (above) the five senses and (below) Painting, Sculpture, Geometry, Poetry, Philosophy, Physics, Morality, and Metaphysics. The author himself is shown writing on a tablet under the guidance of Philosophy. Last but not least, at the bottom of the plate a young winged boy symbolizes the "spirit" or "genius" of man which presides over and dominates the whole assembly. The main body of the book contains several pages of remarkably expressive "stick figures" and symbols in addition to finished drawings illustrating movements of the body and the physical expressions of different states of mind.

Blasis must have had a very high opinion of the average mentality if he thought it could easily grasp the underlying purport of this compendious collection of facts and ideas — even with the aid of his admirable charts and illustrations. It would seem reasonable to suppose that he meant to bring the full weight of his accumulated knowledge to bear on his favorite themes of acting, dancing, choreography, and pantomime. But it would require weeks of careful study to verify this. The literary critics faced with reviewing the book on its publication contented themselves with praising the author's erudition, profundity, clarity of style, and — brevity! In truth they may well have had to give up trying to follow Blasis' train of thought at all, since in the first edition (1857) there are two plates and several whole chapters missing, and it was eleven years before the second, and apparently last, edition appeared, complete and properly bound. Except for the restoration of lost pages and the inclusion of a portrait of Blasis facing the title page, the two editions are practically identical. One other distinction, however, is the "Professore Cavaliere" which precedes the author's name in 1868.

Berri, Giovanni. *Cenni biografici di Carlo de Blasis*, 46 p. Milano: Giovanni Gernia, 1871

These biographical notes were extracted from a sort of Italian "Who's Who" called the *Libro d'oro dei nostri tempi*, and published in pamphlet form as a special tribute to Blasis on his 76th birthday (November 4, 1771). Not only is the pamphlet extremely rare, but even the *Libro d'oro* seems to be practically unknown. Its editor, Giovanni Gernia, introduces the little biography with a flattering address to its subject, followed by a formal dedication to the Italian poet Giulio Uberti who was a great admirer of Blasis. The frontispiece is an engraving by Mantovani of a sculptured bust of Blasis (by Thierry) which his devoted pupils at the Academy had presented to him in 1838. The notes themselves were compiled by Prof. Giovanni Berri who is identified only as "a brilliant young man of letters." In addition to his biographical data, Berri includes a eulogistic Latin poem by Dario de Rossi (together with a translation into Italian by P. A. Curti) and a complimentary letter to Blasis from Victor Hugo, then in exile on the island of Guernsey.

Like most of the writings about Blasis, these notes are as full of praise as of facts, and fuller of pedestrian facts than of telling impressions. Blasis the man never quite emerges from his wrappings of fulsome prose. A few points, however, which were not made in our introduction, may profitably be quoted here.

The Blasis family claimed an ancient and noble lineage, dropping the "de" for political reasons at the time they left Italy to live in the south of France (first at Marseilles and then at Bordeaux). In 1832 Blasis married Annunziata Ramaccini, an accomplished mime and dancer with whom he danced at various theatres in Italy and who was elected jointly with her famous husband to the directorship of the Imperial Academy at Milan in 1837. They had one child, a daughter named Luisa who forsook the ballet for marriage. At some point before 1837 Blasis suffered an injury to his left leg which cut short his career as a dancer but spurred him to further choreographic efforts. During his years in charge of the Academy he made several trips to London where he produced a number of ballets at Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and St. James' theatre. In 1857–58 he was in Lisbon as guest choreographer at the Teatro di San Carlo, and in 1861 was invited to Moscow as ballet-master of the Imperial Theatre School. A few years later he retired to a small villa on the shores of Lake Como where he died of a stroke in 1878.

Blasis deserves better treatment at the hands of biographers and publishers than he ever received in his lifetime. Adulation bordering on hysteria produced such a mass of confused and contradictory information about him that one hesitates to make the simplest statement without

a qualification. It would be almost impossible to recreate a character of flesh and blood out of the available evidence.

III. Nineteenth Century: History, Theory, Technique

Papillon, M. *Examen impartial sur la danse actuelle de l'Opéra en forme de lettre,* 15 p. Paris: l'Imprimerie expéditive, n.d. [1804?]

All we know about M. Papillon is the little he tells us of himself: that he was a "Professor of dancing" at Versailles, a devoted friend and admirer of Pierre Gardel (the great dancer and disciple of Noverre who succeeded his master at the Opéra), and that he had been asked to "cover" the French Opera ballet since the Revolution for a comprehensive report on the general state of the arts and sciences at this period. For some reason publication of the report was delayed, and Papillon's short essay appeared in a little pamphlet by itself.

At the very outset he blasts the accepted theory, insisted upon by Noverre himself, that Noverre was the inventor of the *ballet d'action.* While giving the Frenchman full credit for his remarkable achievement in lifting the Opera ballet out of the doldrums, Papillon points out that the glorious day of a revitalized theatrical ballet had already dawned in Germany and Italy, where the Viennese master Hilverding and the Italian Angiolini had been producing dramatic ballets since 1740. In a footnote he marvels that Noverre, who must have known the work of his celebrated contemporaries, never mentions them.

After deploring the fact that the *ballet d'action* was already languishing at the Paris Opéra, he breaks into a rhapsody on the company itself. He describes the individual characteristics of its many brilliant dancers and lauds the splendid training offered by its school. Full honors are accorded the ballet-master, his friend Gardel. Then, gently but firmly, he takes Gardel to task for overlooking the dangers inherent in the prevailing mania for *pirouettes,* and his comments on this problem include some shrewd observations. Briefly, he points out that the Revolution created a new type of audience, unfamiliar with the traditional elegance of ballet and only able to appreciate flamboyant virtuosity. Nothing is flashier, he continues, than the multiple turns of a neatly executed *pirouette,* and so the audience roars its approval and the dancers quite understandably succumb to the applause. Voila! The disease is upon us. Going a step further, Papillon is saddened to see the *pirouette* bacillus infecting the ballroom, where ordinary decent people are abandoning the simple and charming social dances in their eagerness to imitate the glamorous performers of the stage. This, he says, is of course ridiculous, but may it not be a hopeful sign? May not the public, through indulging its avid interest in the dance, come to experience a renaissance of taste?

Costa, Giacomo. *Saggio analitico-pratico intorno all'arte della danza, per uso di civile conversazione,* 342 p., music, illus. Torino: Mancio, Speirani e Compagnia, 1831

This book seems to be almost unknown, which is rather surprising in view of the fact that it is an exceptionally lucid and detailed manual of dance technique. Although addressed to amateurs, it was written at a time when formal social dances had still so much in common with theatrical ballet it could easily have been used as a handbook by professional dancers as well. (The late ballerina Cia Fornaroli did, in fact, esteem it highly for its clarity and precision.) Perhaps, being the work of an obscure dancing-master, the book was overshadowed by the more dazzling light of Carlo Blasis.

The book is divided into four parts (originally published separately), each followed by four folded plates in which the steps and positions described are further clarified by simple, clean-cut drawings. As drawings these do not compare with Blasis' polished and more decorative illustrations. But as "do-it-yourself" diagrams they are extremely good. Costa begins at the beginning — with the anatomy, equilibrium, and posture of the body. Next he offers the student some general principles and advice in which he emphasizes the necessity for *will, tenacity,* and *memory.* From here he progresses by easy stages through the fundamental positions and exercises to a vocabulary of steps that might well daunt even a jitterbug today. The lessons end with eight figures of the ubiquitous *Contredanse* plus a few special combinations of steps, each with a corresponding fragment of music, designed to teach the pupil to dance in accordance with the musical phrase and beat.

Nadler, Franz Xavier. *Kallischematik, oder Anleitung zu einem edlen Anstande,* 171 p., illus. München: George Jaquet, 1834

From his exalted position as Royal Court Dancer in Munich Herr Nadler gazed with compassion at a middle-class society that yearned to acquire the easy manners and graceful bearing of the *haute monde.* "How can they learn polite behavior" he mused, "without instruction? And if they cannot afford a fashionable teacher, what then?" And so he set himself to rescue them from their plight by devising a "method for obtaining beauty" which he explains in great detail in this book. Solemnly and a bit ponderously he unfolds the mysteries of deportment, only arriving at the advanced business of dancing when the pupil has presumably learned how to walk into the ballroom without bumping into anything or falling down. Pages are devoted to the mechanics of putting on and taking off the hat — four pages for the *tricorne* and as many for the ordinary "round hat." Whole chapters concern the *reverence* (for which there still doesn't seem to be an adequate English word). Finally, the tenacious bourgeois who has read through to page 148 is introduced to the *Minuet,* the French *Contredanse,* the *Waltz,* and a few other correct dances of the period.

The author is not writing down to his readers; he is rather trying to help them over the hump of social embarrassment. And being himself a dancer, he knows that the assurance of physical grace has a lot to do with inner poise. This is clear from his introductory remarks in which he states that his system of education should be useful to young priests who will one day have to perform their elaborate rites in front of an audience.

The book is dedicated to the Dowager Queen of Bavaria and has 32 delightful plates exactly illustrating the descriptions of proper gestures and positions.

Anonymous. *Le illusioni della scena, o vero le danze ai tempi antichi e moderni,* 158 p., illus. Milano: P. e G. Vallardi, n.d. [1855?]

It is to be hoped that this charming little gilt-bound history of the dance found favor in the eyes of its original owner, for it was given him by a devoted wife who surely wanted to please him. Her inscription on the flyleaf (translated) reads: "Adored Edavario (?), my husband . . . my idol, my faith, my happiness, my heart, my all." It would have been a pity to attach such rare tenderness to a commonplace gift; but she was too wise for that.

Published anonymously and without a date, *Le illusioni della scena* must have appeared just about in the middle of the last century. With the Romantic Ballet in full flower at this time, the dance public was so absorbed in the careers and personalities of contemporary ballerinas that no one was bothering much about the past history which had led up to their glittering present. No one, that is, but our author — who chose this moment to rehearse the very origins of dancing, to discuss its ancient forms and significance, and to trace its progress from the Greek *Hormos* to the French "Giselle." Miraculously he condensed this long account into 154 small pages which, though lacking a detailed chronology of names and dates, yet give a very fair picture. The book contains nine plates, the first an engraving which shows the interior of an opera house with a ballet in progress. The others reproduce drawings of female dancers, four of them free copies of dancing Bacchantes from a Pompeiian fresco. The remaining four, of ballerinas dancing the *Tarentella,* the *Bolero,* the *Minuet,* and in the role of "Giselle," look as though they might have been copied from contemporary prints but we have not been able to identify them. The final chapter, which describes the characteristic talents of Taglioni, Cerrito, and Fanny Elssler, also includes a complimentary paragraph on the Philadelphia-born American ballerina, Augusta Maywood, who had recently created a sensation in "The Fairies' Lake" at the Teatro della Canobbiana in Milan (1849). Commenting on Maywood's extraordinary strength and energy the author declares she makes so light of hard work that when the rest of the company is completely exhausted at the end of a performance she is as brilliant and vivacious as ever. Like Gautier he finds her lightness and agility both pleasing and astounding and he ends by recommending "the school of this valuable foreigner" to anyone who wishes to become a perfect dancer. Maywood's "school" was the studio of M. and Mme. Paul Hazard in Philadelphia, which she left at the age of fifteen to make her debut at the Paris Opéra.

Manieri-Elia, Sigismondo. *La danse, ouvrage unique en son genre,* 86 p. Lecce: Giuseppe Spacciante, 1878

Lecce, where this book was printed, is a provincial capital lying just south of Brindisi in the "heel" of Italy. Its population was 35,000 in 1906 and probably not much different in 1878. But do not assume from this information that it was a "Hicksville." One look at Prof. Manieri-

Elia's little manual for the Leccian hostess planning a ball will instantly dispel any such notion. For the author addresses himself to owners of palaces and princely mansions who have at least ten rooms at their disposal for festive evening parties, and the actual organization of his *"Bal comme il faut"* could hardly have been more formidable in the Faubourgs of Paris. To begin with, there is the matter of the orchestra, which must include a flute, two violins, a contra-bass, a cello, and a piano. Then the careful choice of guests, who must *not* include any but the elite. Then the Director, upon whom falls the real responsibility for the party's success; and his qualifications should easily earn him a high diplomatic post as well as any number of honorary degrees from ranking universities. Having arranged the personnel, the hostess has next to prepare her ten rooms: cloak-room, reception-room, smoking-room, ball-room, etc., to say nothing of a room in which non-dancing guests can read the papers. The order of dances is posted for all to see and goes like this: a *Valse* and a *Quadrille* (followed by refreshments); a *Polka* and a *Mazurka* (more refreshments); a *Valse* and the *Lancers* (sweetmeats, etc.); a *Polka* and a *Quadrille*, after which everyone goes in to supper. Following supper another *Mazurka* and a *Valse* (ices and liqueurs), the *Lancers* and a *Polka*, and the gentlemen again escort their partners to the buffet. One wonders how anybody had strength left for a *Cotillon*, but this seems to have been the traditional *danse finale*.

In the first eight pages of his guide-book, Prof. Manieri-Elia fills in the above sketchy outline with illuminating details written with evident relish for the brilliant scene he is helping to construct. Here we have one of those delectable glimpses of another age which heighten our interest in the dances that enlivened its society. The steps and figures of three of these — the *Cotillon*, the *Lancers*, and the *Quadrille* are explicitly described in the main body of the work, with set speeches thoughtfully included for the Director.

The book itself is extremely rare and something of a puzzle. Although ours is a first edition, the inside cover bears a notice to the effect that any copy of the book which lacks the author's signature and seal is counterfeit and the "counterfeiters" will be prosecuted by law. The required signature and seal guarantee the authenticity of this copy, but why was such a precaution necessary? Who could have been trying to steal the Professor's thunder? And who, actually, *was* the Professor? He is described on the cover as Professor of French (which explains why he writes in this language) and a member of several learned societies in France. But his name does not appear to be listed in any readily available reference source. Where did he come from and what was he doing in Lecce where, he says, he had been living in the best society for several years at the time of writing? He was presumably not just a dancing-master, for these gentlemen invariably announce their profession with pride. Perhaps he was one of the august "Directors" whom he describes so feelingly. Perhaps he gave French lessons to the children of "the best society." Perhaps a clue is to be found in the spidery autograph on the front cover which adds further importance to our copy, for this reads, "Hommage et Souvenir de l'auteur a M. le Prof. Pascal [?] D'Elia." Two "Elias" may prove easier to track down than one!

IV. Personalities, Tributes

Anonymous. *A Madamigella Cecilia Castellini, canzon d'applauso,* 17 p. Como, 1778

Apart from works on history, theory, and technique, dance literature embraces another form of writing — a kind of public serenade in honor of a favorite dancer. Such hymns of praise were frequently written in verse and frequently published anonymously, as was this tribute to Cecilia Castellini. If they seldom rise to the heights of great poetry, they often contain allusions which are of interest to the dance historian. In this instance, the beautiful Castellini having recently appeared in several of Noverre's ballets at Milan, the author seizes the opportunity to voice his objection to the master's "heavy themes," stating that he would prefer to see Cecilia dance for the sheer joy of dancing. In another place he speaks of her "flexible points" (the ballet term for the extreme tip of the toe is *pointe*), which suggests that possibly "toe-dancing" was not unknown even so early as 1778. While the old theory that Taglioni was the first ballerina to dance on *pointes* has long been disproved, there is still no conclusive evidence as to when this characteristic ballet position was first introduced, or by whom.

Anonymous. *La tersicore Milanese,* 132 p., illus. Milano: P. e G. Vallardi, 1822

Printed almanacs, often containing dire prognostications according to the laws of astrology, began to appear in Europe during the fifteenth century and were highly popular. By the nine-

teenth century their numbers were legion, though for the most part they had abandoned occult prophecy for more practical information such as monetary rates of exchange, time-tables, etc. In addition to useful facts, many publishers sought to attract customers by including poems, stories, and articles of current interest. *La tersicore Milanese* is a little pocket almanac of this type, two-thirds of its pages being devoted to miscellaneous facts and literary fancies, while the opening section introduces a group of young Milanese dancers much as a Californian almanac today might feature a group of Hollywood starlets. Of the nine dancers described, all of whom were promising students at the ballet academy of La Scala, two at least — Clara Rebaudengo and Teresa Olivieri Bertini — justified their advance publicity by becoming famous ballerinas. Bertini also became the mistress of the Military Governor of Venice and during the revolution of 1848 enjoyed the uneasy status of a Lola Montez. The fates of the seven other little *Milanese* might be revealed by a careful search through old Italian ballet programs, but none of them attained real eminence. In the almanac for 1822, however, they were all stars. Each is honored with a flattering tribute in verse and a hand-colored engraved portrait (except for Maria Lampuzzi, who must have missed her appointment with the artist since she has only a poem). The illustrations are completely charming, with their fresh bright color and the appealing girlishness of their subjects.

Prati, Giovanni. *A Fanny Elssler,* 24 p. Venezia: Naratovich, 1846

Fanny Elssler's fame is synonymous with all the extravagant behavior of the romantic age. From Cuba to St. Petersburg audiences went wild when the brilliant Viennese ballerina danced the *Cachuca,* the *Cracovienne,* or the *Mazurka.* Hysterical admirers drank wine from her slippers, unharnessed her horses and pulled her carriage through the streets, showered her with gifts. When she came to America in 1840 President Van Buren and his Cabinet received her in formal audience. At Oxford, in 1843, she was honored with the unique degree of Doctor of Choreographic Art. Vivid and intensely earthy in her dancing, she was the exact opposite of her life-long rival, the fragile, ethereal Marie Taglioni. But like Taglioni she inspired serious writers as well as love-sick amateurs to sing her praise.

Elssler was dancing at La Scala in Milan when the noted Italian poet Giovanni Prati composed this long tribute to her. An ardent patriot and a facile writer, Prati had won immediate fame with his first published work in 1841. His verse has been described as "markedly musical and varied, its content noble, patriotic and human." Exiled by the Austrians after the revolution of 1848, he went to Turin where he became court historian.

[Uberti, Giulio?] *A Fanny Elssler (Febbraio 1847),* 14 p. [Milano, 1847?]

In 1846–1847, when Elssler was appearing in Milan, her popularity was so great that nothing short of a national catastrophe could have shaken it. Unfortunately a major political upheaval was brewing, and the warning rumble of Italy's protest against Austrian rule could already be heard. Fervid patriots lashed the public into a fury of anti-Austrian feeling and the adored Fanny, Vienna's proudest boast, fell a victim to their rage. Not even her wonderful dancing could atone for her wretched birth. By 1848 she had become a sort of symbol of Austrian tyrrany and was obliged to give up her contract at La Scala and to relinquish the role she had recently created in Perrot's "Faust" to the American ballerina, Augusta Maywood.

No doubt Elssler's downfall in Milan was hastened by such propagandist efforts as this hostile poem which was published anonymously and circulated widely in the spring of 1847. Written just a year after Prati's encomium (see above), it shows what sinister influences political bias can excite, even in the non-partisan world of makebelieve. (We have, alas, seen similar examples in our own country and in our own time.) In a few short months Prati's "spirit of life," his "angel of the dance," had become a scheming vampire, seducing the hearts of men for the sake of their gold, callously flaunting her charms and graces without a thought for the sufferings of Italy. With mounting bitterness the poet brands all who applaud her as murderers and even suggests that a glass of Borgia wine for their idol might be in order. Although this stinging outburst is unsigned, Mr. Toscanini believes that it may have been the work of the poet Giulio Uberti, a violent patriot who took part in the famous "Five Days" of Milan in 1848.

Happily for Elssler, her departure from Milan was followed by repeated triumphs in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and in Vienna where she danced her farewell performance ("Faust") in 1851. Still young (only forty-one) and beautiful, with a considerable fortune as proof of her long success, she married a German banker and lived in retirement until her death at the age of seventy-four.

George Meredith:

Early Manuscript Poems in the Berg Collection

By PHYLLIS BARTLETT
Queens College

MAURICE BUXTON FORMAN in his *Bibliography* of George Meredith quoted from J. H. Slater's *Book-Prices Current* a description of a copy of Meredith's *Poems*, 1851, from Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's Sale Catalogue of 17–21 March 1902. This copy of Meredith's first book is interleaved with manuscript material and is now in the Berg Collection at The New York Public Library.[1] It bears the pencilled inscription on the fly leaf:

The Gift of the Author.
Copsham Cottage.
Esher.

The hand is unknown but the Sale Catalogue assures us that the handwriting is that "of the father of the owner of this volume, and the father and Mr. Meredith were most intimate in their youth." [2]

Leaves of a good quality bluish grey paper have been interleaved in the printed volume. This paper appears to be from the same stock as the two folio sheets used for the copy of *Creed*, a very early poem of Meredith in the Altschul Collection at Yale.[3] It has neither chain lines nor watermarks. A few of these leaves have been torn out, but there remain 91 of which 47 have been used in whole or in part. The greatest concentration of blank leaves is towards the end of the volume. The leaves are cut to the exact size of the printed leaves ($6^{11}/_{16}$ x $4\frac{1}{4}$) and make the volume twice as thick as the original book. It is bound differently from other copies in a plain green binding, not stamped, and the spine reads MEREDITH'S POEMS instead of POEMS BY GEORGE MEREDITH. Meredith had had John W. Parker print

[1] I am indebted to the authorities of the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of The New York Public Library for permission to describe and to quote from Meredith's interleavings in this copy of his *Poems*, 1851; and to D. C. Benson & Campbell Thomson Ltd., in behalf of the Meredith Estate Trustees, for permission to quote from Meredith's manuscript poems.

[2] *A Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of George Meredith* (Edinburgh, 1922) 10.

[3] I am indebted to the authorities of the Yale University Library for permission to examine Meredith's manuscripts in the possession of Yale University.

500 copies of his *Poems* and bind 100 at his own expense. It is my conjecture that when the binding was in process he had asked James Vizetelly, the printer, to interleave this one copy for his own use. Dr. John D. Gordan, Curator of the Berg Collection, has compared the green cloth of this interleaved Copy 7 with the cloth of the regular binding and thinks it might well be the same. On May 26, 1851, Meredith had in hand a copy or copies of his book and found in it mistakes "of which both the MS. and proofs were utterly guiltless" (*Bibliography*, p. 8). If Vizetelly had made up this special copy for him, late May, then, would have been the first opportunity he had to use the fresh leaves. If he had had it made up on his own, it would seem that it must have been soon thereafter because it was used for a fair copy of *Queen Zuleima* in a version that is much longer than the one that appeared in *Household Words* on November 1, 1851. (See below, p. 404.)

Meredith's motive in having a copy of his *Poems* interleaved seems obvious. He must have been contemplating the preparation of a second, enlarged edition, and it seems quite possible that he had this idea in the first flush of excitement over his first volume, before he saw any reviews or experienced the bitterness of its poor sales. Final word of his reprinting any of these *Poems* was said in a letter to the Reverend Augustus Jessupp *àpropos* of the *Modern Love* volume, March 24, 1862: "Of the old volume nothing will appear." Because of various evidence presented in this paper I believe that the project of an enlarged edition of the *Poems* had been given up well before that date. In the autumn of 1864, after his second marriage, he broke up house-keeping at Copsham Cottage, which sets the latest date that this interleaved copy could have been given to a friend there.

The handwriting in all of these copies is very early. In the terminology of Meredith scholarship that means that it is the handwriting of his twenties. Within that decade it would be hazardous to try to distinguish year from year, but one observation may be made. Some of the poems are written in an extremely precise copy-book hand, with an effort to avoid running the pen on from one word to another as was his natural tendency. The only other manuscript of Meredith I have seen that is written in this over-precise copy-book hand is the early poem *Creed*. Among the letters the nearest approximation to it is the first known letter to John W. Parker, December 12, 1850, about the projected volume of *Poems*. Other of the poems are written in a hand that, although exceedingly neat, is bolder and more comparable to the other extant letters of the period.

The small group of poems written to Janet Duff-Gordon in 1859 are neat but far from "copy-book" in appearance and by then he had taken to his familiar blue ink. It was the bright blue ink that he favored not only in his Copsham, Esher, days but much later in life. It does not appear in the manuscripts inserted in the copy of *Poems* here discussed although it would have showed up well on the bluish grey paper.

In the following two sections of this paper the contents of these manuscripts will first be listed, then described and annotated.

IN this copy of the *Poems* Meredith's hand first appears on the half-title page with ten lines of nonsense verse that say, in effect, that the simple title "Poems" might just as well be disposed of:

> Nor would the book be read/less,
> If I should make it headless.

These verses are in the identical hand with the last entry in the volume, so they may very well be the poet's farewell to this whole undertaking. He has not found an audience for his first poems and they will not be reprinted.

Between p. [viii] and p. [1] of the text is inserted the first leaf of blue-grey paper which is used on both sides for a Table of Contents of the poems that Meredith contemplated adding to his *Poems* of 1851. It obviously was written at different times, and the order of the entries has nothing to do with the order of the inserted manuscript poems. Neither is there any way of telling where Meredith would have placed his new poems if he had had occasion to use them because the leaves are inserted quite at random throughout the volume, often in the middle of the printed poems, and they vary in number from 1 to 5. As will be seen by the following analysis of the manuscript Table of Contents there are many poems noted in it that are not copied in these inserted leaves. Nor have most of them been traced elsewhere. But, since all the poems and even fragments and titles that do appear in these leaves are fair copies, although with many corrections, I am inclined to believe that the other poems did exist and that Meredith did not write them in either because his tastes had changed before he was through with the enterprise or because he found these little leaves unhandy. The first suggestion is the more probable.

In the following Table of Contents, numbers to the left of the page refer to the Notes that follow and make up the main body of this paper.

The Notes are numbered according to the order of the entries in the volume. At the right of the page it is indicated where the various entries can be found.

Meredith's Table of Contents

Note		Between Printed Pages
41.	Song: "Tho our old world is doom'd in space"	130–131
	The battle of Llongborth	Not copied
21.	"Full of thy glory am I."	[50]–[51]
27.	"The quick bird sings and pierces me"	[74]–[75]
9.	Queen Zuleima	20–21
	Cassandra	Not copied
1.	Song. "The sweet o' the year"	4–5
4.	Atlas.	10–11
6.	"She can be as wise as we"	[16]–17
30.	Song. "The wren."	100–[101]
16.	"Thy truth to me is truer"	[38]–39 Fragment
14.	Monmouth	34–[35]
17.	Marian	42–43
2.	Josepha	6–7
15.	Song "I would be the fleet brown deer"	[38]–39
	"Like a blind child is the loving heart"	Not copied
38.	Song. "As I came thro' the breezy wheat	[118]–[119]
	Margaret	Not-copied
29.	"My chosen wife shall bless the plough"	[84]–85
8.	Song. "My darling's love shall close me up"	18–19
10.	May-song.	[22]–[23]
28.	We lean'd beneath the purple vine. Rhineland.	80–81
3.	Shemselníhar	6–7
36.	Cleopatra.	110–[111] Fragment
11.	To the merry men of France.	[24]–[25]
19.	Autumn Evening.	[48]–[49]
18, 24.	Song. "Who says, she is in danger?"	46–47 and 60–61
23.	The Three Eagle's & the Sleepy Lion	52–53
33.	Richard Lionheart	[106]–107
	A Woman	Not copied
	The Tears of Enid, bride of Geraint.	Not copied
35.	Song. "Twelve arrows and a bow and spear"	[108]–[109]
	Song. "Into the pits [?] of hell we hurl'd"	Not copied
	Sir Gawaine's Bridal	Not copied
	Funeral	
	Ode on the Death of Arthur, Duke of Wellington.	Not copied
	Melanghel.	Not copied

Meredith's Table of Contents, continued

Note		Between Printed Pages
37.	Dirge.	114–115 Fragment
	Josephine.	Not copied
	The Odds. Song.	32–33 Title only
	Rhiannan	Not copied
	Rosanara	Not copied
	Nourmahal	Not copied
	Olivia	Not copied
	Sappho:	Not copied
	Song:	?
	Juana [?]	Not copied
	Olympia.	Not copied
	Ethel & Arthur.	Not copied
	Yseult: ____ ____ ____ ____	Not copied
7.	Song "Might I lie where leans her lute	[16]–17

Poems, fragments, and titles that do not appear in Meredith's list

Note		Between Printed Pages
	Come hither, come hither, my little foot-page	Top of [1], One line only
5.	Song: O they canna do without it	10–11
12.	Love they alone the joyful heart	[26]–27
13.	Song: Over the ferry, and over the ferry,	[26]–27
20.	Song: Pass we to another land:	[48]–[49]
22.	Song: When on my faithful charger	[50]–[51]
25.	Song: God bless the little Island!	62–63 Fragment
26.	Song: O the wind, the wind, the wind doth blow,	68–69
	Song: Between us, Ireland! they shall put	76–77 First line only
31.	She had a secret — bonny Bess!	102–103 Fragment
32.	Two stanzas for *Love in the Valley*	104–105
34.	Song: "Forever"	[106]–107
	Tombelène	[112]–[113] Title only
39.	Song: What we would be; what we are:	120–121
40.	Song: In the days when we are gone,	[122]–123

Nine of the poems copied into this volume were published, as indicated in the following Notes. A few of the titles in Meredith's list that name poems not copied here can be commented on. *Cassandra* is referred to in Meredith's letter to Parker, December 12, 1850, as the best of his work not yet ready to be sent for the "projected volume" of *Poems,* 1851. It was not finished in time for that volume, but appeared with *Modern Love* in 1862. *Margaret* very likely was *Margaret's Bridal Eve,* also included in the volume of 1862.

Sir Gawaine's Bridal would have been an early title for the poem that appeared as *The Song of Courtesy* in *Once a Week*, July 9, 1859. *Ode on the Funeral Death of Arthur, Duke of Wellington*, with its optional use of the word "Funeral," would have had to be written soon after November 18, 1852, in order to be topical. Although Wellington had died on September 14, 1852, he was not buried until November 18th, since the Queen waited for the convening of Parliament to gain consent for a state ceremony and burial in St. Paul's. *The Odds. Song* might very well have been about the possibility of an invasion by Napoleon III (Note 23). *Punch*, February 19, 1853, carried as its full-page cartoon a busy scene in a "Peace Society Betting Office," with the caption: "The Invasion Stakes — Laying the Odds."

THE many changes in punctuation made in those poems that were printed are not here noted, though they should be a matter of concern for a future editor of Meredith's poetry. Instead of using the word "unpublished" for the predominant number of poems that we do not know to have been printed, I am using the word "uncollected," on the chance that some of them may turn up as anonymous pieces in periodicals. The following descriptions should make them identifiable.

1. *Song: The sweet o' the Year.* — *Fraser's Magazine*, June, 1852; Memorial Edition,[4] XXIV, 126

MS: 9 stanzas; *Fraser's:* 8 stanzas. Waiving details of capitalization and punctuation, which may have been editorial, the MS copy is nearly final. There were only 4 verbal changes when the poem appeared in *Fraser's*. The 5th stanza of the MS version was omitted:

Now the serpent casts his Skin
thro' the grasses wan.
Gliding [like a stealthy dawn; *del.*]
Now the cygnet brown and thin,
Changes to the snowy swan:
Whiter than the foaming wier,
Swims she in the sweet o' the year.

This stanza seems up to the level of the rest of the poem. It might have been cut out by John W. Parker, the publisher of *Fraser's* as well as of Meredith's *Poems*, 1851, since the eight stanzas exactly fit a page.

Between publication in *Fraser's* and the Edition de Luxe (1898), on which the "definitive" Memorial Edition is based, there is one change of phrase: MS and *Fraser's*, st.1.4 crawl and creep; Memorial, stretch and leap.

[4] *The Works of George Meredith*, Memorial Edition (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909–12). In the interest of availability and conformity, the American Memorial Edition is cited throughout this paper.

2. *Josepha.* Uncollected

A ballad of 48 stanzas. It is set in the California Gold Rush and tells the story of the lynching of a pregnant young woman who has killed a man and admits it. The action starts after the killing, and, in true ballad fashion, there is no motivation given for the crime. One stanza serves to remind us that during the Gold Rush all crimes were blamed on "Mexicans." An orator who acts as jury and judge says:

"Or shall this Mexican brood have leave
"At once to kiss and kill?"
His practised eyes hereat perceive
A yet more wrathful thrill.

In the year 1852 such murders and lynchings were in the news. There is, for instance, a horrible picture in a summer issue of *Punch* of men with animal-like faces panning a stream, a murder being committed, and a rope hanging ready from a tree.

3. *Shemselnihar.* *Modern Love, and Poems of the English Roadside, with Poems and Ballads,* 1862
Memorial Edition, XXIV, 250

MS: 10 stanzas; 1862: 7 stanzas. Stanzas 1, 6, and 8 of the MS version were omitted in 1862. The remaining 7 stanzas are so extensively rewritten that an account of them is scarcely appropriate to this article, but the MS version should take its place in an *apparatus criticus* of the poems. Just as a small example of the way Meredith rifled his MS poem for his final version: he evidently liked the image of the dust of lilies in the discarded first stanza, "Let me die and be dust as the pale lilies are," because it is used in the rewriting of two lines in the new second stanza.

Yes, I shrivelled to dust from him, haggard and dry.
O forgive her: — she was but as dead lilies are:

When the poem was reprinted in the Edition de Luxe, in addition to three changes in punctuation, there were two verbal revisions.

The fatal love story of the beautiful and favored concubine of the caliph, Haroun Alrashid, is the subject of the story "Commencing with the hundred and fifty-third night, and ending with the hundred and sixty-ninth" in the *Arabian Nights.* Her love was Ali the Son of Becar, and in Meredith's poem she sings to him even more voluptuously than she did in their original story. When word came to the caliph of her infidelity he refused to believe it and treasured her faithfully. Both lovers died of their frustrated passion.

The poem is more sensuous than those written for *The Shaving of Shagpat,* but was probably inspired by the same rereading of the *Arabian Nights* that fathered that fantasy. This would have been at the time of his early friendship with Lady Duff-Cooper whose daughter credited her mother with waking Meredith's interest in the *Arabian Nights,*[5] actually a boyhood favorite of his. The date of the composition of *Shemselnihar* may then reasonably be conjectured as between 1851 and 1854.

[5] Janet Ross, *The Fourth Generation* (New York, 1912) 20.

4. *Atlas.* Uncollected

Three quatrains of light verse on a young man, "Jack," who is being congratulated on having reached his majority. In the 3rd,

> Jack elate, feels not the weight
> So huge to all beholders!
> Bend thy back, my honest Jack!
> For the world is on thy shoulders,

Meredith uses a "beholders-shoulders" rhyme that he also used in the nonsense verses on the half-title page of this volume and in the published poem *The Head of Bran*, st.1.

5. *Song: "O they canna do without it"* Uncollected

A 12-line song. The unstated antecedent of "it" is love or sex.

6. *Song: "She can be as wise as we,"* *Marian* in *Modern Love*, 1862 Memorial Edition, XXIV, 248

MS: 4 stanzas; 1862: 3 stanzas. The 1st and 3rd stanzas of the MS appear without verbal changes as st.1 and 2 of *Marian*. The 2nd stanza of the MS has been omitted:

> Such a she who'll match with me
> Throughout the little island:
> When in green she walks between
> The barley & the rye land?
> Match her for her woman's worth,
> And its blushing leaven:
> Match her as a thing of Earth,
> And a Saint of Heaven.

The 1st line of this cancelled stanza was used as an opening for a rewritten last stanza.

There are two interesting revisions. The 4th line in the MS has been revised at a later time: "she" can knit cleverly

> And dress [her husband's *del.*] the homely dishes.

But in spite of this revision the "she" of the Song is still a married woman because in the last stanza she is said to be: "stedfast as a star; / Wayward as a maiden." But when she appears as *Marian*, although she is still "steadfast as a star," she is "yet the maddest maiden." This early draft supports René Galland's belief that the poem *Marian* depicts Mary Nicolls (at the time of writing, Mary Meredith), and it is interesting that before Meredith published the poem he attempted to obscure the identification by changing his subject from a wife to a maiden. In giving her the name "Marian," he may have wished the reader to associate the poem, as Galland did, with Peacock's Maid Marian who was "gentle as a ring-dove, yet high-soaring as a falcon." [6]

[6] *George Meredith, Les Cinquantes Premières Années, 1828–1878* (Paris, 1923) 52. Siegfried Sassoon cites *Marian* as an outline of Mary's qualities, *Meredith* (New York, 1948) 20. Jack Lindsay follows suit, *George Meredith, His Life and Work* (London, 1956) 35.

7. *Song: "Might I lie where leans her lute,"* Uncollected

A 10-line lyric, cancelled with a line going through it, and the explanation added at the end: "See R.F."

In Ch. xxv of *Richard Feverel* Adrian is making fun of the verses Richard has been writing: "It shall be admitted that you create the very beauties for a chaste people.

'O might I lie where leans her lute!'

and offend no moral community." (Memorial Edition, II, 223)

Conjectural date for Meredith's condemnation of this song, 1857–1858.

8. *Song: "My darling's love shall close me up"* Uncollected

A sentimental 8-line song.

9. *Queen Zuleima.* Published anonymously in *Household Words,* Nov. 1, 1851
Collected in *Twenty Poems by George Meredith,* London, 1909. Privately printed, 25 copies

MS: 150 lines; *Twenty Poems:* 68 lines. In this poem a lonely, dethroned Queen is reading the hand of a young man, foretelling his future, and recounting her own story. Her son had been snatched from her when a baby, and the young man of course proves to be he.

The *Twenty Poems* from *Household Words* were uncovered by B. W. Matz in 1907 (Forman, *Bibliography,* p. 145) from the "entries in the office record of the contributors . . ." (*Twenty Poems,* p. v). The poem is so obviously improved by abridgement there can be no critical doubt that the MS version is the earlier. Both versions end with the Queen's lament for the institution of monarchy:

Joy, joy! but weep that there should be
So proud a thing as majesty.

I fear it, now it is re-won;
We will arise and go, my son!

10. *May Song.* Uncollected

Three 8-line stanzas, beginning:

Come, merry May, on this first day
That gives thee to us yearly:

11. *To the Merry Men of France.* Uncollected

An unfinished ditty of 14 lines. The first stanza beginning,

Cross not cross not, merry men of France,
The sea between us flowing:

ends with a refrain about how they'll get sea-sick, "Sick of the Expedition!" The second stanza should have ended with the same refrain, but in making this

fair copy Meredith apparently was displeased with what should have been lines 5–8 and stopped copying. The poem is probably to be associated with an invasion scare (see Note.23).

> Try not, tempt not, South, or East, or West,
> The wrath of the island nation:
> For it's just a whim of hers that she'll not receive a guest
> But at her invitation. (St.2.1–4)

12. *"Love they alone the joyful heart"* Uncollected

An untitled lyric of 3 quatrains that is out of tune with Meredith's usual attitude toward nature. It begins:

> Love they alone the joyful heart
> The night wind & the leaf? —
> That when we are sick with an evil smart
> They whisper nought but grief.

13. *Song: "Over the ferry, and over the ferry,"* Uncollected

An 8-line song that catches a picture of the river between fields of clover and the fisherman's girl rowing over it.

14. *Monmouth.* Published anonymously in *Household Words,* Nov. 1, 1856
Twenty Poems, 1909 (See Note 9.)

MS: 21 6-line stanzas and one line of a poem about Monmouth's rebellion: the scene at Taunton whence he is setting forth with his heterogeneous "army" for his ill-fated battle at Sedgemoor (July 5, 1685).

The first 18 stanzas of the MS poem appear as stanzas 1–3 and 6–20 in the printed version of *Household Words.* Stanzas 4 and 5 in the printed version are new. Stanzas 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, and 17 of the MS are unchanged in print except for punctuation; the other stanzas have revisions of words or phrase. Two of these revisions attract attention. In st.10.1 "bosom wife" is changed to "cheerless wife"(12.1) to avoid the repetition of the rather startling epithet he had used two lines above. In st.16.5 a change was made for historical accuracy: the Duke of Monmouth was not "The Darling of each English home" but it was fair to call him "The darling son of English home!" (18.5)

The last three stanzas of the MS version were discarded. As has been noted, Meredith's copy breaks off after the opening line of st.22. It seems probable that in copying he felt that the poem was lagging, like the "lagging line" he was writing about that was creeping after Monmouth. He wisely decided to be elliptical and wrote six new stanzas that disposed of Monmouth's history in short order. The transition is clever. After Meredith had deleted the last 3 stanzas of his MS he was left with a stanza ending:

> That he'll be King, his life one stakes;
> When he is King, a wife one takes.

And he began his new conclusion of the poem with:

> King? It is night, the dream is done.

15. *Song: "I would be the bounding deer"* Uncollected

A 12-line love song with a final refrain of "Follow me!" The first line varies from the version in the Table of Contents.

16. *Song: "Thy truth to me is truer"* *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, 1859
Memorial Edition, II, 480

A single quatrain with the words "See Rich. F." below it. In contrast to Adrian who made fun of Richard's "O might I lie where leans her lute!" (see Note 7), Richard's cousin Clare loved his romantic verses and transcribed this song in her diary. It had two stanzas. "'It is he who is the humble knight,' Clare explained at the close, 'and his lady is a Queen. Any Queen would throw her crown away for him.'"

17. *Marian.* Uncollected

32 quatrains, the plaint of an unmarried mother by the grave of her child, not to be confused with *Marian* in *Modern Love* (see Note 6). More heavily corrected than most of these poems, some current corrections, others later.

18. *Song: "Who says she is in danger"* Uncollected

An unfinished song of 4 lines and a refrain. (See Note 24.)

19. *Autumn Even-song.* *Once a Week*, Dec. 3, 1859
Modern Love, 1862
Memorial Edition, XXIV, 128

The title varies from the version in the Table of Contents. MS: 3 stanzas; *Once a Week:* 4 stanzas. The 3rd stanza of the printed poem was added. The last lines of the 1st stanza and the 2nd stanza underwent considerable revision. The last line of the 2nd stanza as it appeared in 1859 was rewritten before the poem was collected in 1862. The 4th stanza of the printed poem retains the first 3 lines of the MS version (st.3), but the last 3 are revised. They are worth quoting to show how close the poem came to having a banal love-ending that would have been totally inappropriate since a second person has not been alluded to:

MS
But coming night
Blackens all with its hoard of storm:
Nestle to me, my love, and keep thee warm.
[The birds are shelter'd close and warm. *del.*]

1859
Come, thundering night!
Blacken broad earth with hoards of storm:
For me yon valley-cottage beckons warm.

S. M. Ellis said that the poem was written in the autumn of 1859 at Copsham,[7] but the handwriting is much more copy-book style than the poems to Janet Duff-Gordon written in that year and the combination of "lake" (a broadening of the Thames) and river sounds like the scene at Weybridge and Lower Halliford where the Merediths spent most of their time from 1850 through

[7] *George Meredith, His Life and Friends* (New York, 1920) 112.

1854. It seems probable that Meredith revised his poem in 1859 for publication in *Once a Week*, in which case the "old hall" referred to in the added stanza 3 might well have been Claremont-Park, near to his new abode at Esher, only a few miles away from Weybridge.

20. *Song: "Pass we to another land:"* Uncollected

Six quatrains, the 2nd and 4th lines of each ending with the word "love." I am inclined to think this a personal poem. The lovers "clasp a faded bliss" in England where they are "Trying to cheat time." The poem ends:

> Toil, and pain, and pleasure crost,
> And love, may help us find, love,
> What we in our isle have lost,
> In each other's mind, love.

The word "mind" stands out as quite unlike the diction of any of the more conventional love poems in the collection, and the stanza reads like a hope that Meredith might once have held out to his intellectual wife. From what one reads about their relationship, the poem might have been written as early as 1852 or as late as 1857, with an early date sounding the more likely.

21. *Song: "Full of thy glory am I,"* Uncollected

Three quatrains, the first 2 with identical rhyme schemes, the 3rd varying. The singer is a woman who calls the man she loves "Hero" and wants to be his bride.

22. *Song: "When on my faithful charger"* Uncollected

Three 8-line stanzas; the singer is a knight who stops to watch a star. This is an attractive romantic lyric, of the kind that Clare liked (see Note 16). The first 4 lines of the last stanza are characteristic of Meredith's poetic imagery as analyzed by Norman Friedman in a doctor's dissertation entitled "The Fire of Renewal," Harvard, 1952.

> Cold crimson mists rise to it,
> And darkness drinks its light:
> But inward fires renew it,
> And still it falls more bright.

23. *The Three Eagles and the sleepy Lion.* Uncollected

Six stanzas of which this is the first:

> There were three eagles percht on a rock:
> On each lean head was a crown.
> And they cast eye on a browsing flock:
> Derry down, derry down, derry down.
> His watch a Lion grim did keep.
> But his tail gave sign he was fast asleep.
> And he snored as in repletion deep:
> O derry, I derry down.

The first eagle is double "with a white poll"; the second is double, "his feathers were white"; the third "was a mighty fledgling bird" who "wetted his brooding beak alway." In the last two stanzas the two double eagles converse.

Said the First to the Second: Our brother is wise:
He worried us once; but he sniffs a prize:
And the Lion dreams us his choice allies:
O derry, I derry down.

Said the First to the Second: Such *battles* things have been. —
On each lean head was a crown.
Twixt Lions fat and Eagles lean.
Derry down, derry down, derry down.
So we'll wait till the Lion's eyes are peckt:
And our young brother's pinions are broken & checkt:
Then we'll take what they fought for, in peace & respect.
O derry, I derry down.

The two double eagles are Austria and Russia, and I identify the "mighty fledgling bird" as France. In pictures of the period the Austrian eagle occasionally has white polls, but the Russian bird is black, not white. Meredith's allusion to white feathers must have been an attempt to indicate that the Power appeared peaceful.

As early as February 1852 there are allusions in the British press to a possible invasion of England by Bonaparte, but they are not very threatening. They mount in number and ardor after the death of the Duke of Wellington, September 16, 1852. The full-page drawing in *Punch* of October 2 shows a framed portrait of Wellington with the British lion half asleep below it. Throughout 1852 and well into 1853 Bonaparte is consistently caricatured as a rapacious eagle, *L'Aiglon*. After December 1, 1852, when Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had himself declared Emperor, the eagle is crowned.

The December issue of *Fraser's Magazine* warned its readers that Louis Napoleon might be planning to divide Italy with Austria: "The doubleheaded Eagle has shown itself eager, on more than one occasion, to grasp at either a duchy or a dowry. It is in truth a black bird which has in a double degree developed the organ of acquisitiveness" (p. 709). The writer goes on to urge the British to build up their fleet in order to prepare for a possible invasion by "M. Bonaparte." The argument is that since he will allow no freedom to his own people he must use his army for aggression to keep it from becoming mutinous. "The present British Government inspires neither respect nor confidence, and when not in complicity with M. Bonaparte, they are clearly his dupes."

Punch in the issue of January 29, 1853, carried a full-page cartoon that showed a line-up of eagles. The caption was "International Poultry Show." The eagles are American, Austrian, Russian, Prussian, and French, and the French one is a scrawny fledgling with its tail feathers just beginning to grow, but it has a full-sized beak tied onto it by a string around its neck.

In February *Fraser's* returned to its charge. The only method by which Napoleon can avenge Waterloo is war. "Either we shall have an invasion of

Belgium or of Savoy — of the Rhine and the Palatinate, an attempt to gain footing in the Holy Land, or a dash at old England herself" (p. 147). The point is made that the big powers had "exhibited so little confidence in a remorseless parvenu, willing to do their work as to exclude him from a union with a fifth-rate German princess." This attitude of the powers may explain the remark in Meredith's fifth stanza, "He worried us once." The line in the same stanza, "And the Lion dreams us his choice allies," recalls the benevolent attitude of the British Government toward Austria and Russia at the time of the invasion of Hungary, 1849.[8]

In Meredith's poem the line that precedes the final refrain, "Then we'll take what they fought for in peace & respect," probably implied that after the defeat of France by Britain, Austria and Russia would fill in the power vacuum — to use a phrase current in 1957.

Events on the continent shaped up so quickly in 1853 that this particular fear of an invasion by Napoleon III is now almost forgotten. In April *Punch* had full-page cartoons of a terrified Turkey-cock being embraced by the Russian bear and of Napoleon's foot being kissed by English money-lenders. Therefore, since Meredith's French eagle wears a crown, the poem can be dated between December 1, 1852, and April, 1853.[9]

The same French scare opens *Beauchamp's Career.*

24. *Song: "Who says, she is in danger,"* Uncollected

Here Meredith completes the poem that he had begun to copy earlier (see Note 18). It is now 19 lines long, with considerable revision of lines 12 and 13 and a triplet added in the margin as an afterthought before the final line. One verbal revision is significant. "Who says . . ."

> That dastard fears can change her
> And [hated *del.*] beaten foes may win her?
> My country!

The change to "beaten foes" points to the French; see note to the poem immediately preceding. The date of this song would then be approximately the same.

25. *Song: "God bless the little Island!"* Uncollected

A quatrain that reaches the nadir of patriotic verse. Perhaps there was more to it that Meredith did not see fit to copy.

26. *Song: "O the wind, the wind, the wind doth blow,"* Uncollected

Two 8-line stanzas about the passage of time and the inevitability of death.

[8] See Constantin De Grunwald, *Tsar Nicholas I* (New York, 1955) Chs. XI, XII, especially 255–256 and notes. Historians now know that since 1850 the British Government had been more hostile to Russia than Meredith supposed.

[9] There was a briefer Napoleonic war scare in the summer and autumn of 1861, but Meredith was not alarmed this time. Letter to F. A. Maxse, Memorial Ed., XXVIII, 56.

27. *Song: "The quick bird sings and pierces me"* Uncollected

Four 2-line stanzas with a refrain. The poet will never be able to utter such joy as the bird. The bird sings to his mate,

> But I shall never fold my wings
> Beneath the blessed bridal roof:
> O, my love!

So the song, rather cryptically, ends.

28. *We lean'd beneath the purple vine* Published anonymously as *Rhine-Land* in *Household Words,* July 19, 1856
Twenty Poems, 1909 (See Note 9.)

MS: 5 quatrains; *Twenty Poems:* 20 quatrains. This lyric evidently recalls the wedding trip of George and Mary Meredith in the late summer and early autumn of 1849. It begins:

> We lean'd beneath the purple vine
> In Andernach the hoary:
> And at our elbows ran the Rhine
> In ruddy twilight glory.

And the third stanza:

> 'Twas summer with our mingling flame,
> We two were summer-wedded.

It is impossible to tell whether the MS poem was considered finished when entered or whether it was a fragment of a longer poem copied elsewhere. Stanzas 3–5 are written later than stanzas 1–2 and there is no stroke of the pen at the end, such as Meredith often used to indicate that a poem was complete. Moreover, it does not read as if it came to a full stop. With revisions, Meredith used 4 of these 5 stanzas in the opening 6 stanzas of the published poem. Stanza 3, with its allusion to the two being "summer-wedded" has been deleted, though the lovers in the poem are still a bridal pair: "Home-friends we pledged; our bridal-maids;" (st.7.1). Mary Peacock Nicolls' sister and foster-sister may well have served as bridal maids at her marriage in St. George's Church, Hanover Square, on August 9th. In the published poem the poet's fancy is fretted by the history of the scene around Andernach as he recalls the days of the Roman frontier and those of knights errant. Then in stanza 16 the lovers hear a voice to which they listen till the end of the poem. The singer is a boy "Who sings an old tradition." Unlike the song of the Solitary Reaper, this song can be identified as one that "plants the tall white tower / Mid shades of knights and ladies." (st.19.3–4)

Rhine-Land is closely related to Meredith's tale *Farina,* published in 1857. There the Water-lady sang a "careless" song, the same adjective he used for the singing child in *Rhine-Land.* "Farina caught no words, nor whether the song was of days in dust or in flower, but his mind bloomed with legends and sad splendours of story, while she sang on the slate-block under sprinkled shadows by the water." (Memorial Edition, xxi, 96) There also we find the

sandhills to the south of Andernach (p. 87, 107) and the silver arrow that "our German girls slide in their back-hair" (p. 36). It seems likely that Meredith salvaged the poem *We lean'd beneath the purple vine* from his MSS at about the time that he recalled the scenery around Andernach for *Farina*. In his Table of Contents *Rhineland* is written later than his first line, which originally stood as the title. Since the poem was published in July, 1856, the spring of that year evidently found him still confident of his love-marriage, since he would scarcely have wanted to make public, even anonymously, this romantic memory of his own wedding trip after the beginning of a break with Mary.[10]

29. *Song: "My chosen bride shall bless the plough"* Uncollected

Two 8-line stanzas. The first line varies from the version in the Table of Contents. This is a pastoral song in which it is sung that the bride shall be the "Queen of harvest hours."

30. *Song. The Wren.* Uncollected

Two 8-line stanzas, the last 4 lines of each being a refrain. The poet would be like the wren singing to "weary men" in winter and to "thoughtful men" in summer.

31. *She had a secret — bonny Bess!* Uncollected

Two quatrains that read like the beginning of a comic ballad.

32. Two stanzas for *Love in the Valley* Uncollected

These two stanzas should be part of any *apparatus criticus* of the poem. They are written in Meredith's most firmly precise hand opposite stanzas 8 and 9 of the printed poem where the leaf happens to be inserted, and with no indication of where he would have placed them. In light of the fact that years later than this collection of MSS, 1878, Meredith published a re-inspired, longer version of his own early poem, it is interesting that even so soon after its first publication he felt the urge to add to it. Both stanzas start with the phrase, "Rains that at night time. . . ."

33. *Richard Lionheart.* Uncollected

Five ballad stanzas, a sentimental version of Richard's return to England (1194) after his capture and imprisonment by Leopold of Austria on his way home from a crusade.

[10] Contrast *Rhine-Land*, st.12

No longer severing our embrace
Was Night a sword between us;
But richest mystery robed in grace
To lock us close, and screen us

with *Modern Love*, I.14–15

Like sculptured effigies they might be seen
Upon their marriage-tomb, the sword between.

Robert Esmonde Sencourt quoted from a manuscript of the revised *Rhine-Land* in the British Museum, *The Life of George Meredith* (New York, 1929) 34–35.

34. *Song: "Forever"* Uncollected

Three 8-line stanzas, cancelled by one vertical stroke of the pen. The singer compares himself to Adam sent from Eden. He wants to return to his beloved, but in the refrain of the three stanzas the Angel says he is banished "Forever." The first two lines of the 2nd stanza tempt one to think this a personal poem:

> And I must sow a homeless lea
> With the sweat of toil & sorrow:

and to conjecture that the Angel's "Forever" had become too true to allow for the publication of this lament. But it is more likely that Meredith cancelled it after realizing that the basic comparison was foolish. After all, Adam was banished with Eve.

35. *Song: "Twelve arrows, and a bow, and spear,"* Uncollected

This song should be composed of two 12-line stanzas, but the last two lines of the first stanza have not been filled in. The poem starts:

> Twelve arrows, and a bow, and spear,
> Old British law decreed
> That every British householder
> Should keep for Britain's need.

It is an early example of Meredith's abiding belief in military preparedness.

36. *Cleopatra.* Uncollected

Though only a 4-line fragment, this entry arrests attention because if one were unaware of the MS poem *Cleopatra* at Yale one would be tempted to think this the opening of the "lost" poem lamented by M. B. Forman (*Bibliography,* p. xxiv–xxv). But the finished poem in blank verse at Yale is surely the lost *Cleopatra,* composed in October 1864, and it deserves publication. It bears no resemblance to the "spasmodic" quatrain found in this 1851 volume. The entry of *Cleopatra* in Meredith's Table of Contents looks as if it had been made at the same time as the entry of the opening four lines, and it precedes such early topical poems as *The Three Eagles & the Sleepy Lion* (see Note 23) and the uncopied *Ode on the Death of Arthur, Duke of Wellington* which, because of its alternative word "Funeral," must have been written shortly after November 18, 1852.

Funeral

37. *Dirge.* Uncollected

Two lines only of the *Dirge* noted in the Table of Contents are copied:

> Deaf to wailing words,
> Is the ear.

38. *Song: As I came thro' the breezy wheat,* Uncollected

Four verses with identical rhyme, on a piece of paper pasted in.

39. *Song: What we would be; what we are:* Uncollected

The opening 2 lines of a song.

40. *Song: In the days when we are gone,* Uncollected
The opening 4 lines of a song that evidently dealt with a fight for freedom.

41. *Song: The world is ripe and doom'd in space.* Uncollected
Six 6-line stanzas with 3-line refrains. The last 2 lines of the 5th stanza and its refrain are not filled in. The first line varies from the version in the Table of Contents.

This is a warning song to the English who do not know how to master "Those Giant Slaves who work our pride." This line appears in the 2nd stanza and apparently alludes to the industrial system. Certainly the first 4 lines of the 3rd stanza refer to the capitalist system:

O vested interests, and rows
That on a Future reckon!
fair nature's
See ye not on young Morning's brows
A black Oblivion
The hand of Chaos beckon?

The refrains of this serious song are debonaire in the manner of *The Three Eagles and the sleepy Lion.* It ends:

This England! shall she live the storm,
Her thronging dangers weather?
Her enemies more thickly swarm,
Her sons scarce work together:
Dissension's seed Destruction breed;
Unanimous prophets declare 'tis decreed:
Green her grass grows,
Red blooms her rose,
And her cock crows in the morning.

TO recapitulate the dating of these MSS, there is no positive evidence that Meredith entered any poem, fragment, or title in these leaves later than the winter of 1853 (see Notes 23, 19), though of course he may have. And the latest date that he drew from this source was the recovery of *Shemselnihar* (Note 3) and *She can be as wise as we* (Note 6) for the *Modern Love* volume, late 1861 – early 1862. So that it must have been between that season and his final evacuation of Copsham Cottage in the autumn of 1864 that he made a gift of this curious volume to a friend.

Meredith was a man of such multifarious interests it is not surprising to find many of them reflected in these poems of the 1850's.

His concern for his own country is conspicuous, the recapture of events in its history being less interesting than the timely warnings. It is true that these warnings were in the mode of the day, when the Poet Laureate, as well as many lesser poets, were playing on the same themes in the public press,

but we need not for that reason consider Meredith's exhortations to be any the less sincere, for he was capable of reiterating them up to the last year of his life. It is probably safe to assume that six of these manuscripts would have been among the collection of British Songs that he offered to Parker in the summer of 1855, in the vain hope of ready cash, and then destroyed.[11]

His nature poetry is not well represented, but it is significant that the two best sustained nature poems in the volume, *The Sweet o' the Year* and *Autumn Even-song*, were accepted by good periodicals and are to be found in his collected works.

No one seems to have paid any attention to his light verse, but he evidently loved to dash it off, as in his letters to "Tuck," William Hardman. From the copies of light verse in this collection it is clear that he did not consider it all as a mere throwaway.

The abundance of songs appears to support Janet Ross's recollection that he would improvise verses (*Fourth Generation*, p. 50). Meredith undoubtedly had a talent for lyrics that could have been set to music, and the reviews of his 1851 volume of *Poems* would have encouraged him in this bent. Three of his critics compared his songs with those of Herrick. With his innate love for song, so marked in his novels, one can only regret that he never met with a composer who matched his talent.

There is also evidence in these poems of his early love of old romance, both Arabian and mediaeval, and he had not abandoned the Arabian by the time of the volume of 1862 which included *Shemselnihar*. His young interest in Knightly Romance sounds genuine enough in two of the songs, as well as in *Rhine-Land*, but as early as *Farina* it began to be exploited in a somewhat ironic fashion. He grew out of it in a way that I do not remember to have seen noted: the *Ordeal* of Richard Feverel was preordained as a knightly ordeal and is sardonically treated — hence the fate that Meredith-Feverel's early romantic verses met with in this novel (Notes 7, 16).

These MS poems fortify the evidence that there should be a scholarly edition of Meredith's poems, which should contain an appendix of uncollected verse from MSS, letters, memoirs, and periodicals, including his light verse. The standard text of the Memorial Edition does not even incorporate all of Meredith's revisions. From this Copy 7 of the *Poems* of 1851 in the Berg Collection, I have recorded a number of corrections that never were made since these poems were not reprinted before the Edition de Luxe, 1898, by which time Meredith regretted their existence. [12] The variations in the MS poems

[11] *A Catalogue of the Altschul Collection of George Meredith in the Yale Library* (1931) 21–22.
[12] Constantin Photiadès, *George Meredith, His Life, Genius & Teaching* (London, 1913) 20.

that found their way into print would take their proper place in an *apparatus criticus*. It should be added that in Copy 1 of the *Poems* of 1851 in the Berg Collection there are two manuscript notes of interest to an editor. In such a scholarly edition G. M. Trevelyan's distinguished notes should of course be retained, but many more notes of an informative kind are needed. Much is left to be done about the dating of poems and many proper names and allusions should be identified. Together with the new edition of letters that Professor C. L. Cline of the University of Texas is preparing, such an edition would lead to a greater understanding of Meredith.

And to understand specifics is never to denigrate a man of George Meredith's stature. Remembering the Presidential Address before the English Association in 1947, I say this with trepidation as well as conviction. Sir Osbert Sitwell opened his address by declaring that he was glad that Meredith had escaped falling into the clutches of the "body-snatchers." He hoped that "so great a writer may, when he comes once more to be written about, fall into the hands of some critic who has the right to appraise him, and may be spared the nibbling of the unworthy." Let us hope that Sir Osbert would agree that competent editors can serve worthy critics.

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LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas. Miss Regina Sludock
MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2560 Seventh Avenue. Miss Ann Judge
MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street. Miss Alice McQuaid
MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building. Miss Amelia H. Munson
Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224.
MUSIC LIBRARY. 121 East 58th Street. Mrs. Catharine K. Miller
NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street. Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle, acting
† NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street. Miss Irene Patjens
115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street. Miss Marie Ferrigno, acting
125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street. Miss Barbara Reevers
OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.
PICTURE COLLECTION. Central Building. Miss Romana Javitz
RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue. Miss Myrtle Reynolds
ST. AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Avenue. Miss Dorothy Cobb

* *Closed July and August.* † *Closed temporarily.*

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

LIST OF BRANCHES AND LIBRARIANS, *continued*

MANHATTAN, continued

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street. Miss Jean Blackwell
SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway. Miss Ida Malamud
SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th Street. Miss Margarethe Kortenbeutel
TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street. Mrs. Alice Alexander
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St. Nicholas Avenue. Mrs. Regina M. Andrews
WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue. Miss Edna Thomson
YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street. Miss Emily Davis

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Miss Isabel Jackson

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Ralph Long

CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue. Mrs. Stella Webber
CLASON'S POINT. Harrod Place. Mrs. Nadine George
EASTCHESTER. 1281–83 Burke Avenue. Mrs. Hermine Schmauder
FORDHAM LIBRARY CENTER. 2556 Bainbridge Avenue. Miss Phyllis Tinkler
GUN HILL. Building 10. 740 Gun Hill Road.
HIGH BRIDGE. 78 West 168th Street. Miss Charlotte Harrison
HUNT'S POINT REGIONAL. 877 Southern Boulevard. Miss Erna Obermeier
KINGSBRIDGE. 3041 Kingsbridge Avenue. Miss Eileen Riols
MELCOURT. 730 Melrose Avenue. Miss Helen I. Rawstron
† MELROSE. 910 Morris Avenue. Miss Mary Read
MORRISANIA. 610 East 169th Street. Mrs. Miriam Phillips
MOSHOLU. 285 East 205th Street. Mrs. Florence Currie
MOTT HAVEN. 321 East 140th Street. Miss Mildred Nelson
PARKCHESTER. 1384 Metropolitan Avenue. Miss Casindania Eaton
PELHAM PARKWAY. Building 16. 2280 Wallace Avenue. Miss Grace Iijima
RIVERDALE. 5521 Mosholu Avenue. Miss Janice Ferguson
SEDGWICK. Building 4. 1553 University Avenue. Miss Ethel E. Frey
THROG'S NECK. 3817 East Tremont Avenue.
TREMONT. 1866 Washington Avenue. Mrs. Polly Post Nelson
‡ UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS. 2019 University Avenue. Mrs. Florence Horton
VAN CORTLANDT. 3871 Sedgwick Avenue. Miss Florence Hoch
VAN NEST. 707 Rhinelander Avenue. Miss Rachel Graciany
WAKEFIELD. 4100 Lowerre Place. Miss Jewel Drickamer
WEST FARMS. 2085 Honeywell Avenue. Miss Mary Dana
WESTCHESTER SQUARE REGIONAL. 2521 Glebe Avenue. Mrs. Eleanor Janssen
WOODLAWN HEIGHTS. 4303 Katonah Avenue. Mrs. Lucilia Pates
WOODSTOCK. 761 East 160th Street. Eugene Bockman

RICHMOND

COORDINATOR, Mrs. Marion Stock

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, John Hulton

GREAT KILLS REGIONAL. 56 Gifford's Lane. John Robotham
HUGENOT PARK. Hugenot Avenue at Amboy Road.
NEW DORP (Hughes Mem. Lib.). 155 Third Street. Miss Charlotte W. Fleck, acting
PORT RICHMOND. 75 Bennett Street. Mrs. Mary Jane Bowles
PRINCE'S BAY. 6054 Amboy Road.
ST. GEORGE LIBRARY CENTER. 10 Hyatt Street. John Hulton
SOUTH BEACH. 100 Sand Lane. Miss Louisa Larsen
STAPLETON. 132 Canal Street
TODT HILL. 255 Westwood Avenue. Mrs. Helen Little
TOTTENVILLE. 7430 Amboy Road. Miss Genevieve Wells
WEST NEW BRIGHTON. 976 Castleton Avenue. Miss Eleanor Ayoub

† Closed temporarily. ‡ Closed July 29. To be replaced at a later date by the new Francis Martin Branch.

Exhibitions in the Central Building

CURRENT EXHIBITIONS

COOKING BY THE BOOK — Main Lobby

An exhibition of cookbooks and menus, old and new. Through September.

RARITIES FROM THE CIA FORNAROLI COLLECTION — Second Floor Corridor and Music Division

Prints, books, autograph letters, and other dance memorabilia from this recent acquisition, one of the finest private dance collections extant. August 16 – October 16.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON — First Floor Corridor North

Manuscripts, prints, rare broadsides and circular materials on his role as a statesman and his close relationship to Washington, both as military aide and as adviser in drafting "The Farewell Address." Concluding section deals with the famous duel with Burr resulting in Hamilton's death 153 years ago. To September 30.

NEW IN THE BERG COLLECTION, 1952–1956 — Room 318

A selection of acquisitions of the last five years: manuscripts, autograph letters, first editions.

GREAT AND RARE WORKS IN PARTS — Room 324

Masterpieces of literature from the Arents Collection of Books in Parts.

VIRGINIA & TOBACCO — Room 324

350 years as represented in books, manuscripts, letters, and prints from the Arents Tobacco Collection.

BIRDS AND BEASTS IN PRINTS — Print Gallery

An exhibition of prints from the 15th to the 20th century.

HISTORICAL VIEWS OF AMERICAN CITIES — Third Floor Corridor North

Exhibition from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection of American Historical Prints.

PERMANENT EXHIBITIONS

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — Main Lobby

An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1926.

WASHINGTON IRVING — Third Floor Corridor

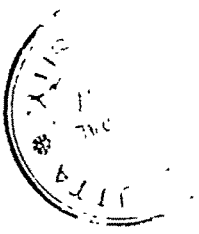
Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc.

HISTORY OF PRINTING — First Floor Corridor

Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work.

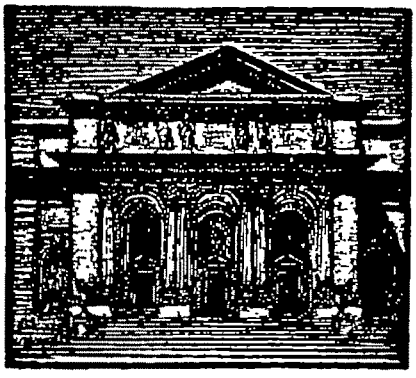
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTRAITS AND OTHER NOTABLE PAINTINGS — Room 318

Works by Copley, Stuart, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Morse, Raeburn, and others.



BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



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* Circulation Department units in Donnell Library Center and the Branches are listed on third cover.

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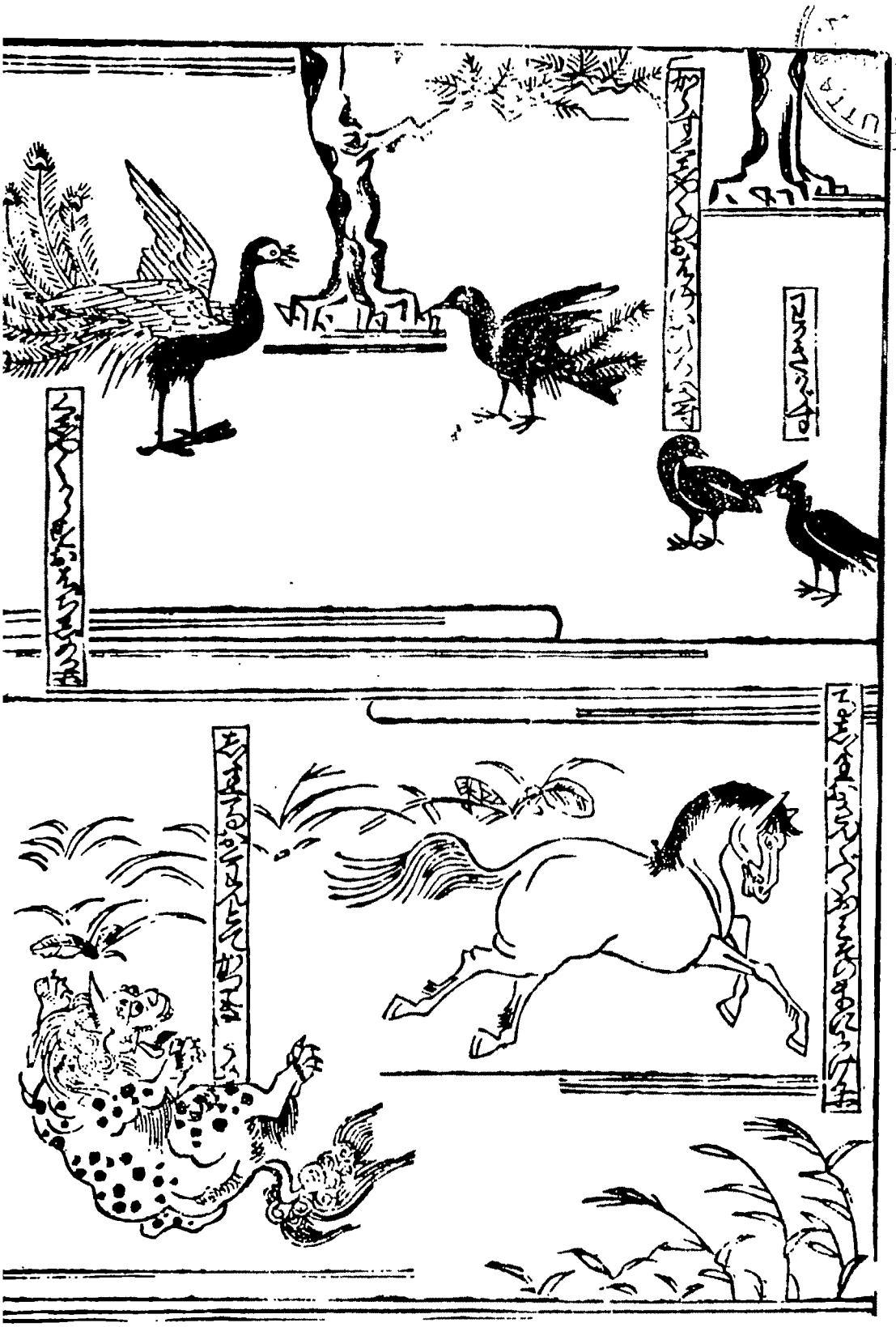

A page from the first piece of European literature translated into Japanese, *Isoho Monogatari* (Aesop's Fables) Osaka [?] 1659

Spencer Collection

Front Matter

In the Japanese Basket

Among the fabulous (i. e. astounding) acquisitions of the Library's Spencer Collection in recent years (see p. 436) is the literally fabulous work from which our frontispiece is chosen this month — two delicate rice-paper volumes of the Fables of Aesop thought to be the first translation into Japanese of any European book.

That uncomfortable bird in the top picture is the Jay among Peacocks who learned the fallacy of False Feathers, and the uncomfortable beast in the lower picture is the Lion (Oriental type) whose greed took him too close to the hooves of the Horse. The illustration really belongs on p. 453 with Mrs. Vining's mention of the early importation of these Fables and their acceptance in Japan as a "native growth."

More recent Japanese imports, of which the author says modestly that they became popular "because they helped to fill a blank space," are the books for young people written by Mrs. Vining under the name of Elizabeth Janet Gray: *Adam of the Road, Sandy, Young Walter Scott,* and others. Mrs. Vining, teacher and librarian as well as author, was herself imported by the Education Commission in 1945 to tutor the Crown Prince and teach in the Peers' and Peeresses' schools — an experience described in her *Windows for the Crown Prince* (1952). Last April she was imported to our Donnell Library Center auditorium to fill as she so admirably did a space in the Spring Lecture series.

Contents of NYPL

Last January we printed the President's introductory portion of a Ten Year Report, launching a bold and ambitious project of the Library staff to assemble, without a halt from current tasks, a Ten Year Report on all phases of the Library's growth and change since the publication of the last Annual Report that was more than tables of statistics. We now have in hand most of the staff contributions, which will be presented anonymously because they are joint and composite. We shall print substantial excerpts in this and the next two or three *Bulletins,* selecting matter of general interest or of chief interest to library *users,* and holding for publication in a separate cumulative volume the matter of chief interest to *librarians.*

Thus the present month's selection from the Reference Department report consists in largest part of the summaries of accessions to the general and special collections. Tables of a decade of cataloging and binding are given, but the detailed account of progress in technical processes will be held for the separate volume.

Branch Library Neighbors

Several weeks ago we visited the Washington Heights Branch of this Library, curious about the implications of its "Family Night" programs and curious to see what a "typical branch library" looked like, for it was then being shown as such to a group of international visitors from Singapore, Cambodia, and other points East. A look at the building only confirmed our impression that a typical (old style) library is an arrangement of books and tables and people in high-ceilinged rooms with enormous stairways upon which the people get abnormal amounts of exercise. For the rationale of the selection and arrangement of books in a typical NYPL branch — the adult collections, the young adult

collection nearby, the separate children's room or alcove — we recommend perusal of the Books and Services sections of the Circulation Department's ten year report, coming in the October *Bulletin*. What we did learn, from conversations with the Branch Librarian and her Assistant, Mrs. Regina M. Andrews and Mrs. Edna Law, concerned the special responsiveness of a branch to its particular environment.

The exemplary typicality of the Washington Heights Branch lies in its intricate and long-standing involvement with the organizations and individuals of a relatively stable community. The branch dates back, in conception, to early Civil War years and in charter and (modest) endowment to 1868. A Free Public Library for half a century, it belonged to the people of the community and was supported by them, especially by the housewives who, in lean years, helped out with bake sales and other relief measures. Then came Carnegie help and finally incorporation into The New York Public Library, with no loss of the tradition of community relatedness. Many of the participants in the branch's Senior Citizens meetings have been "with" the library all their lives.

In book selection this has meant, for example, the supplying of foreign language books for considerable groups of neighbors who read best in German, Polish, French, Italian, Yiddish, or (in recent years) Spanish. For the many artists in the neighborhood the branch stocks a collection of good and often expensive art books for home (and studio) use.

The Family Night programs, begun six years ago, are a logical and naturally successful function of the community-library heritage. And many traditional meetings and organizations seem to belong to the community and the library jointly — the librarians serving on committees, the library supplying meeting space, book-directed programs, reading lists. The public school has a library club; the new housing project wants one. The Senior Citizens, five thousand of them in the area now, would like to use that third floor if the stairs were escalators, and there is community talk about a better location for the branch, nearer the river and the main reading population. In view of the history of branch and neighborhood, it will not be surprising if, someday, the talk leads to action.

New Bispham Papers

David Scull Bispham, who made his debut in 1890 and in the first two decades of the present century was practically unchallenged as America's most famous baritone, died in 1921, leaving a large collection of scores and sheet music to the Music Division. Throughout his career he had assiduously preserved the programs he gave everywhere in the world and pasted clippings and reviews into scrapbooks, all of which have long been part of our collection. Recently, through the courtesy of Mrs. O'Donnell Hoover, archivist of the Metropolitan Opera Guild, a hand-written index to the programs has been added. Thus it is possible to ascertain quickly the occasions and the places where Bispham sang each song or larger work in his repertoire.

Here is a great deal of work already done for the potential Bispham biographer, but the value of the collection and its index goes beyond this. The specialist in American music can learn a good deal here not only about the enterprise of a famous singer, but about the receptiveness of his audiences. Every American composer of the time would as a matter of course send a copy of his latest song to Bispham in hopes of getting it performed. The clippings and the programs in this collection have a great deal to tell us about the state of music in this country in those years.

Along with this gift Mrs. Hoover also passed on to us a collection of autograph material once in the possession of Mr. Bispham. Included are not only some holograph manuscripts of such composers as Michael Costa, Dr. John Clarke, T. Cooke, and William Croft but signed copies of songs by Sir Henry Bishop, Muzio Clementi, Vincent Novello, Charles Dibdin, William Shield, Dr. Thomas Arne, and others, revealing Bispham's real interest in English as well as American composers. In addition there are two letters to Bispham from Gutzon Borglum and R. W. Gilder.

Whitman Event

"A major event — something of a special triumph —" says Professor C. Carroll Hollis of our recent publication, *Walt Whitman's Correspondence: A Checklist*, by Edwin H. and Rosalind S. Miller (171 p. $3). "The layman will be puzzled or amused at this excitement over something that must seem about as dramatic as a telephone book," Professor Hollis continues, in his review in the June *Walt Whitman Newsletter*. "But the scholar knows the *Checklist* will be the most valued and most used research tool until the appearance of the correspondence itself."

Further quotation will indicate some of the grounds of the reviewer's own excitement. First he is pleased to see "presented in clear, easily noted fashion" the hitherto scattered or unknown facts about the published and unpublished letters. "Again, it is really an eye-opener to realize what a tremendous letter writer Whitman was. There are 3,500 items in the *Checklist*, many of them postcards or short notes in the last two decades, it is true, but still a wealth of unexamined material to provide insights into Whitman's attitudes, feelings, and associations. . . ."

Again: "Sometimes just the accident of fortuitous grouping reveals what examination of the scattered correspondence would not show. On 20 June 1880, for instance, Whitman was at Sarnia, Ontario, and wrote twenty letters and postcards to friends. Although this is something of a record, on many days he wrote a dozen or more letters, carrying out a life-long habit of maintaining many friendships on a more personal basis than can be found for any other major poet."

In conclusion the reviewer assures the compilers that their years of work on the *Checklist* have not been thankless. "The Millers enjoyed the task and their reward will be in the satisfaction of aiding Whitman scholarship"; and they may expect the *Checklist* to "inspire collectors, librarians, and scholars to examine their holdings so that undiscovered letters may be brought to notice."

Use and Additions July and August 1957

	JULY	AUGUST
Visitors in Central Building	234,576	239,597
Readers in Reference Department	66,197	68,441
Volumes Consulted	193,916	203,795
Volumes for Home Use (Circulation Department)	769,789	680,301

Received through purchase and gift

	Circ. Dept. Gifts		Ref. Dept. Gifts		Purchase and Gift	
	July	August	July	August	July	August
Volumes	989	640	1,505	6,928	33,282	47,966
Pamphlets	22	209	4,687	6,574	5,473	7,465
Maps	—	—	188	177	188	194
Prints	—	—	—	—	—	—
Misc.	105	—	—	—	105	—

BULLETIN OF THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

SEPTEMBER 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 9

Ten Year Report of The New York Public Library 1946-1956

II. REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Books and Other Library Materials

NO LIBRARY can neglect its book collection when, in the space of one day, it is called upon to provide replies to such diverse inquiries as the type of electrical current used in Paramaribo, the telephone number of the Hotel Metropole in Moscow, all available information on the Australian Barley Board in order that a $350,000 claim against a defunct Japanese bank may be settled, and (in response to a long distance call) whether or not the notice of a divorce has appeared in the official gazette of the State of Chihuahua. During the last ten years, the staff of the Reference Department has been mindful of its responsibility to maintain the excellence of the collections, and at the same time troubled by abnormal conditions which made the discharge of such responsibility unusually difficult.

In a little over ten years, the holdings increased 22%:

	Books	Pamphlets in p. v. volumes	Bound N. C. volumes of pamphlets	Manila rope bundles	Films	Total
1946	2,198,867	579,029	21,409	175,489	4,626	3,047,762
1956	2,750,958	700,422	22,924	234,544	20,904	3,729,752

The extraordinary acceleration in microfilm acquisition is reflected in these figures. Also, periodical subscriptions, reduced in number as a result of the war to 12,728, rose again to 20,793 in 1956. Whole new categories of material, such as United Nations documents and the documents of newly established governments throughout the world, augmented the Library's holdings and multiplied its space and processing problems.

Book Selection Committee

Policy guidance for acquiring materials was provided by the reactivation in 1947, and again in 1955, of the Book Selection Committee composed of selected Division Chiefs, which committee, in 1943, had laid down the guide lines for collection building. Although this committee has not yet produced a fully codified book selection guide, it has worked out helpful principles and continues to counsel the Chief of the Reference Department in major selection problems.

Other Committees

Two other committees also deserve mention. In 1948 a group of laymen and librarians was formed to promote the Library's phonograph record archive with the result that several companies now deposit new releases regularly with the Music Division. In 1949 another committee came to grips with the problem of providing newspaper service. At that time the Library was acquiring 105 current newspapers,[1] very few on microfilm (in 1946 only 6) and slightly more than half from foreign countries. The committee decided that the Library should adopt a selective policy, attempting fairly complete coverage of the New York metropolitan area including foreign-language papers but, for the rest of the world, limiting acquisitions to representative papers from leading population centers outside the United States and to domestic papers chosen for regional importance. Wherever possible, acquisitions were to be on film. By 1956 the list had been reduced to seventy-one titles, of which thirty-five are on film and thirty-five are from foreign countries. Over the ten-year period, the number of reels of newspapers on microfilm rose from 2,596 to 15,000.

Cooperative Programs

From 1945 on, the Library participated in the Library of Congress cooperative acquisition program, sponsored by the Association of Research Libraries to obtain publications issued during World War II in Germany and other occupied countries. By the termination of this activity in 1949, 66,836 volumes had been received at a cost of $52,517. Another program which added to normal acquisitions was that of the Army Civil Affairs Division which brought thousands of items to the Library.

The Farmington Plan, conceived in 1942 as a means of providing more complete coverage of foreign publications through cooperative specializa-

[1] This discussion concerns the Newspaper Division. Oriental, Slavonic, and Jewish newspapers are available in their respective divisions.

tion, began operation on January 1, 1948. The New York Public Library's fields (initially from France, Sweden, and Switzerland) included general history of civilization and culture, diplomatics, archives, general history, medieval and modern history, world wars, European description and travel, African languages and literatures, the drama and theatre, Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Modern Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Balkan history, Egyptian history, Latin America in general, West Indies, Venezuela, Guiana, Uruguay, and Argentina. In the early stages, this Library also undertook to receive all Farmington books from abroad and to distribute them to other participating libraries. Within the first fourteen months 6,182 books were received, of which the Library acquired 778.

Other Special Activities

By special arrangement certain foreign dealers had acquired and held publications for the Library throughout the period of World War II. These materials came in great numbers, especially during 1946 and 1947. The Library was also fortunate in being named a repository for Army Map Service maps, and some 33,000 maps were received by the time the project terminated in 1950.

To assure the preeminence of the Library's Spencer Collection (outstanding examples of book illustration and binding) and the Prints collection, the Library sent the curator of these two collections on six foreign purchasing trips: Europe 1947, Europe and the Near East 1949, Europe and North Africa 1951, around the world in 1953 and again in 1954–55, and Europe 1956. The superb examples of books and prints purchased as a result of these extensive efforts can only be suggested below under "Unusual Acquisitions 1946–1956."

Before World War II the Library had experimented successfully with "blanket orders" in an effort to ensure extensive coverage of foreign publications. By 1947 fifty-two such orders were in effect under which a dealer would send the Library all publications within certain specified limits. The advent of the Farmington Plan, which duplicated these efforts in part, plus the receipt of much sub-marginal material inappropriate for the Library's collections under the blanket order system, led to its curtailment. By 1956 the number of orders in effect had been reduced to thirty-one.

Acquisition Trends

The last ten years have been anything but normal in acquisition of library materials. There was a delay in reestablishing publishing activity in devas-

tated areas following World War II. The chaos created by changing governments made publishing a hazardous enterprise in some countries and created problems for libraries endeavoring to maintain unbroken files of official publications. The last decade has also been marked by a decline in the free distribution of publications by many governments. The Iron Curtain was altogether too omnipresent through most of the period, but it began to open slightly in 1956.

On the positive side, art books have greatly increased in technical excellence and number since 1946. There were notable increases in American folklore which more than trebled the Library's holdings in that field, and Latin American books as a class formed one of the fastest growing collections. Despite the latter fact, the problem of acquisition of Latin American materials is a serious one on which interested research libraries are now cooperating.

In the field of prints the Library strengthened its already fine Japanese collection. Somewhat greater emphasis was given to surrealist and nonobjective prints, and to documentary prints as opposed to the purely aesthetic print. The Library continued its leadership in the field of patent literature by obtaining Japanese patents after much effort. Thus far, however, the German patent problem has proved insurmountable because of the great expense involved. More attention has been given recently to building holdings of labor union by-laws and convention proceedings. Thanks to the Library of Congress Cooperative Acquisition project, many gaps were filled in German and Austrian publications, but runs of French government publications through the war years are largely fragmentary.

The Manuscript Division grew at the rate of approximately 140 collections annually, but there was a considerable decline in the number of pieces received as compared with earlier years.

Upon the death of Dr. Albert A. Berg on July 1, 1950, money available for the Berg Collection was greatly increased through a bequest of $1,750,000. The impact of this benefaction was largely unfelt during the decade under consideration because of certain responsibilities which had to be discharged before the larger income became available for purchasing. Only recently has the tempo of acquisition increased. The Arents Collection was enhanced by numerous outstanding purchases, and Mr. Arents deposited with the Library his magnificent collection of books in parts. The Spencer Collection broke new ground by extensive purchases representative of the book of the Orient. It also increasingly emphasized seventeenth century books and French illustrated, printed, and bound books.

When the Jewish Division was founded in 1897, Hebrew literature meant, to all intents and purposes, biblical and rabbinical writings. This is now changed and Hebrew offers a vigorous living literature. As a result of World War II, Jews fled from their native lands and set up new cultural centers in such places as South and Central America, Australia, and Africa. By 1950 Israel claimed twenty major publishers who issued 700 titles in 2,500,000 copies. As a consequence of this cultural renaissance, the Library was able to acquire a great deal of belles lettres originating in Hebrew or translated into that language from a wide range of authors from Shakespeare to Steinbeck.

By 1947–48 acquisitions from the Middle and Near East were reasonably good although Arabic acquisitions were never very satisfactory during the period under review. Furthermore, unsettled political conditions adversely affected this area in 1949. The brightest spot in 1950 was Turkey.

Cultural barriers and proliferation of propaganda materials adversely affected acquisitions from China throughout the decade. Only in 1955–56 were there significant receipts from that area. As late as 1948 the Japanese situation was poor, but imports increased rapidly after that date. Within the next four years the Library added twenty-five per cent to its Japanese holdings, and greater emphasis was placed on economic, political, and scientific literature than heretofore. By 1952 there was a substantially accelerated flow of Japanese scientific material, and by 1956 a truly remarkable number of important Japanese scientific periodicals was available. The appearance of the new states of India, Pakistan, and Indonesia with their modern literature made it imperative to build collections in those fields. However, not until 1955 did books begin to arrive in appreciable quantities from Indonesia.

The Soviet Union presented the largest single acquisition problem. Throughout most of the decade such publications as introductory textbooks in botany and beginning workers' manuals in mining, metallurgy, and tractor driving could be obtained, but it was impossible to get advanced scientific and technical books and periodicals. Despite the Iron Curtain, some significant acquisitions were made through special channels as indicated in the following table:

Principal Slavonic Acquisitions (in Volumes) 1946–56

	Russian	Polish	Bulgarian	Serbian Croatian Slovenian
1946–51	6000	1800	1100	---
1951–52	1500	3500	----	750
1952–53	1100	900	----	900
1953–54	1000	150	----	500
1954–55	1300	----	----	---
1955–56	1685	450	36	400

Although this table does not present the sum total of Slavonic acquisitions, it does suggest unusual success despite adverse conditions. Fifteen hundred Polish books acquired in 1947–48 represented the largest transaction of its kind to that date. The 1,100 Bulgarian books acquired in the 1946–51 period practically doubled the Library's holdings in the field. A notable collection of 108 Ukrainian books was acquired in 1954–55, and that year was also important for the increased number of grammars and dictionaries of little known languages received from Asiatic regions of the U.S.S.R.

Unusual Acquisitions 1946–1956

This section attempts to provide a few examples of unusual acquisitions from the Library's many fields of interest. That this is no more than a representative sample, despite its length, is apparent from the fact that only eleven titles have been chosen from the Spencer Collection which benefited from six extensive foreign purchasing tours. If further proof be needed of the modesty of this list, it should be noted that to the Reserve Division alone in this period 11,296 pieces were added, including 586 books printed prior to 1601, 187 English books printed before 1641, and 21 Americana published before 1551.

The American History and Genealogy Division acquired two extensive files in the last decade, *Rivista Araldica,* 1905 to date, and *L'Araldo Almanacco Nobiliare del Napoletano,* 1878–1915. The Delafield Family Association presented the division with a privately printed copy of *Delafield, the Family History* (1945) by John Ross Delafield, and the Eugenics Records Office gave its genealogical library from Cold Spring Harbor, New York. The division obtained a microfilm of the Census Schedules of New York City, Long Island, and Westchester County, 1850, and purchased the genealogical files from the estate of Mabel R. Washburn, including the papers of the National Historical Society, the Journal of American History, and the Allaben-Washburn Genealogical Company.

The Arents Tobacco Collection continued its rapid growth with many unusual accessions including the 1601 edition of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humor;* Anthony Chute's *Tabaco* (1595), one of two known copies of the first English work entirely on tobacco; the excessively rare 1557 edition of André Thevet's *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique;* the dedication copy of Herman Melville's *Mardi* (London 1849); the copy of the rare, privately printed issue of T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* which belonged to Mrs. George Bernard Shaw and which contains five pages of unpublished manuscript about the book in the autograph of

George Bernard Shaw; a contemporary (1620) manuscript of John Donne's poems in the hand of John Cave; manuscript of poems by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in the hand of Alexander Pope (1717) especially written out by him for presentation to her; an autograph letter signed by George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore; an autograph letter signed by Queen Elizabeth (1572) to Charles IX, King of France; document signed by Queen Elizabeth and Sir Walter Ralegh (1593); autograph letter signed by Sir Walter Ralegh (1600); document signed by Sir Francis Drake; and original autograph manuscript of Acts I and II and corrected typescripts of Acts I, III, and IV of Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* as originally written in four acts, together with the typescript of the three-act version corrected by the author, and the first edition (1899) presented to George Bernard Shaw.

The ART DIVISION added Ernest William Tristram's *English Medieval Wall Painting* (1944–50), the first complete publication of England's murals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the Phaidon Press four-volume edition of *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (1954–55), a critical and chronological catalog; *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island, 1640–1915* (1952) by Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully, Jr.; *An Illustrated Catalogue of the Works of Art in the Collection of Henry Clay Frick* (1949–56) by gift from Miss Helen Clay Frick; and Somendo Akashi's *Coptic Textiles* (1955).

As noted above, the BERG COLLECTION was fairly limited in its purchases for much of the last ten years; nevertheless, it acquired some choice items including thirty-one autograph letters from Samuel Johnson to his good friend the Reverend John Taylor; forty-six autograph letters from Thomas Gray to his protégé and literary executor, William Mason; one of nine recorded copies of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *The Battle of Marathon. A Poem* (1820); the original manuscript of Alfred Lord Tennyson's *The Princess* (given by Mr. J. J. Podell); a prompt copy of *The Cricket on the Hearth* (London 1846) corrected and annotated by Dickens for his public readings; the only recorded copy, hitherto unknown, of a handbill advertising Henry D. Thoreau's services as a surveyor and possibly the earliest publication bearing Thoreau's name; and 535 autograph letters and post cards from George Bernard Shaw to Siegfried Trebitsch, Shaw's German translator and representative in Central Europe.

The ECONOMICS DIVISION acquired the first edition of Hugo de Groot's *De Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres* (Paris 1625); Benvenutus Straccha's *De Mercatvra, sev Mercatore Tractatvs* (Venice 1553) a treatise on merchants and merchandising; and a collection of two hundred Danish labor pamphlets of the nineteenth century.

The JEWISH DIVISION received by gift from Mr. Louis M. Rabinowitz a fourteenth century Hebrew manuscript *Book of Holiday and Daily Prayers,* including piyyutim (religious poetry) according to the Central European rite, lavishly illuminated; a first edition in Hebrew of Moses Maimonides' *More Nevukhim* (Guide to the Perplexed: Rome, before 1480) and Gersonides' (Levi ben Gershon's) *Commentary on the Book of Job* (in Hebrew, Mantua 1477) one of the earliest Hebrew books printed. A gift from the Socialist Labor Party of a set of the Yiddish daily *Abendblatt* (1894–1902) together with the weekly *Arbeiterzeitung* (1890–1902) made it possible to replace worn volumes on divisional shelves and to microfilm these labor newspapers of great value for the student of the Jewish labor movement and the Americanization of the immigrant in the United States. Money from the Jacob H. Schiff Fund was used to purchase the first two of five projected volumes of *Encyclopedia Biblica* (in Hebrew, Jerusalem 1950–54) one of the finest encyclopedias in the field of Biblical studies.

In addition to the 30,000 Army Map Service maps which were received by 1950, the MAP DIVISION also acquired a number of rare and valuable maps and atlases, including thirteen of a series of maps issued by William Berry in London from 1680 to 1689, which were presented by William Adams Delano, a Trustee; a set of thirty-four engraved naval charts of American coastal regions, newly struck from original plates of the *Atlantic Neptune,* presented by the British Admiralty; three volumes of the *Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana* with reproductions of cartographical treasures of the Vatican Library; Mathaeus Seutter's *Atlas Geographicus* (Augsburg 1720) containing sixty handsome hand-colored maps and plates; a complete set of real estate atlases prepared by Nirenstein's National Realty Map Company covering the most important business areas in the country; and a collection of 213 insurance atlases and 1,789 insurance sheet maps published by the Sanborn Map Company and relating to New York City and other large cities in the state from the 1880s to the 1930s.

The MANUSCRIPT DIVISION acquired *The Olive Branch Petition* as a Christmas gift in 1948 from Lucius Wilmerding, long a member of the Board of Trustees. This is the greatest piece of Americana added to the Library since the Emmet Collection was presented in 1896. The petition, addressed to George III of England and signed by members of the Continental Congress on July 8, 1775, was an attempt to avert the Revolutionary War. The Library's copy is one of two original engrossed manuscripts taken to England by colonists' agents, the other copy being in the Public Record Office, London. The division also received several dozen choice items through bequests

of Edward S. Harkness and Mary S. Harkness in 1950. These gifts included Americana of top rank, such as letters of Franklin and of George and Martha Washington, as well as items by American and English literary figures, such as Poe, Ruskin, Thackeray, Thoreau, and Whittier. Sixty manuscript items relating to Robert Fulton, given by Mr. Gilbert Montague in 1951–52, shed new light on Fulton's work on the steamboat, the submarine torpedo, the defense of New York during the War of 1812, and on the use of steamboats on the Mississippi, Hudson, and Ganges Rivers. The Lewis M. Isaacs Collection of Robinsoniana was given to the Library between 1947 and 1956 by Mrs. Isaacs and her children. It contains over six hundred pages of working drafts or original manuscripts of Edwin Arlington Robinson, letters to him from noted literary figures, and some sixty variant editions, special editions, or association copies of the poet's publications. An extensive collection of papers was received under the will of Julia Marlowe Sothern, the collection containing professional correspondence of Miss Marlowe during the early years of this century when she and her husband were establishing themselves as leading Shakespearean performers.

In 1946 the MUSIC DIVISION acquired the very rare first edition of "Hail Columbia" and in 1947 a large number of manuscripts of the American composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk, including a full score of "A Night in the Tropics." In 1948 the division acquired an almost complete collection of the manuscripts of George Frederick Bristow, including the complete score of "Rip Van Winkle," and in 1950 the manuscript score of the opera "Daphne" by Arthur Bird. The Dance Collection of the Music Division, established as a separate unit in 1948, acquired many notable collections which place it in the foremost position among dance libraries in this country. These gifts include the Ted Shawn and Ruth St. Denis Collection (1950), Charles Weidman and Doris Humphrey (1951), Hanya Holm and Mary Wigman (1952), and the superlative Cia Fornaroli Collection established by Walter Toscanini and containing a wide range of dance materials (prints, scores, books, etc.) of the finest quality, many excessively rare.

The ORIENTAL DIVISION received from the Armenian-American Friendship League of New York approximately five hundred Armenian books published in Soviet Armenia between 1945 and 1950. This unique collection, together with previous holdings, gives the Library one of the best Armenian collections in America. The division also acquired the exquisite 1867 edition of the famous Chinese historical work *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien* by Ssu-ma Kuang (11th century) in thirty-two bound volumes, now exceedingly difficult to find. Because modern plays are a new development

among the Arabs, another item of unusual interest is *Masrah al-Mujtama'*, or Collected Plays, by one of the foremost writers of modern Arabic, Taufik al Hakīm (Cairo 1951). The Oriental Division also acquired nine volumes, 1933–51, of the first critical edition of India's national epic, the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, being published by the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, India.

The PRINTS DIVISION received many valuable gifts including a group of prints from John Taylor Arms to complete the Library's holdings of his work; George Biddle presented his lithographs, Fritz Eichenberg his wood engravings, and John Wright Brown his collection of cartoons by American cartoonists. By purchase the division added seven prints to the outstanding holdings of the Japanese artist, Kitagawa Utamaro (from the collection of Louis V. Ledoux); eight Dürer woodcuts of Emperor Maximilian's Great Triumphal Car published in 1522; a collection of thirty-six views of Vienna and environs (1784) by Karl Schütz and Johann Ziegler; a series of twelve color lithographs by Edouard Vuillard entitled "Paysages et Intérieurs" (1899); and *Chieh-ch'i ch'ü-shui-fa t'ung pan t'u* (views of foreign waterworks), a set of twenty engravings of the gardens of the Summer Palace in Peking, designed by the Jesuit priests Giuseppe Castiglione and Michel Benoist and engraved by anonymous Chinese artists (1783).

In 1947, the RESERVE DIVISION acquired the first edition of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon* (Cologne 1473) the great landmark of the literature of book collecting, and the first edition of Seneca's *Opera philosophica; Epistolae, etc.* (Naples, Mathias Moravus, 1475) famous for the beauty of its printing and one of Moravus' earliest productions. Both of these items and several others were selected from the stock of the bookseller Gabriel Wells in accordance with the terms of his will. Probably the most remarkable accession of Washingtoniana ever to come to the Library since James Lenox acquired the Farewell Address came in the Edward S. Harkness bequest. For example, there are eleven letters from Washington to his mother, February 19–May 13, 1773, when he was recuperating from a serious illness. Of twenty-one volumes from Washington's library, the most interesting is a copy of the first edition of *The Poems of Philip Freneau. Written Chiefly During the Late War* (Philadelphia 1786) inscribed by the poet to Washington and with numerous manuscript corrections in Freneau's hand. In 1950 Mr. Harkness' widow, Mary Stillman Harkness, bequeathed the Library a set of the four folio editions of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* (London, 1623, 1632, 1664, 1685). In 1953 the Oscar Lion collection of books, letters, and manuscripts by and about Walt Whitman was received by gift. Containing nearly 600 pieces, including a comprehensive run

of editions of *Leaves of Grass,* the collection's stellar item is Whitman's own copy of the first edition, second issue of *Leaves of Grass* (1855) in paper wrappers. Pasted and pinned to the blank flyleaves are seven different holograph manuscripts of introductions intended for later editions but never published during Whitman's lifetime, as the volume was lost sight of until after his death. Of comparable importance is the famous "Blue Book," a copy of the 1860–61 third edition of *Leaves of Grass* in blue wrappers. This volume, bearing alterations and additions in Whitman's handwriting on almost every page, was the cause of his dismissal on June 30, 1865, from his clerkship in the Office of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior when the book was found in his desk by Secretary Harlan. The collection also contains the first sketches and drafts for *Passage to India* and an intermediate version of the poem which preceded the final printer's manuscript. In 1951 Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., presented the very fine Sir Thomas Phillipps copy of *A Note of the Shipping, Men and Provisions, Sent and Provided for Virginia . . . 1620* (London 1621) the earliest known document to mention the *Mayflower* and its historic voyage to this country in 1620. It is one of three such reports, the other two having been issued for 1619 and 1621. Thanks to Mr. Houghton's gift, the Library now possesses the only complete set. The Harmsworth copy of a very rare Quaker tract, *New-England a Degenerate Plant* (London 1659) was acquired in 1952 by purchase from the Lenox Fund. This pamphlet brings together for the first time the repressive laws enacted against the Quakers in Boston, Plymouth, and New Haven. Benjamin Hubbard's *Orthodoxal Navigation* (London 1656) one of the rarest works on the subject in English, was also acquired by purchase from the Lenox Fund in 1953. It is one of two complete copies known.

In 1949 the SLAVONIC DIVISION acquired a complete set of *Uwagi Tygodniowe Warszawskie,* Nos. 1–52 (December 7, 1768–December 23, 1769). This weekly, the earliest Polish periodical in the Library and a pioneer publication in the fields of agriculture and industry, is of especial interest for Polish history. In 1951 the division obtained *Glasnik Srpskoga Ucenog Drustva* (Belgrade, 86 volumes, 1847–92) containing the transactions of the Serbian Learned Society which preceded the establishment of the Serbian Academy of Science. The Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Agency gave the Library the very rare edition of Johann Amos Comenius' *Lux in Tenebris* (Amsterdam 1657). Also by gift, this time from Mr. Witold L. Langrod, 235 volumes and nearly five hundred pamphlets in Polish, many published by exiled Poles in Great Britain, were received in 1954.

To do justice to the acquisitions of the SPENCER COLLECTION in a report of this kind is manifestly impossible, but among the notable purchases were *The Apocalypse,* an illuminated manuscript on vellum with seventy-five full-page miniatures, written and illustrated in Northern France, probably by an English artist and scribe (ca. 1320); *Aesop's Fables in Greek,* an illuminated manuscript of seventy-five vellum leaves with 135 miniatures, written and illuminated in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century (from the Phillipps Collection); *The Bologna Missal,* a manuscript on vellum, with thirty illuminated borders and forty historiated initial letters, bound in sixteenth century calf in the style of Jean Grolier, probably written in Bologna with miniatures signed by Bartolomeo Bossi for Galeazzo Marescotti (ca. 1450, once owned by the Church of St. Petronius in Bologna); Sir John Mandeville's *Reysen und Wanderschafften durch das Gelobte Land* (Strassburg, Johann Prüss, 1483); *Destructorium Vitiorium ex Similitudinum Creaturarum* (Geneva, Jean Belot, 1500) the only copy in this country; Legros' *L'Art de la Coëffure des Dames Francoises,* three volumes of engravings published in Paris by Antoine Boudet (1768–69); James Washington Sheahan's *Chicago Illustrated* (Chicago, Jevne and Almini, 1866–67) with the original covers of all of the parts, as issued; Hesiod's *Theogonie* with the etchings of Georges Braque (Paris, Maeght, 1955); *Bussetsu Jō-Kyō* (Sutra on the Ten Rulers of Hell) (1594) the earliest illustrated Japanese book with twenty-five full-page woodcuts by the priest Tokusen (from the Vever collection of Paris); *Kazwīnī's Cosmology,* manuscript on glazed paper, with over fifty miniature paintings of animals, trees, and flowers, written and illuminated in Arabia in the late fourteenth century; and *Krishnagita* (the story of Krishna), manuscript on paper with twenty-six full-page miniatures executed by the Kangra Valley School in India in the late eighteenth century.

The THEATRE COLLECTION continued to receive the private papers of many people active in the theatre. Among these gifts were the professional scrapbooks of Sophie Tucker, received in 1948 and added to regularly; the Brock and Margaret Pemberton collection of scrapbooks, photographs, and scripts relating to their productions, to the Stage Door Canteen, the Merchant Seaman's Club, and to the American Theatre Wing War Service; the R. H. Burnside Collection pertaining to the Hippodrome Theatre and Burnside productions elsewhere, comprising three van loads of scripts, photographs, letters, music, business records, and scrapbooks; and the John Golden Collection covering his entire career as a producer, author, and composer.

Among many other general publications of note, the Library acquired an extraordinary collection of 16,550 French Revolutionary pamphlets in 1947 to add to its already significant holdings in this special period.

General and Special Book Fund Expenditures Since January 1946

	General Funds	Special Funds
January – December 1946	$ 92,110.20	$ 186,582.18
January 1947 – June 1948	175,038.75 (18 months)	223,852.83
July 1948 – June 1949	92,434.93	116,209.73
July 1949 – June 1950	114,999.76	116,759.39
July 1950 – June 1951	174,319.98	70,821.28
July 1951 – June 1952	198,500.00	118,163.07
July 1952 – June 1953	229,999.57	84,622.07
July 1953 – June 1954	229,995.88	127,074.50
July 1954 – June 1955	185,000.00	106,625.67
July 1955 – June 1956	250,000.00	123,306.32
TOTALS	$1,741,399.07	$1,274,017.04

Relinquishment of Books

Since the Library was not well equipped in specialized staff and collections to offer medical library service, particularly in relation to superior facilities available elsewhere, most of the books on medicine, 20,830 volumes, were transferred to The New York Academy of Medicine in 1949. The Academy retained 30% of the collection and sent the balance, 12,697 volumes, to the Southwestern Medical College, a new school in Dallas, Texas.

Evaluating the Collection

Various estimates of the quality of certain parts of the Library were arrived at during the last decade. *The Geographical Review* of October 1950 ranked the Library as one of the five institutions "clearly of first rank" in holdings of major geographical serials. An official of the Library of Congress called The New York Public Library's collection on India the "best in the country." The Library had 399 of 492 titles listed in E. Merton Coulter's *Travels in the Confederate States: a Bibliography* and 80 out of 81 books listed by Paul M. Angle in *A Shelf of Lincoln Books.* Checking of Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue . . . 1641–1700* showed that the Library had a substantial list of additions to make to Wing. Thomas W. Streeter listed 78 printed items in his *Americana-Beginnings; A Selection from the Library of Thomas W. Streeter.* Of 52 items printed in the period through 1800, The New York Public Library stood first among other libraries with 37 copies, only five of

which were imperfect. With the appearance of volume thirteen (1955) of Evans' *American Bibliography* it was possible to arrive at a comparative figure for the Library's holdings of American imprints through 1800. Of the total entries in Evans (38,960 excluding cross references) the Library had originals of 13,337 of Evans' entries and 1,711 photostats and facsimiles plus 677 originals and 731 photostats, facsimiles, or microfilms of titles not recorded in Evans. As a final measure of the Library's holdings, 40% of the periodical titles reported to the Library of Congress in 1952 had not been previously recorded there.

Readers

Statistics

It would be possible to generalize about the work of the Reference Department by simply stating that 1949–50 was the year of greatest activity in the last ten and that 1953–54 marked the nadir. This would be far from a full story. Attention is invited to the accompanying Tables 1 and 2 and to some remarkable variations within the Reference Department. Operations in the Jewish, Manuscript, and Newspaper Divisions remained pretty much on a level for the period. American History has shown the greatest fluctuation in materials consulted, from a high of 145,114 volumes per annum to a low of 77,894 volumes, although the number of readers has varied much less, from a high of 36,534 per annum to a low of 28,696. The Reserve Division follows a similar pattern, except that for five years its level of operation has been little changed. Since the Reserve Division is strong in Americana, the statistics of these two divisions suggest a considerable decline in interest in American History or that resources elsewhere are proving adequate to readers' needs. The Map Division displays a 32% range in materials consulted but only a 20% range in readers, and like the Reserve Division it has tended to operate on a plateau since 1950. The Science and Technology Division shows a fairly steady decline of 28% in materials consulted and 47% in readers. The Book Delivery and Periodicals Divisions have fluctuated 22–30%. The Music Division has had an acute fluctuation in materials consulted, 33%, and in readers, 42%, but 1955–56, which showed a ten-year low in book use, had a five-year high in readers.

More remarkable still is the fact that several divisions have shown vigorous growth in activity during the decade. The Economics Division approached a high for the period in 1955–56. It is generally observed that library activity tends to operate in inverse proportion to the level of business activity. This would seem to be confirmed by the Science and Technology profile, but

TABLE 1

VOLUMES CONSULTED, REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Division	*1946*	*1947*	*Jan.-June 1948*	*1948–49*	*1949–50*	*1950–51*	*1951–52*	*1952–53*	*1953–54*	*1954–55*	*1955–56*
Book Delivery	1,205,086	1,215,914	658,023	1,246,044	1,256,802	1,114,683	1,061,186	980,626	885,225	914,457	904,785
American History	138,220	138,008	68,344	145,114	130,515	125,408	114,826	90,195	80,741	77,894	97,136
Reserve	14,915	20,420	10,269	22,065	16,611	15,636	15,190	14,607	13,631	14,324	14,014
Manuscripts	5,939	4,536	1,514	3,855	5,111	5,504	5,893	5,823	5,362	5,361	5,351
Maps	20,364	27,931	15,971	34,507	34,024	28,721	24,495	22,173	22,121	23,736	23,158
Genealogy	133,239	141,180	70,100	133,070	131,597	138,648	132,850	126,211	133,949	143,365	149,821
Music	89,248	110,685	55,835	106,785	107,841	92,973	93,570	88,000	88,415	81,321	74,443
Art & Architecture	103,873	107,892	55,783	98,360	109,848	88,299	82,901	83,381	102,798	130,628	127,715
Prints	7,598	8,347	5,859	9,614	10,286	10,015	9,691	11,177	11,813	11,377	11,120
Jewish	60,542	49,962	24,125	56,721	49,270	48,175	49,330	53,798	51,000	55,485	50,125
Oriental	37,121	43,800	18,031	38,070	45,088	48,639	48,626	46,746	45,519	42,733	35,935
Slavonic	64,018	72,475	36,845	70,169	87,728	73,806	75,087	77,676	75,302	74,028	71,301
Economics	337,147	317,874	160,329	294,993	318,579	279,035	244,086	257,601	268,581	305,181	317,412
Science & Technology	376,046	353,472	182,317	343,342	354,809	282,184	276,553	270,318	259,441	253,954	255,633
Theatre	———	24,987	14,161	26,651	33,219	35,907	34,296	40,925	46,055	46,173	50,068
Current Periodicals	341,048	354,563	207,694	373,742	392,713	355,964	330,455	325,869	327,613	325,975	289,553
Newspapers	55,397	60,462	42,066	78,049	79,647	76,076	77,467	78,625	85,120	85,555	79,488
Stuart	448	450	213	573	548	460	391	343	550	418	303
Annex	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	9,261	12,359	10,615	9,510
Information (9 Months)	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	31,423	———	———
TOTAL	2,990,249	3,052,956	1,606,841	3,081,724	3,164,236	2,820,133	2,676,893	2,583,365	2,547,018	2,602,602	2,570,479

TABLE 2

READERS USING REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Division	*1946*	*1947*	*Jan.-June 1948*	*1948–49*	*1949–50*	*1950–51*	*1951–52*	*1952–53*	*1953–54*	*1954–55*	*1955–56*
Book Delivery	557,457	562,966	312,217	577,609	581,835	315,411	487,019	453,975	409,584	417,865	416,253
American History	35,675	36,534	19,367	34,903	34,666	31,226	30,260	29,045	29,653	28,696	29,455
Reserve	5,600	6,002	2,983	5,960	5,980	5,640	5,428	4,680	4,544	5,435	4,995
Manuscripts	1,943	1,679	1,678	1,696	1,711	1,976	1,823	1,900	1,751	1,647	1,646
Maps	10,303	10,058	5,031	9,885	10,438	8,733	8,022	8,055	8,266	8,594	8,442
Genealogy	28,236	28,833	15,036	26,689	23,541	25,432	25,450	23,250	23,016	23,252	22,975
Music	17,907	24,308	12,286	19,918	19,004	17,535	16,673	14,331	14,344	15,459	18,480
Art & Architecture	34,762	36,910	20,568	34,386	35,789	28,642	27,664	25,623	25,500	29,090	28,770
Prints	3,923	3,994	2,349	3,920	4,202	3,601	3,586	3,816	3,764	3,523	3,275
Jewish	18,378	18,595	10,183	19,991	18,835	17,038	16,805	16,487	18,207	18,007	14,658
Oriental	4,576	4,124	2,141	4,200	4,478	3,913	4,042	4,286	4,593	4,801	4,356
Slavonic	14,918	17,462	8,635	16,246	17,113	17,281	19,579	18,182	18,746	20,771	23,495
Economics	112,649	105,596	53,443	98,331	106,193	93,045	84,009	85,867	89,527	101,727	105,804
Science & Technology	130,048	125,989	61,886	110,032	112,642	89,910	84,744	78,031	71,231	71,632	67,817
Theatre	———	12,228	5,959	11,219	13,390	12,788	12,719	11,956	11,705	12,546	13,068
Current Periodicals	246,736	253,161	111,466	260,140	277,094	238,760	226,460	223,703	219,877	218,370	192,758
Newspapers	20,554	21,128	12,618	23,063	23,090	23,141	23,274	23,345	27,837	28,688	25,744
Stuart	310	337	171	394	349	303	267	268	303	274	186
Annex	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	777	1,569	1,762	1,502
Information (9 Months)	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	23,586	———	———
TOTAL	1,243,828	1,269,904	677,029	1,258,682	1,290,350	1,134,175	1,077,824	1,027,577	1,007,603	1,012,163	983,679

the Economics Division has reversed the pattern in a period of prosperity. The Art Division also shows a marked growth trend and the Prints Division a high plateau. This may be the result of a decline in art library facilities elsewhere in the city. The Genealogy Division shows a slight decline in readers but a noticeable upswing in materials consulted, and most spectacular of all is the growth in the Theatre Collection, a growth which continues unabated.

At least one other use factor is pertinent to the picture presented above, and that is the use of the Library through photostat. The overwhelming preponderance of this service is rendered to business enterprises, and the activity tends to *follow* the trend of the business cycle rather than to run counter to it like other library activity. Statistics of photostat orders (given in a later section) confirm this fact. Another significant fact about the Library's photostat activity is that, fairly consistently, 75% of all photostats are made from science and technology materials. This would suggest that the apparent decline in the use of the Science and Technology Division is not as real as it might seem when approximately 36,000 orders for almost 300,000 photostats were filled within this subject area in 1955–56.

The divisions of the Reference Department have not been consistent in keeping statistics of use of the Library by telephone and correspondence. An estimated 300,000 telephone requests and 5,000 reference letters are answered annually. Fragmentary statistics are presented here because of the significance of these two channels of service.

Reference Letters Answered, Selected Divisions

Division	*1946*	*1947*	*'48–49*	*'49–50*	*'50–51*	*'51–52*	*'52–53*	*'53–54*	*'54–55*	*'55–56*
Art	312	335	314	---	---	268	260	---	263	222
Genealogy	607	778	835	920	1,106	1,143	1,172	1,225	1,118	1,002
Manuscript	---	---	---	453	---	297	438	401	273	258
Newspaper	---	---	---	---	---	276	210	220	214	239
Reserve	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	312	393
Science & Tech.	---	441	439	440	---	450	---	---	343	274

To make these statistics more meaningful, it is interesting to note in passing that in one year, 1947, the Genealogy Room answered inquiries from every state in the union but two (Montana and New Mexico) and from twenty-five

foreign countries. Californians sent as many letters (53) as residents of New Jersey or Pennsylvania.

Telephone Service, Selected Divisions

Division	*1946*	*1947*	*'48–49*	*'49–50*	*'50–51*	*'51–52*	*'52–53*	*'53–54*	*'54–55*	*'55–56*
Manuscript	—	—	—	567	660	778	543	524	709	682
Map	6,000	6,178	5,683	6,193	5,514	5,509	5,810	5,825	6,287	7,102
Newspaper	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,500	5,000
Periodicals	—	—	—	8,022	7,367	7,441	7,490	8,612	9,469	9,055
Science & Tech.	—	—	—	—	18,000	—	—	—	15,000	15,000
Theatre	9,385	8,448	5,358	7,584	—	—	9,222	8,334	9,246	10,396

It is rather hazardous to generalize on either table, but these statistics, weighed with subjective reports of various divisions not represented, including the Information Division which handles around 200,000 telephone calls annually, would seem to point to the fact that telephone service holds up despite decline in on-the-spot reference use; whereas correspondence activity tends to conform to the pattern of book use. This suggests that there are some very fundamental factors, such as the business cycle, which affect research library use without reference to purely local conditions. It may also imply a changing pattern in library use, particularly in times of great economic activity. The telephone is a channel for rapidly getting data, and there is no begging the fact that if the reader were in the Library he would be obliged to do a fair amount of work on his own; whereas the telephone tends, within necessary limits, to throw a greater burden on the Library staff.

What Is Normal Use?

It might be profitable to inquire into the question of what the "normal" use of a great research library is. This is particularly appropriate since many people view with alarm what to them is a considerable fluctuation in use during the period under consideration and a considerable decline from the abnormal highs of the thirties when depressions and recessions sent people to the Library in great numbers to lay the foundation for new means of livelihood or simply to find a place profitably to spend free time.

The report of the President of the Board of Trustees for 1935 stresses the extreme discomfort which crowding caused staff and readers and the inadequate service given the public. When the tempo increased in the late forties,

standing room only was again a daily occurrence by early afternoon in the Science and Technology Division; on December 29 and 30, 1947, there were 12,000 people each day in the Library, 50% more than "normal;" for five days during that Christmas period, people were turned away from the check rooms; the Main Reading Room, Economics Division, and Periodicals Division repeatedly had standing room only; on one day students from *forty-two colleges outside the metropolitan area used the Economics Division alone;* on Christmas Day, 1949, 2,065 books were used in the Main Reading Room; the average hourly attendance in the Main Reading Room on Sunday nights was 400 in 1948–49, and 2,000 people used the Library on a typical Sunday. The standing room only sign was out in the Main Reading Room again during Christmas week 1955, and many Saturday afternoons approached this level largely because college students, beginning February 1, 1955, were admitted freely to the Library, upon the lifting of a restriction which had been imposed in the early thirties because of crowding.

One who studies the record carefully is obliged to conclude that there were times during the last decade when the Library exceeded an acceptable operating level and that the rush of readers could not be given the quality of service which this Library is meant to provide. In their annual reports, Division Chiefs repeatedly state that the Library has tended to lose the marginal reader as use has declined, but the hard core of serious research workers remains intact. This would suggest that the Library is presently rendering better service — a more nearly "normal" service — to its readers than in times of higher use statistics. A more nearly acceptable amount of time is also available for selecting books and for other bibliothecal activities which must suffer in times of abnormally high use to the inevitable impairment of the effectiveness of the Library.

Independent Survey of Use

In 1956 the Library engaged an outside firm of experts to measure the extent and nature of the use of the Reference Department and incidentally to solicit reader comments about the Library. This survey was divided into two parts: (a) 326 depth interviews, some lasting as long as an hour, conducted by the survey staff with readers selected at random over a period of several weeks, and (b) a mass questionnaire on April 9, from which 2,027 usable returns were received.

The depth interviews indicated:

1. Almost unanimous praise for the competence and courtesy of the Staff.

2. In general, the Library's book collections were lauded, and such criticisms as were voiced were not justified in relation to materials available.

3. Speed of service was commended, particularly in comparison with European libraries, although a minority wished for faster book delivery.

4. Many readers wanted a restaurant and a room where they could smoke.

5. About a third of the readers wanted to have more books on open shelves.

6. The severest criticisms of the physical plant centered on poor lighting, particularly in the Main Reading Room, on the coldly monumental appearance of the building, and on the need for better guide and directional devices.

7. Many people felt the Library should pursue a more aggressive public relations and fund raising program.

8. Criticisms of service tended to concentrate on:

   a. Delays occasioned by books in the Bindery and books not yet cataloged and available for public use.

   b. Reduced hours of evening service, especially during the summer, in special divisions.

9. Size and complexity of the Library, and particularly of the Public Catalog, confuse many readers (cf. 2 above); the physical condition of some catalog cards is of concern to readers.

Returns from the questionnaire showed that:

1. 61% of the respondents use the Library more frequently than once a month.

2. 14% of the people live in Queens and 13% in Brooklyn; 12.8% live in New York suburbs and 9.1% outside the metropolitan area. On this particular day, the out-of-city users came from 19 states, the District of Columbia, New England, and the South (states unspecified) and 6 foreign countries.

3. 47% of the readers use the Library for business reasons or for research at the graduate level; 12.3% for undergraduate study; 22.2% for recreation or personal reasons; and 13% for self-improvement.

4. Out of 781 readers using the Library in connection with their business or profession, 543 identified their companies or field of work. For example:

Publishing, journalism, etc.	81	Advertising	31
Free lance writing	81	Law	27
Business and finance	51	Engineering	24
Manufacturing	48	Research organizations	20
Arts and entertainment	41	Mining and metallurgy	12
Educational organizations	36		

5. The relationship between motivation and subjects studied produced some interesting results: 20% of the people interested in religion and mythology were working in that field because of job or business; 28% of those studying history were likewise doing so because of job or business and 20% because of graduate research. In the field of art, 35% of the readers, and in the area of theatrical research 56% of the readers, were using the Library in connection with job or business. On the other hand, a third of the people interested in music were working in that field for recreational or personal reasons. As might be expected, 45% of those studying economics, 50% of those studying law, 60% of those studying technology, and almost 40% of those studying science were doing so in relation to job or business. It is surprising to note that 50% of those working in the field of geography were also doing so in connection with job or business.

6. 48% of the readers knew the precise book or books that they wanted when they came to the Library, 24% had some idea of the exact book they wanted, and 15% were seeking material of unkown identity on a particular subject. Over half the people used the card catalogs to get their books, and 36% asked the staff for help.

7. 26.1% of the readers used books on the open shelves, and 36.1% of the readers said that they would like more basic books on open shelves.

8. In 95% to 97% of the cases readers found all or part of the material they wanted. Only 4.2% of those working in connection with job or business were unable to find what they wanted, and as might be expected, those who used the Library daily or several times a week found all or part of what they wanted in 98.6% of the cases.

SERVICES

One of the purely statistical measures of the quality of the Library's service has been the speed with which books could be delivered from the stacks to the Main Reading Room, the elapsed time being counted from the time the reader files his call slip; another measure is the number of times the Book Delivery Division fails either to produce a book or a satisfactory explanation of failure to do so. Some comparative figures are as follows:

Book Delivery Division

Year	Average Book Delivery Time in Minutes	Failures to Produce Books or Satisfactory Explanation per 1,000 Requests
1938	6.6	.4
1946	11.1	3.2
1950–51	8.3	1.0
1954–55	11.2	4.3
1955–56	11.3	3.5

In 1947 there were only two telephone lines into the Information Division, which handles approximately half of the reference calls to the Library. The operators reported that ten to fifteen calls were backed up at a time. To correct this situation four telephones were installed, just for outside service, and four people were added to the Information Division staff. Samplings over the period under review indicate that 700–800 calls per day are now answered in this division, and from 11–12 a. m. and from 2–4 p. m. there are likely to be more calls than can be handled by four instruments.

As has been noted in the preceding section, the Library extended its service during the decade by opening its doors to students at the college level. Very restricted research use had been permitted to this group since the early thirties, and relaxation of the restriction was almost immediately reflected in such divisions as American History, Economics, and Information.

In December 1947 a series of public evening concerts of recorded music was inaugurated, followed in March 1948 by a noonday series. That same summer the noonday series was moved to Bryant Park. The summer series, from July to September, made possible the first year with the financial assistance of Lanny Ross, has continued with great success under the sponsorship of the Union Dime Savings Bank. From February 1 to March 9, 1948, the Music Division presented six lectures on the "Dance and Its Allied Arts" with the aid of such outside experts as Walter Terry, Norman Lloyd, and Ruth Page.

Library publications are reported more fully elsewhere, but there were certain activities carried on by the Library which fall outside the confines of the regular program and which are therefore mentioned here. The Chief of the Science and Technology Division performed a very considerable service to his field by editing the National Research Council's *Scientific, Medical and Technical Books Published in the United States of America.* He carried this work through the basic volume in 1946 and two supplements, and in 1956 began the preparation of a completely new edition. He also supervised the preparation of a basic bibliography for the use of CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, Inc.) of approximately 1,200 books for the rehabilitation and re-stocking of war damaged libraries in Europe and Asia.

Another specialized service was made possible when, in 1955, Walter Toscanini established the Cia Fornaroli Collection within the Dance Collection of the Music Division. Funds were made available to promote the exchange of microfilms or other photocopies of rare material relating to the dance.

An even more specialized service to scholarship and other libraries is provided in the cataloging of books in Hebrew characters. Edited copy is supplied to the Library of Congress which prints the cards and makes them available to libraries and scholars. This work has grown substantially during the last decade:

Slips for Cataloging in Hebrew Characters Sent to Library of Congress

Year	Slips	Year	Slips
1946	208	1951–52	756
1/1/47–6/30/48	308	1952–53	630
1948–49	322	1953–54	607
1949–50	267	1954–55	849
1950–51	289	1955–56	849

Occasionally very special recognition is accorded the Library for its services, and there were two such occasions during the past year. The Antoinette Perry Award was given by the American Theatre Wing, Inc., in recognition of the exceptional and outstanding service provided by the Theatre Collection. Almost simultaneously, the second annual Kelcey Allen Award came to the Chief of the Theatre Collection for unusual contributions to the American stage.

Organization

The ten-year period was characterized by a good deal of reorganization of administrative units, revision of procedures, physical changes, special projects, and vexatious operational problems.

The tremendous influx of materials after the war as sketched under "Books" called for extraordinary efforts in the Acquisition and Preparation Divisions and in other units contributing to the work of cataloging and getting materials to the shelves.

For several years prior to 1946, the Printing Office had been unable to employ a linotype operator skilled in the setting of Cyrillic characters, and some one thousand titles were immobilized. By using offset techniques, this problem was rapidly solved. Another backlog in the cataloging of Oriental books was largely cleared by 1951, and approximately 25,000 pieces of musical iconography were organized.

Ten thousand sets of Library of Congress printed cards needing correction before being usable in this Library were finally processed by May 1954. During the decade it was discovered that most of the maps and atlases from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries were unrecorded in either the official or public catalogs, but by 1956 this was largely corrected.

By 1950 the extraordinary flow of acquisitions had ceased. The staff was coping with the current intake of materials, but the backlog, estimated at one and one half years' work for the 150 staff members in the Preparation Division, was a formidable problem. That the backlog was reduced to less than one year's work by 1956 is the result of improved staff effort and a survey conducted by management engineers.

Table 3

Reference Department

Ten Year Summary of Titles Cataloged

	Monographs	Serials	Documents	Maps	Total
January – December 1946	35,707	14,761	11,233	4,859	66,560
January 1947 – June 1948	53,415	24,787	18,664	12,305	109,171
July 1948 – June 1949	31,605	15,476	10,829	9,874	67,784
July 1949 – June 1950	34,944	16,097	11,661	12,154	74,856
July 1950 – June 1951	37,672	18,077	11,776	8,810	76,335
July 1951 – June 1952	52,546	19,796	14,467	3,931	90,740
July 1952 – June 1953	44,143	20,892	11,608	3,209	79,852
July 1953 – June 1954	40,179 *	24,660 *	———	2,829	67,668
July 1954 – June 1955	48,588 *	27,492 *	———	2,726	78,806
July 1955 – June 1956	46,378 * & 1,350 †	32,067 *	———	3,017	82,812

Average number of titles cataloged per year: 75,675.

Table 4

Reference Department

Ten Year Summary of:	Total Books Bound	Cards Filed (Net Cards Added)	Additions to Collections (Net Vols. Added)
January – December 1946	24,980	291,301	61,749
January 1947 – June 1948	39,632	567,387	91,445
July 1948 – June 1949	26,782	306,673	58,119
July 1949 – June 1950	28,468	341,104	59,437
July 1950 – June 1951	28,884	384,183	62,345
July 1951 – June 1952	34,784	436,266	66,511
July 1952 – June 1953	40,339	632,676	66,005
July 1953 – June 1954	33,041	633,079	68,481
July 1954 – June 1955	34,393	543,410	80,915
July 1955 – June 1956	32,724	534,308	66,969

* Includes documents.

† Phonorecords.

TABLE 5

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

ACQUISITION BY PURCHASE AND GIFTS SINCE JANUARY 1946

BY PURCHASE:	Volumes	Pamphlets	Maps	Prints	Total
January – December 1946	25,681	14,917	469	224	41,291
January – December 1947	44,288	17,783	180	439	62,690
January – June 1948	25,649	31,668	31	182	57,530 †
July 1948 – June 1949	24,083	17,371	99	10,547	52,820
July 1949 – June 1950	25,662	12,094	287	842	38,885
July 1950 – June 1951	26,429	11,709	466	239	38,843
July 1951 – June 1952	30,224	13,605	697	1,165	45,691
July 1952 – June 1953	27,674	11,608	499	211	39,992
July 1953 – June 1954	26,870	7,033	34	993	34,930
July 1954 – June 1955	38,178 *	——	2,100	213	40,491
July 1955 – June 1956	35,924	12,857	258	139	49,178
BY GIFT:					
January – December 1946	42,273	109,534	6,329	846	158,982
January – December 1947	50,831	81,294	11,427	1,184	144,736
January – June 1948	23,656	32,697	2,125	959	59,437
July 1948 – June 1949	47,885	88,471	6,371	4,037	146,764
July 1949 – June 1950	38,712	70,813	5,896	3,469	118,890
July 1950 – June 1951	39,536	48,058	2,358	4,380	94,332
July 1951 – June 1952	36,156	47,118	1,783	589	85,846
July 1952 – June 1953	39,905	42,228	2,281	1,221	85,635
July 1953 – June 1954	30,924	53,156	2,449	1,236	87,765
July 1954 – June 1955	26,942	44,517	2,137	41	73,637
July 1955 – June 1956	23,589	48,330	2,389	133	74,441

(Some parts of this section, especially the details of recommended and effected improvements in technical processes, will be given in full only in the complete Ten Year Report, *which we hope to publish in December.*

Photographic and other services which were transferred during the decade from the Reference Department to Library-wide administration are to be dealt with in Part IV, The Library as a Whole.)

* Includes pamphlets.

† 6-month period.

The Contents of the Basket

Reflections on Children's Reading Here and in Japan *

By Elizabeth Gray Vining

LAST SUMMER I heard Laurens Van der Post tell a story which has been fermenting in my mind ever since. He, as you know, is that very remarkable South African novelist, explorer, soldier and anthropologist, author of *Venture to the Interior* and *The Dark Eye in Africa* and other books, a wonderful combination of the man of action and the man of thought. The story which I am going to repeat for you now, not as he told it but as I remember it, was the first story that Laurens Van der Post remembers having heard, and it was told him by an old native servant on his grandfather's farm. A certain man in a little African village was charged with caring for the cattle that were the real wealth of the village. In the morning he milked them and took them to pasture, and in the evening he brought them back. One morning he found when he went to them that they had been milked during the night. The next day the same thing happened, and the next and the next. It was a serious loss for the village. He determined to stay up and watch the next night, to find out what was happening and if possible to catch the thief. So he hid behind a tree and waited.

In the moonlight he saw a band of people come down from the sky and milk the cattle. When he ran out they all fled, but he managed to catch and hold the last of them, a beautiful and shining maiden. He promptly fell in love with her and begged her to stay with him and become his wife. She consented, on the condition that he should never open the basket which she carried with her.

So they lived happily in his hut for a long time. The sky people did not come to molest the cattle and the village prospered. But all the time there stood in a corner of the hut that covered basket, to plague and tantalize the man. At length he could bear it no longer, and one day when his wife was out he opened it and looked inside. When she came back she knew at once what he had done and she charged him with it. He answered that yes, he had opened it and he could not see what all the fuss was about: there wasn't anything in the basket at all!

At that the sky maiden picked up her basket and went out of the house. Without looking back even once she walked steadily away until she was lost in the distance. She never came back.

* This paper, the second annual Spring Lecture on Children's Books, was read at the Donnell Library Center of The New York Public Library on April 24, 1957.

The old servant who told Mr. Van der Post the story said to him, "It wasn't so much that he disobeyed and looked into the basket. That was human. The thing was, *he didn't see what was inside.* She couldn't forgive that."

The people who heard the story that night have various theories as to what was in the basket. My own interpretation is one that probably Mr. Van der Post would not recognize. It can of course be any value that some one cherishes, however invisible it may be to others. To me — though now I am milking Mr. Van der Post's cows — the basket is children's reading, and I am going to examine its contents with you this evening.

We who are here tonight have come together, at some expense of time and effort, because we care a great deal about children's reading. We know that it is important. We are concerned to get the best for our children.

There is a wealth of material from which to choose. Too much, actually, for when the presses grind out each year hundreds and hundreds of children's books, we know that they cannot all be good; no matter how fresh and bright and gay they look, the great mass of them are mediocre and it could not be otherwise. Faced with these mountains of bright volumes, we become confused, our choice — for we must choose — becomes haphazard. The libraries, public and school, perform an invaluable service for us not only in making available to our children the books which we cannot afford to buy but also in sorting and weeding out each year's production and culling the best.

Even so there is still a job to be done at home, and sometimes the richest homes do the poorest jobs. I think of some highly privileged boys I knew once who read nothing at all — nothing about people, or other countries, or the funny and amazing and wonderful things that happen — nothing but books that told them how to make or manage or play with their boats or model airplanes or whatever else was the craze of the moment. They had looked in the basket and all they found was jack-stones.

Sometimes when an object is too near or too complicated with detail to be seen clearly, it is a good idea to lay it aside and to look instead at a similar object, far enough away to be seen in perspective, and shorn of its ornaments so that we can see its essential elements. It may be interesting, then, to turn to Japan, where there are fewer children's books, where much less is thought and said about them, where libraries as we know them are comparatively rare, but where the children, like children everywhere, are eager and receptive.

Many Japanese children get their first introduction to literature through the Kamishibai Man, the modern equivalent of the old wandering story-teller. You will find him in any village, any city neighborhood that is off the main

streets, down any crooked lane where there is room for fifteen or twenty children to gather. He claps two sticks together, ordinary square sticks that carpenters would call two-by-twos; they make a rather quiet but penetrating sound, and the children come running. He has a square wooden box about the size of an overnight case, and a tripod on which to set it up. Inside the box are big, gaily-colored cards with pictures on them. You can see the first card through the opening in the front of the box. Before he begins, however, he has a little business to do. He has some cheap candy to sell, and the ten-yen notes clutched in the fat little fists find their way into his pocket. Then he begins.

He tells the part of the story that goes with the first picture. That falls and the second picture comes up, carrying you on to the next development of the plot. The story-teller's memory is aided by the legend on the back of the card. The children see the pictures and they hear his voice. When the story reaches its climax, he may stop and sell some more candy, to catch the late-comers. I have seen them so many times as I went about Japan: the shabby man, the paper theater on its tripod, the crowd of red-cheeked, black-eyed, black-haired children, some in kimonos, some in knitted suits with ruffled aprons, always babies on the backs of the little girls — all absorbed and enthralled.

The quality of the story depends on the man and the kind of place from which he rents his material. It gives concern to thoughtful parents just as the comics and the TV serials do here. Some of them try to keep their children from listening, by refusing the ten-yen notes when they are begged for, but the same arguments prevail there as here: keeping the children quiet and occupied, the fact that all the other children do it, the natural desire to give what is wanted, the hope that some of the time there will be something worth listening to — and of course some of the time there is.

Three kinds of stories in general are told. Horror stories, stories of violence, terror, suspense, and so on are the easiest to attract a crowd with. Then there are the educational stories put out by serious-minded groups, Bible stories, moral tales, and so on, which suffer from the charge, as fatal as "Your slip is showing" — "Your message is showing." Then, and these are really the best loved, there are the traditional tales of Japan, as familiar to her children as Cinderella, the Three Bears, and Little Red Ridinghood are to ours. There is the story of the Tongue-cut Sparrow, in which the characters are faced, like Portia's suitors, with a choice among three baskets. The good old man humbly takes the smallest and finds in it gold and silver. The greedy old woman demands the largest and out of it jump witches and devils that pursue

her with clubs. There is the story of the man who for his devotion to a dog was given the power of making flowers bloom on any bare branch that he touched. There is the tale of the handsome young fisherman who visited the palace at the bottom of the sea. There the princess fell in love with him and gave him a lacquer box when he went home for a visit. He was, of course, never to open the box, and, of course, he did. Smoke came out of it, enveloping him and turning him into an old, old man, whose friends and relatives had died a hundred years before and who could never find his way back to the palace beneath the sea. A combination, as you see, of Pandora's box and our African's basket and the Rip van Winkle theme. Aesop's Fables are also a part of Japan's traditional tales, for the Portuguese brought them to Japan in the sixteenth century, and those animal tales with their moral applications were so congenial to the thought of the country that they took root there, and many Japanese are not aware that they were not a native growth.

But the Aesop Fables are more apt to appear in picture books than on the Kamishibai Man's cards, because of their brevity.

The next stage is the picture books for small children that make up the bulk of what is available for children. As I said before, the Japanese children do not have the children's libraries that we have in such abundance. A library movement has started and is growing, however, and not long ago I saw pictures of a bookmobile on the outskirts of Tokyo that looked just like our county bookmobiles. But the Japanese child has something that our children do not — the book store. There are far more bookstores in Japan than in the United States and they are all open to children. There is not a tiny village or a neighborhood shopping center in a city that has not at least one bookstore and often more. They are small and simple, most of them, no more than a room with one side open to the street, like a stage scene. Counters and shelves run around three sides and in the center there are tables covered with books. No heat and often no floor, just the pounded earth. There is always at least one table spread with picture books and fringed with children eagerly reading. Some of the readers are barely tall enough to breathe over the books. Some of them can buy books but most do not; they simply come to read. The storekeeper is always patient, even though he sees his stock getting shabby from wear that brings him no return. The Japanese are wonderfully tender and gentle with small children, and they are courteous to guests of any age, even when uninvited. So the children read on undisturbed, and often their parents buy what they clamor for.

I found the Japanese picture books entrancing, and I was there at a time when paper was scarce and poor and they were done in the cheapest and

crudest way. They are mostly paper backs and not very thick, made to be sold for small sums, from ten to fifty cents in our money. They are ephemeral. An edition is printed and sold, the type destroyed. When the edition is gone, that is all. But there is a constant outpouring of vigorous, colorful, interesting picture books, with pictures that have life and originality and action. When they are done in the Japanese style, that is to say. There was an unfortunate tendency, when I was there, to copy Western illustration, and not the best but a static, chromo-like, second-rate Victorian sort of style. But those that were truly Japanese were full of sun and wind and rain and singing movement, all done with the utmost economy of line.

The traditional stories appear over and over, in longer and shorter versions, in all kinds of pictured interpretations. Then there are a great many picture books of a type that we scarcely have at all but which the children love. I mean the picture book that deals with the year's holidays. It begins with the New Year preparations and celebrations, the pounding of the rice — *petan, petan, petanko* — the decorations of pine and straw and lemon for the door, the dressing up of the family in their best kimonos, the little girls wearing clogs with bells in them, the visiting the shrine, the New Year's card game. Sometimes they are country children who celebrate, sometimes city children. Then follow the holidays in order, the Doll Festival, the Baptizing of the Baby Buddha in cherry-blossom time, the Boys' Festival, the Star Festival, the September shrine festivals, the harvest festival, and usually Christmas, from a strictly pagan point of view, with Santa Claus, reindeer, stockings, and Christmas trees. In one picture book I found what was evidently meant to be a generous inclusion of a Christian symbol: on the Christmas tree, beside the star, a crescent moon, and various toys was hung a cross!

There are extremely good nature picture books in beautiful color and with a touch of poetic feeling, showing flowers, birds, insects, shells, and the like.

There are many picture books that show child life in country villages, with the cycle of the rice planting, or in the mountains, with wood-cutting, charcoal burning, skiing, and sometimes mining. One thing that has always interested me is the impersonality of these books. There are always children, but no particular children. Even if there is a pair visiting their grandmother in the country and seeing many new sights, they are just a boy and a girl, not named, not individualized. In contrast I think of our picture books, where even a little tug in a harbor or a steam shovel has a name, a face, and a personality. It indicates, of course, two different approaches to life. In the West, we cherish the individual and his intrinsic worth and dignity. In the over-

crowded East, only by sinking the individual in the mass can people manage to live in an orderly and peaceful way. It has been interesting to watch the change in Taro's Yashima books, written by a Japanese about Japanese children and published in this country for American children. The first two — *The Village Tree* and *Plenty to Watch* — both delightful and full of interest, were typically Japanese in that all the village children played in the tree or saw fascinating things on their way home from school. His third book, however, *Crow Boy,* is about a particular boy, a unique character with sorrows and victories. The book is wholly Japanese but it shows American influence.

There are plenty of picture books in Japan for the smallest children, but after that there is a dearth. For adolescents there is little to read unless they read translations, as they do, with enthusiasm. *Little Women* and *Little Lord Fauntleroy* are read more in Japan now, I should think, than in America. A book they love is Tolstoy's beautiful story, "What Men Live By." Most of my students knew that, having had it as children. They read Dickens and Hugo in translation, and *Quo Vadis* is a perennial. A number of my own books have been translated into Japanese and were very popular because they helped to fill a blank space. I was interested that *Sandy,* which is so definitely a girls' book here, was read by many Japanese boys. Some of them told me they liked it because it was cheerful and lively and they liked the freedom and initiative that the young people in the book enjoyed. Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House in the Big Woods* appeared while I was there and was immensely popular. Grown-ups read it as well as children, for the understanding of the United States that it gave them. Kanjiro Kawai, the famous potter, and a poet and a mystic as well, spoke of it to me with great appreciation. He was sensitive to the poetic quality of it, and he felt that it showed the pioneer spirit of America. How does that spirit manifest itself now, he wanted to know.

Through my teaching, in the two branches of the Peers School, I knew a good many Japanese boys and girls rather well. The hundred boys who were in the Crown Prince's class I taught for four years. Some of them came to my house one day a week besides to share in one of the Crown Prince's private lessons. I also taught classes in the Peeresses' school. Teaching English entirely *in* English as I did, it was essential that I find material interesting enough to make them want to talk. A routine of unconnected questions and answers was no good; sometimes I had to wait so long for the answer that I forgot the question. So I tried out a good many different devices and kinds of material in order to find the most effective. Through this means I learned the power of the story. I found that by telling them simply in English a story

that really interested them and then discussing it afterwards, I could draw them into a real exchange of ideas, even though the medium of English was difficult for them. I soon learned which stories were most effective.

Short biographies, especially of people either living now or of recent memory, were always good. They wanted to know how other people managed their lives, people in other countries as well as their own. They were obviously matching their own ideals against those of others, trying on other lives for size, so to speak. One year we studied great men and women of the twentieth century. They chose five and I chose five, and we discussed their purpose in life, their difficulties, their achievements, their interests, their characters. At the end they said which were their favorites and why. I was impressed that those they chose were the ones they felt had made the greatest contribution to the world: Schweitzer, Helen Keller, Noguchi, Einstein, Madame Curie.

Even more than biographies, however, they were interested in stories that came from folklore, from legend, from myth. I made much use of a collection of tales which Sophia Fahs made, stories which illustrated the central theme, "Under the Sky All Men are One Family." She called it *Tales from Many Lands and Long Ago,* and she cast her net wide over all the continents and many of the nations. Another collection might have done as well, but this suited me perfectly, not only because of its theme but because of the short length and the variety of the stories, the clarity and simplicity with which they were told. Always there was an idea to take hold of, to examine and discuss.

One of the stories that opened up good discussion was "The Bell of Atri," which Longfellow used in his *Tales of a Wayside Inn.* You remember it: the king who hung a bell in the village so that all who felt unjustly used might ring it and obtain justice. The village in time was so well governed that the bell was never rung and a vine grew up over it. Then a poor old horse which was starved and beaten by its master ate the vine and rang the bell and awakened sleeping consciences.

There is, I have found since, a Japanese story that contains some of the same elements, but nobody told me about it at the time. I learned it in rather an odd way. When I left Japan one of the farewell gifts the Crown Prince gave me was a beautiful ornament on a lacquer stand, a drum, on which a silver cock was perched, and down below a silver hen and chick. When I asked the Crown Prince what it stood for, he was rather vague; the drum represented congratulations and good wishes, he said, and the cock had a sort of connection with him because he had been born in the year of the cock.

Last autumn, however, I was visiting the oriental collection in the Seattle Art Museum. The curator got out some very precious old *otsu-e*, the pictures that preceded the wood-block prints, and there on one of them was my drum and cock. The curator knew the story: an early emperor had given to his people a drum on which to beat when they felt unjustly treated. His reign, however, was so benign and just that the drum fell into disuse, and the barnyard cock climbed up on it to crow while the hen and chick played at the foot.

The same themes crop up again and again in the stories that people make up and tell to explain their lives, their experiences as a people, their aspirations, their sorrows, their fate: the bell and the drum that served justice, the forbidden basket, or apple, or lacquer box, the short sleep or visit that lasts a hundred years, the momentous choice. They may be stories of animals behaving like people, stories of gods, also like people, and heroes who are what we would like to be, while still retaining our more lovable faults. They may be told with grace and beauty, and when they are that is an added joy, or they may be stripped to their very bones. But still something living is left. There is vigor, honesty, courage, loyalty, a sensitiveness to inner "leading," a sense of mystery, a sense of justice — not legal, outward justice but inner, poetic justice, all that a child means when he cries out passionately, "That's not fair! "

We have a splendid variety of treasures in our basket of children's reading. Froth, too, of course, and chaff, but solidly tucked away for those who see are history, which helps us to estimate today in the frame of the past, books of adventure and exploration, fine novels written with distinction and understanding, which through vicarious experience lead their young readers into a deepening maturity, biography and nature lore and, perhaps best of all, poetry. I would not slight any of them, but especially, I hope, we will not be blind to those basic stories which have come out of the childhood of our race and have nourished the thoughts and hearts of countless generations of children. Rufus Jones, the Quaker philosopher and saint, said once that there was no better training for the imagination than the stories of Greek mythology, and William Ernest Hocking, for so long one of Harvard's great professors of philosophy, writes in his latest book, *The Coming World Civilization*, "The quiet molding of wills through the pictured decisions and characters of gods and heroes is empirically near-universal."

Endless entertainment and interest lie in these tales, but beyond that is the approach to the deep self, where symbols speak compellingly, and the imagination and the will are waiting to be stirred and fed.

Browning's French Night-Cap

By LOLA L. SZLADITS
Berg Collection

"GIVE my kind remembrances to Mr. Cornish, and make Miss Thackeray keep me a little in mind—how I keep her in mind, she is going to see, if I may be so honored when my piece of work is done," wrote Robert Browning to Blanche Ritchie Cornish, Anne Thackeray's sister-in-law, on November 24, 1872.[1] His piece of work was a dramatic poem of 4,247 lines, published the first week in May 1873 and dated January 23 of that year.[2] He called it *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country; or Turf and Towers*, and gave it a dedication page to his "fair friend" (line 1) as well as remembered her in the first four hundred lines, where a full explanation is given for the title.

Robert Browning spent part of August and half of September, 1872, at St. Aubin, Calvados, on the coast of Normandy. It was the second time that he was "thoroughly washed by the sea air from all quarters." The pleasures of his first summer there in 1870 were overshadowed by the fall of Sedan, the abdication of Napoleon III, and the general state of siege into which France was then suddenly precipitated. His closest friend, Joseph Milsand, for whose sake Browning went to St. Aubin, was "filled with as much despondency as can be."[3]

Their friendship at that time was of eighteen years' standing and dated back to January 1852, when Browning first met the Frenchman who was to become his best critic.[4] Milsand had studied Browning's poetry, then still

[1] W. C. De Vane and K. L. Knickerbocker, eds., *New Letters of Robert Browning* (New Haven 1950) 209. Original letter in the Berg Collection, The New York Public Library.

[2] W. C. De Vane, *Browning Handbook* (New York 1955) 372: "The manuscript in the Balliol College library shows that Browning began writing the poem on December 1, 1872 and finished it on January 23, 1873." According to Sir Frederic G. Kenyon (*Centenary Ed. Works*, VII, Introd., p. xv) it was printed off from the first draft. This letter, as has been pointed out by its editors, would indicate that the actual composition of the poem took Browning two months. His speed and facility of writing are even more strikingly evident in the single day it took him to write "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came" (see De Vane, *Handbook*, 229).

I am indebted to John Murray, Publisher, for permission to publish the manuscript passages in the present article.

[3] Letter to Isabella Blagden, Aug. 19, 1870, in Mrs. Sutherland Orr, *Life and Letters of Robert Browning* (London 1891) 288.

[4] For Browning's first meeting with Milsand see Orr, 180–184, and W. H. Griffin, *Life of Robert Browning* (London 1938) 186. Ann Thackeray Ritchie in her *Records of Tennyson, Ruskin and Browning* (New York 1892) pays warm tribute to Milsand, gives a full description of the countryside and Browning's cottage and life there, and tells the story of how *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country* came to be written.

A full account of the Browning-Milsand friendship can be found in Th. Bentzon (Mme. Blanc), "A French Friend of Browning — Joseph Milsand," *Scribner's Magazine* XX (July 1896) 108–

little known in England, from the beginning and with an exceptional knowledge and understanding of English letters had, in August 1851, contributed an essay to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* entitled "La Poésie Anglaise depuis Byron," which included a sympathetic appraisal of Browning's poetry. From then on that "man of men" (line 2890), that "perfect creature," [5] became Browning's closest friend, and is remembered in lines 2890–2946 of *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country* as "Milsand, who makest warm my wintry world and wise my heaven if there were consort too." [6]

In Normandy Browning rented a cottage "two steps off" [7] Milsand's, and "some five miles farther down" (line 43) Anne Thackeray spent part of the summer of 1872 in Lion-sur-Mer. In August there was pending in the tribunals of Caen a case of disputed inheritance which for two years preoccupied the somnolent countryside and did not "let the lazy land untroubled snore." [8]

The family of a wealthy Parisian jeweler contested the will of his son, who had left his fortune to the Catholic Church, reserving a life interest to his mistress. Antoine Mellerio, the young man in question, had committed suicide in Normandy in 1870 at his estate, Tailleville, having retired to the country with his mistress, the wife of a tailor. After two previous unsuccessful attempts at suicide, he plunged to his death from a tower he had built to the turf below.

This tragedy, caused by a conflict among love, bourgeois morality, and religious doctrine, shook Browning. The "merest sketch of the story [told

120. But her statement that "from 1866 until 1870 the Brownings came every year to Saint-Aubin" is incorrect. They spent there only the three summers of 1870, 1872, and 1873. See the correspondence; also Edward Dowden, *Life of Browning* (London 1927) 272.

Browning dedicated the 1863 edition of *Sordello* to Milsand, and after Milsand's death Sept. 4, 1886, he dedicated to his memory *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in Their Day*, published towards the close of Browning's own life, in 1887.

[5] E. B. Browning, fragment of a letter to her sister-in-law, Sarianna Browning, in Orr, 182.

[6] These lines, referred to as "the sole relief in a desert of moral ugliness" (Griffin, 252), are among the most beautiful in the poem. Most Browning critics and even his closest friends considered the poem unsatisfactory and blamed the ugliness of the story, "a somewhat vulgar tragedy in real life," as well as the rapidity of composition. Among those who came to its defense were Mrs. Orr, who wrote a review in its favor in the *Contemporary Review* XXII (June 1873) 87–106, when the critics first tore it to pieces, and G. K. Chesterton, who went so far as to call it "one of the most magnificently Browningesque" poems (*Browning* [London 1913] 122).

[7] Letter to Isabella Blagden, Aug. 19, 1870.

[8] Line 138; see Orr, 299. The case was finally settled only the following summer. On Aug. 3, 1873 Browning wrote to Annie Egerton Smith: "I went yesterday to review my old property — Tailleville; walked all round it, but found nothing material to alter in the poem. It appears that the Cousins appealed, and tried their luck once again, and, only a week ago, were again signally beaten as they deserved. I am to see the newspaper report." *Letters of Robert Browning*, collected by T. J. Wise, ed. T. L. Hood (New Haven 1933) 158.

him] on the spot" [9] by Milsand turned into "a capital brand-new subject," [10] and Anne Thackeray's somnambulist "white cotton night-cap country" into a vivid red; the night-cap, symbol of peaceful French nights,[11] into a symbol of violence, bloodshed, and the French Revolution (lines 300–332). Places of pilgrimage mushrooming in France at the time and spreading bigoted Romanism wore "something like a Night-cap spire, Donned by no ordinary Notre-Dame!" (433–434). Browning retained all the facts in the case, even to the date — "a month ago at Vire they tried the case" [12] — but he elaborated freely on the reasons for the young man's suicide. He leaped to his death, Browning wrote, because he believed that his charity towards the Church and his faith in the Virgin would redeem him and he would be carried to Heaven instead of to the turf. The whole story is as French as that of *The Ring and the Book* is Italian; it is reminiscent of *La Dame aux Camelias* and *Le Rouge et le Noir,* both stories which left a deep impression on Browning.[13]

It is not surprising that the question of a possible libel action soon arose. George Smith of Smith, Elder and Co., who since 1866 had acted as Browning's publishers, thought it wise to seek legal advice after the first proofs had

[9] Letter to T. J. Nettleship, May 16, 1889 (in Wise, 308, also De Vane, *Handbook,* 371). Written when Browning was preparing his Collected Edition, this letter sums up the genesis of his poem:

"I believe it was as you say with the poem in question. I heard, first of all, the merest sketch of the story on the spot. Milsand told me that the owner of the house had destroyed himself from remorse at having behaved unfilially to his mother. In a subsequent visit (I paid one every year while Milsand lived there) he told me some other particulars, and they at once struck me as likely to have been occasioned by religious consideration as well as passionate woman-love, — and I concluded that there was no intention of committing suicide; and I said at once that I would myself treat the subject *just so.*

"Afterward he procured me the legal documents. I collected the accounts among the people of the neighbourhood, inspected the house and grounds, and convinced myself that I had guessed rightly enough in every respect. Indeed the facts are so exactly put down, that, in order to avoid the possibility of prosecution for Libel — that is telling the exact truth — I changed all the names of persons and places, as they stood in the original 'Proofs,' and gave them as they are to be found in Mrs. Orr's Hand-book.

"But it is long ago, now, since I wrote the poem; which I have never read till I was obliged to run through it, for corrections, a few weeks ago; and I cannot remember at this moment any but the general state of the case, as I give it to you — for what it may be worth — and very hurriedly."

It would seem from this letter that although the composition was quick, the story grew in his mind for two years, between 1870 and 1872. In 1871 he did not go back to Normandy, but that was the year French journals were most occupied with the subject.

[10] Letter to Isabella Blagden, Sept. 19, 1872, in E. C. McAleer, ed., *Dearest Isa* (Austin, Univ. of Texas Press 1951) 385.

[11] "This badge of soul and body in repose." *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country,* line 149.

[12] Lines 1030 and 4158–60:

> It only was this Summer that the case
> Could come and be disposed of, two weeks since,
> At Vire — Tribunal Civil — Chamber First.

[13] For a good comparative study of Browning and France see Karl Schmidt, "Robert Brownings Verhältnis zu Frankreich," *Literaturhistorische Forschungen* XXXVIII (Berlin 1909).

already been corrected by Browning. On March 15, 1873, the Attorney General, John Duke Coleridge, Browning's friend, was asked to give an opinion. Just around the same time Browning received another set of proofs, in which he changed all personal and geographic names. Legal opinion sounded stern on March 26, when the Attorney General wrote that he "would alter the poem rather more if [he] felt [he] could do so without serious injury to its intention and conception and art." [14] However, he did not feel that the risk was great. That same day Browning informed Smith that he had taken out "all direct sting" from the poem and having read the last corrected proof on March 31 he felt he had "reduced the offence to a minimum." With all this trouble to disguise his characters, almost as soon as the poem appeared, the press published the story of its composition and the facts involved.[15] On May 9 Browning apologized to Miss Thackeray for any pain inflicted on her by the critics.[16] In 1881 he promised F. J. Furnivall to "give a list of the true names of men, things, and places in 'Red Cotton Night-Cap Country,'" [17] but it was not until 1886, when the second edition of Mrs. Orr's *Handbook to the Works of Robert Browning* appeared, that a full listing became available.[18]

Two sets of proofs, one with the original text and one with the revised personal names and place names, have found their way into the Berg Collection. The former dates from February 22 to 26, 1873. The latter dates March 15 and is the one which John Duke Coleridge may possibly have seen; it contains the corrections that set Browning's mind at rest. The proofs consist of eighteen gatherings, B–S^{8} T^{6}.

The earlier set of proofs carries seven printer's labels. The one on the title-page is dated February 24, 1873, and is the only one in the set marked "no. 1," which seems to apply to the title-page and dedication page rather than the first gathering. The second label, on D1, is marked "no. 2" and dated February 22; the last five are numbered 2 and are all dated February 26. The first two are addressed to Smith and Elder; the next four, carrying Browning's name, are pasted over labels addressed to the publisher; and the last one is addressed to Browning directly. The dedication page, presumably the first one printed for the poem, is pasted over with a portion of the first, rough, title-page, on the verso of which Browning wrote his instructions for the

[14] J. D. Coleridge to Browning, March 26, 1873, in *New Letters*, p. 213 n. A full correspondence between Browning and Smith about the legalities and the proofs, together with an Advertisement for *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country* drawn up by Browning, appears on p. 211–217.

[15] *Daily News*, London, May 5, 1873; *Athenaeum*, May 10, 1873.

[16] Letter to A. T. Ritchie, May 9, 1873, in her *Records*, 181.

[17] Letter to F. J. Furnivall, Sept. 15, 1881, in Wise, 197.

[18] Published also in *Browning Society Papers* Part 5 (March 26, 1886) p. 133*.

dedication. The paper on which gathering H was printed differs from the rest.

Apart from minor changes he made in style and punctuation, this set is interesting because of Browning's second thoughts, which he first inserted and then deleted, and some lines which he inserted and had printed. To round off the poem and to give it the character of a story told during a summer stroll with Anne Thackeray, he inserted and then deleted after line 4229 the following passage:

> But, Story's done;
> And — pardon granted for its length and breadth?
> Tell me as homeward we retrace our steps!

He would have dated the poem up to this point "August, 1872," and have left a space between this and the concluding nineteen lines, which were to open with: "Once more, and yet once more, we meet, fair friend." This would have matched the "And so, here happily we meet, fair friend!" of the opening line of the whole poem. The date January 23, 1873, which appears for the first time in this proof with the instruction "Insert," would have been the final date concluding the dedication or, as would seem more appropriate in this case, would have given a date to the *envoi*. Except for this date, he deleted all these lines and returned to the more abrupt opening in the last passage as it was first printed and is now published: "How say you, friend?"

Similarly between lines 4033 and 4034 Browning meant to insert, but then deleted, the following:

> — may I end discourse
> — if you bear this ending . . .
> The story's moral obligatory
> The winding up,
> While we walk homeward?

This would have rounded off the opening line of Part IV: "Ready to hear the rest? How good you are!"

In this set of proofs, corrections become heavier with the beginning of Part II. Line 1231 has been added and line 1947 which originally read: "Could not the tempter leave this ear alone?" was changed to read: "Saint Sganarelle had preached with such effect," thus concluding the appearance of this character from Molière in the poem, who is here used to represent religious hypocrisy.[19] Special instructions were possibly sent to the printer

[19] Schmidt, 20.

about lines 2073–2076, because different corrections from the ones made by Browning in this proof were printed in the subsequent one and the first edition. This passage originally read:

> Politics? Spend his own life, so to save
> The world of lives, each unit's particle
> Of joy, that's life, and lose the orb entire,
> His own aforesaid! Artist then: but how?

Browning made the following changes in this proof, but they did not get printed:

> Politics? Spend your own full life, to save
> The world of scanty lives, each particle
> Of joy — you give, so much subtracted from
> The orb entire, your own. Be artist then!

Even between these two versions Browning made minor changes, the proper sequence of which can no longer be determined. The final text is as follows:

> Politics? Spend your life, to spare the world's:
> Improve each unit by some particle
> Of joy the more, deteriorate the orb
> Entire, your own: poor profit, dismal loss!

Line 2305 in Part III first appears in this proof, but with the uncorrected reading for Tailleville. After line 2328 Browning first inserted and then deleted: "You look at me — why think and think of her?" Line 2627, added as an afterthought, got into print, and so did the twin lines 3905 and 3936 in Part IV: "Then smile grew laugh, as sudden up she stood" and "Then laugh grew frown, and frown grew terrible." Line 4027 is the last single line inserted.

The later set of proofs, numbered 3 and dated March 15, 1873, on all ten printer's labels, was sent directly to Browning. The verso of the title-page carries Browning's pasted instructions for the dedication page — which was to follow but was not present in this set — written on the back of a clipping from the first rough title-page, of which an unmutilated copy precedes the title-page. On page 1 he wrote what may have been his routine instruction to the printer: "Send two revises" [20] and "Please correct carefully, removing no punctuation where a preceding word is removed." Pages 281–282 have been supplied from the first edition, but were not sent to him originally either, because he drew Smith's attention to this gap on March 31 when he forwarded him his set of proofs.[21]

[20] A set of proofs in the Berg Collection for a volume of *Selections from the Works of Robert Browning* (ca. 1865) carries his inscription: "Send a revise."

[21] *New Letters*, 215.

New lines added to this proof and not found previously include: lines 2381 and the first half of the following line; 2419 and part of the following line; lines 2431, 2791, 2812, 3183, 3730, 3860, and 3895. Line 2808, "'A branch is at Madrid,' goes on the gold," was changed in the final version to: "Perhaps — but Place Vendôme is waking worth." He developed the twin lines in Part IV by adding lines 3906 and 3937. Lines 3969–70 are new and so is an insertion between line 3977 and the second part of 3979. He began this passage first with: "for gentlemen can make allowance," but deleted the last two words and wrote "allow."

Between lines 3808 and 3970 are concentrated all those corrections with which Browning tried to "reduce the offence to a minimum." It is the passage containing Clara's speech in defense of her rights and her lover's sanity when the Cousinry "came to take possession of their corpse" (3729). This line was softened by his insertion of: "And who shall blame them? Had not they the right?" (3730). Following this, and having made the necessary changes in the names, he changed line 3853 from: "To those rapacious Cousin hypocrites," to: "For hypocritical rapacity," line 3856 from: "Do you forget how far they profited" to: "Far be it I should say they profited" and in line 3863 the word "rascally" to "cousinly." Line 3864 which originally read: "The rogues, each mother's son of them, enough," now runs: "Thereby each mother's son as heart could wish." The word "lied" in line 3875 was changed to "judged," "miscreants" in the following line to "unkind ones," and line 3878 from: "To pounce on, plunder me the derelict," to: "To pounce on, misuse me, your derelict." The word "rogues" in line 3880 is softened to "folks"; "Cousin thieves" in line 3894 to "Cousin-tribe"; "special insolence" in line 3907 to "special courtesy"; "knaves" in line 3940 to "sirs, you"; and "sneaked" in line 3952 to "cringed."

Mrs. Orr's list of the changes Browning made in personal, geographic, and historic names is almost complete. What this proof copy reveals is some hesitation on his part in inventing his fictitious characters. The first time Antoine Mellerio's full name had to be changed is in line 1031, the opening line of Part II. Here and in almost every other instance Browning substituted the name Alphonse Miranda. The first name was changed to Léonce all the way through only later, except for one or two lines in which Browning immediately wrote Léonce. These latter corrections were made during his final reading of the poem, when omissions of this nature were corrected.[22]

Since Mrs. Orr received her information from Browning himself, the minor omissions and errors in her list were due probably to his faulty recollection.

[22] Idem.

Thirteen years had gone by between the publication of the poem and the list. Thus the list does not include the alteration that was made from "Street of Peace," a literal translation of Rue de la Paix, to "Place Vendôme," which first occurs in line 9. Browning was consistent in the use of the latter, except in line 2787, where "Peace Street" was changed to "Paris." Line 632, which pointed to Father Mellerio's Turinese birthplace, was changed to read: "By birth a Madrilene," [23] and similarly Antoine Mellerio's Italian blood was changed for the first time to Castilian in line 1152.

The first time Achille Debacker's name had to be changed in line 1667, Browning discovered that what was printed in the proof was "Ubysse" (sic). He first corrected it to read "Achille," then crossed it out and wrote "Ulysse Muhlhausen." On close examination of both sets of proofs it becomes clear that "Achille Debacker" was his original version. This is the form in which it was printed in lines 1886 and 1911 of both sets of proofs and line 1667 of proof no. 2. How "Ubysse" got printed in the later set of proofs remains unexplained and so do two other printings of names in the same gathering. This is gathering H which, as has been noted before, was printed in proof no. 2 on paper differing from the rest. All corrections made by Browning in this gathering were incorporated in the later proof. The uncorrected versions of names, obviously approved by the poet in proof no. 2, got misprinted either by accident in no. 3 or were considered separately by Browning, however unlikely that may seem. In line 1658 proof no. 2 has "Sophie Trayer" and in the following line "Magdalen Lalory." Both remained uncorrected by Browning, but were printed in proof no. 3 as "Lucie Mayer" and "Magdalen Larory" (sic). Mrs. Orr's list has "Larocy" and does not mention the changes Browning made consistently from "Sophie" to "Lucie" all through the poem. In the later proof Browning corrected "Mayer" to "Steiner" and "Larory" to "Commercy," as has also been noted by Mrs. Orr. That "Trayer" was Browning's original version of "Steiner" cannot be doubted, since before revision he used it consistently. He made poetic use of it in line 2687: "Trayer, Betrayer, whatsoe'er your name," which now reads flat: "Steiner, Muhlhausen, whatsoe'er your name." Mrs. Orr seems to have used "Mayer" in her list by accident, quoting a single occurrence of this name in print, and omitted "Trayer" altogether.

Achille Debacker's trade name, " 'Alfred,' " which first occurs in line 1887, was changed consistently to " 'Gustave.' " [24] In line 2281 the name "Pasquier"

[23] Included only in the list published in the 2nd ed. of Mrs. Orr's *Handbook* in 1886; omitted from subsequent editions.

[24] Noted only in 1886 *Handbook*.

was changed to "Beaumont," as mentioned by Mrs. Orr. In proof no. 3 Browning first tried "Fouquier." The change from "Beaudoin" to "Mailleville" in line 1204 is included in her list, but she omitted to mention that the English form of the name, "Baldwin," in line 3496 was similarly changed. In line 427 the town quoted by Mrs. Orr as "Courcelle" was printed "Coursoulle," and in line 3621 her misspelled "Tricquot" should correctly read "Fricquot." [25]

One can hardly find a better example for the linguistic and poetic flexibility of Browning's mind than the choice of names in this poem. The German-sounding Alsatian names were replaced by similar ones. Muhlhausen, the name of a town in Alsace, matched Debacker beautifully, and the ease with which Achille was changed to Ulysse gives it an almost harmonious ring. What could be a more natural choice than turning Trayer into Steiner? Miranda gave the slightly pedestrian Italian name of Mellerio the touch of a Romantic hero, which is probably the impression Browning intended.

Also in replacing French names Browning chose names that would convey almost the same meaning and feeling. This enabled him to retain lines like: "Clara de Millefleurs (note the happy name)" (1513) and the somewhat less happy line: "Clara de Millefleurs, all deodorized" (3368) long after Anna de Beaupré was gone. Changing La Délivrande to La Ravissante made it possible for him to do the same and in some instances he did better than in the original line, as in line 3362, where the original: "That you, My Lady of the Délivrande," was turned into: "That you, my lady, my own Ravissante," or in line 3386, where the original: "The Délivrande, you but deliver men" sounded much more awkward than the changed: "The Ravissante, you ravish men away." A few examples of this nature have to suffice, because however interesting this kind of analysis may be, only a detailed and fairly lengthy one, including all the geographic and historic names, could do Browning and his poem full justice.

There is one seemingly significant hesitation in the revised proofs and that is Browning's two choices for the first name of his main character. He thought of Alphonse first and only later of Léonce, the name he finally adopted. Whether he had both names in mind at the same time, or whether the second was suggested to him by something or someone later, whether he had any reasons other than aesthetic for discarding the former, these are questions which for lack of any evidence cannot be answered. We do know, however, that Joseph Milsand received Browning's proof-sheets for final

[25] Corrected in subsequent editions.

revision [26] and there can be little doubt that he gave his ideas on a poem which was almost as much his own as Browning's. On May 13, 1872, Browning wrote Milsand: "The fact is, in the case of a writer with my peculiarities and habits, somebody quite ignorant of what I may have meant to write, and only occupied with what is really written — ought to supervise the thing produced. And I never hoped or dreamed I should find such an intelligence as yours at my service. I won't attempt to thank you, dearest friend; but, simply in my own interest, do not undervalue your service to me — because in logical consequence the next step ought to be that you abate it, or withdraw it." [27] Milsand did not withdraw his help. Whether or not a correction like the one from "Alphonse" to "Léonce" was made at his suggestion must remain, at this moment, in the realm of conjecture.

Milsand and Browning looking at a painting by Browning's son. From *Scribner's Magazine* xx (July 1896) 108, based on a photograph "used in a privately printed memoir."

[26] Orr, *Life and Letters*, 176, and Ritchie, *Records*, 182. A correspondence between Browning and Milsand, published by W. Thomas in *Révue germanique*, année xiv (1923) 423, contains another letter dated April 7, 1878, in which Browning thanks Milsand for his "eminently helpful" corrections.

[27] Bentzon, 111.

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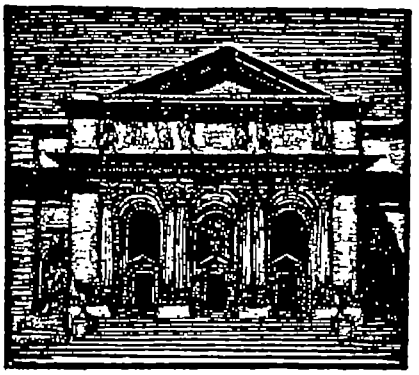

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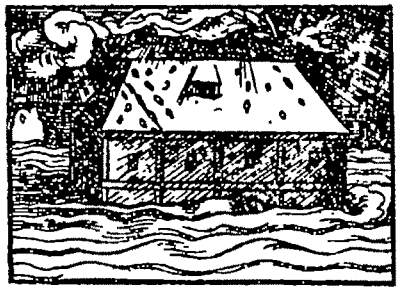
Front Matter

Illumination

New York City is "saluting" the season of colored leaves with a program of rites and decorations which include a floodlighting of the Library facade and a wide border of chrysanthemums calculated to open in all the colors of the spectrum in time for the October 23 ceremony. One can imagine a rainbow above the dove and ark in the woodcut illustration on this page taken from a page of the 1535 Coverdale Bible — one of the 25 Rare Bibles in our Main Lobby exhibition. One can discern a good deal of color among the black and white in the prints of the International Graphic Arts Society show in the third floor Print Gallery. But to see colors rivaling the brightest chrysanthemums one goes to Room 322, to the gorgeous display of 34 Illuminated Manuscripts chosen from the 120 in the Spencer Collection.



We asked Karl Kup, who arranged the manuscript exhibit, what autumnal frost there can have been, historically speaking, that brought out such profuse colors in these Gothic and early Renaissance illuminations. It was the Gothic style in architecture, he replied, that changed the shapes of churches and palaces, leaving no wall space for muralists to paint upon. "It was, then, the illustrated book upon which the draftsmen and the painters of the time lavished their interest and their craft. Hence we must look upon these miniatures painted in manuscript books as an important link in the history of painting between the Byzantine and early Medieval period and the period of the great painters of the late Renaissance. Indeed some of the miniatures shown in this exhibition have strong affinity stylistically and artistically to, and at times have even influenced, the work of Italian, French, and German masters of the Gothic and Renaissance era."

With a great collection of books on the history of painting in the Art Division and of prints reproducing many paintings in the Prints Division, it is valuable for the Library to have such a store in the Spencer Collection of original source material. It is Mr. Kup's hope that the exhibition will direct attention to this particular, indeed récherché, source material for the study of painting in the period under consideration.

Supplementing the exhibition of manuscript miniatures as a further aid to study of this subject is a display of some 40 to 50 reproductions of manuscript pages collected and presented to the Picture Collection of the Library by Mr. J. Layng Mills of Huntington Valley, Pennsylvania.

Gift Collection

Library visitors who recall the very popular loan exhibition last winter of "The German Book, 1948–1956" will sense the pleasure the Library takes in announcing that the entire collection of over 4,000 printed volumes has now been received as a gift of the Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels of Frankfurt am Main. The original exhi-

bition had been arranged by this association of German publishers, under the patronage of His Excellency, Heinz L. Krekeler, West German Ambassador to the United States.

New Publication

For a description of our new monograph, *A Register of Editors, Printers, and Publishers of American Magazines, 1741–1810,* by Benjamin M. Lewis (40 p., 75¢) see the prefatory essay below, p. 517.

Joshua Bloch

The sudden death of Dr. Joshua Bloch, who retired as Chief of the Jewish Division in January 1956 but had remained active as a scholar and scholars' guide as well as a community leader, came as a sad shock to all who knew him. He was stricken with a heart attack on September 26 while preaching a Rosh Hashana sermon. Chief of the Library's Jewish Division since 1923, Dr. Bloch was largely responsible for building that collection to its present impressive condition.

A frequent contributor to this *Bulletin* and to numerous journals and compilations, Dr. Bloch was a leader in world Jewish literary, religious, and historical research. In 1954 he prepared the exhibition and the volume published by the Library on "The Background of Three Hundred Years of Jewish Life in America" *(The People and the Book).*

Shaking the Evidence

Professor Sherbo's discussion in our *August* number of the value of internal evidence in determining authorship has provoked the kind of conversation in academic circles that we hope will crystalize into some articles. Meanwhile, for further provocation, we publish two essays in the use of the concordance to the poetry of Coleridge — a note from Professor S. F. Johnson clinching the attribution of a poem already supported by external evidence, and the first part of a sonnet investigation of our own which does not so much promise to clinch attributions as to test the limits of the method.

A different kind of speculation upon unconventional evidence is Mr. Davis's note on the "extraordinary" Lewis Littlepage. The calling upon graphologists to aid an historical scholar confronted with meager data will be looked upon askance by some. We have read Mr. Davis's edition of the Littlepage diary, however (see footnote 2, p. 499), and recognize that he knows enough about his man not to have to lean heavily upon the handwriting interpretation. What his note offers is an additional flourish upon the firm line of his reconstruction of the life of an almost lost son of the American Revolution.

A quite famous early American, Washington Irving, dear to the Library for many reasons including our collection of his papers and books, is discovered by Professor Reichart (see p. 491) to have been even more widely known and available in Europe than previous bibliography had indicated.

Use and Additions September 1957

Visitors entering the Central Building 234,136; readers in the Reference Department 64,444; volumes consulted 179,656; volumes issued by Circulation Department for home use 935,843.

Received through purchase and gift

	Circ. Dept. Gift	Ref. Dept. Gift	Purchase and Gift
Volumes	628	1,960	36,504
Pamphlets	42	6,288	6,441
Maps	—	294	357
Prints	—	413	430
Misc.	20	—	20

CENTRAL LIBRARY UNIVERSITY

BULLETIN OF THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

OCTOBER 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 10

Ten Year Report of The New York Public Library 1946-1956

III. CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Books

Growth of Collections

IN 1946 every resident of the Bronx, Manhattan, and Richmond, the three New York City boroughs served by The New York Public Library Circulation Department, owned a half a book share in the great cooperative book collection of one and a half million volumes available free for home loan and library reference use from the largest branch library network in the world, operated on his behalf by the Circulation Department. Ten years later each resident's share had increased to nearly three-quarters of a book for a total of almost two and a half million volumes. Annual income for books tripled from $260,000 at $1.48 net cost per book in 1946 to $750,000 at $2.20 net cost per book in 1956. The total number of books acquired in the ten years beginning in 1946 was 3,079,754 including capital book stock additions for new branches, and the number of books withdrawn was 2,364,401. Despite increased funds for book purchasing, net annual acquisition rates remained almost constant during this period since increased use resulted in more rapid wear and tear and necessary discard and inflationary rises in book costs far offset better discounts obtained during the decade.

The quantitative growth of the circulating collections does not, of course, tell the whole story even though it reflects such major developments as the initiation, in 1951, of substantial state aid grants ($3,500,000 in six years) calculated on the basis of book expenditures; the recognition of book stock as part of the capital equipment of new branches, and the inclusion of book purchase funds in the City's capital budgets annually since 1950; the heroic

effort to obtain larger discounts and thus keep book costs down in the face of gradually mounting list prices; and the constant and time-consuming need for review of the collection to remove worn out volumes and obsolete titles. Obscured in these figures is the increasing variety of "book" forms acquired as the branch libraries advanced in their modern role as organized collections of recorded ideas in films, discs, and tape as well as in printed books, periodicals, and pamphlets.

Supplementing the gift collections of musical recordings long available in the Music Library, the Circulation Department began a circulating collection of musical recordings in the newly renovated St. George Library Center on Staten Island in 1952, later established still larger collections of long-playing discs in the Fordham Library Center (Bronx) and the Donnell Library Center (Manhattan). It added increasing numbers of non-musical and children's recordings, and experimented in a limited number of branches with foreign language recordings and with the rental of duplicate titles. It began, in 1952, a small collection of 16 millimeter educational films now housed in the Donnell Library Center. It placed increasing reliance on microfilmed reproductions of newspapers in its major reference centers. The Department also continued its extensive acquisition of pictorial reproductions, manuscripts, maps, and Braille and talking books for the blind. In addition it began a collection of soundscriber discs recorded for blind students by volunteers in a project initiated by the Library's Women's Council.

Noteworthy collections added to the specialized branch libraries included the papers of Fiorello La Guardia and other New York City mayors, the largest available collection of Ku Klux Klan documents, and the J. Layng Mills collection of architectural photographs. Important growth was also notable in the foreign language collections, now largely centralized in the Donnell Library Center; in the increased availability of up-to-date general reference books; in the strengthening of the children's book collections; and in the accelerated development of central and regional reserve collections located in the three borough library centers to supplement the branch collections.

Policies and Procedures

The decade 1946–1956 saw no major modifications in the Circulation Department's collecting policies except for growing attention to the inclusion of "non-book" materials. It did see a codification of those policies, however, in the *Book Selection Manual* issued in 1954 as the result of a year's study by the Department's coordinating staff and discussion with the Circula-

tion Department Committee of the Board of Trustees. Reaffirmed in this *Manual* were these basic policies:

> The general branch library ADULT COLLECTIONS include books, periodicals, and pamphlets for circulation and reference use. Points considered in adult book selection are literary, educational, informational, and recreational value; authority and effectiveness of presentation; qualities conducive to critical thought and understanding; and available funds and space. Contemporary and popular authors are included, as well as those who have demonstrated enduring worth. Titles are selected on the basis of the content as a whole and without regard to the personal history of the author. In the case of controversial questions, variety and balance of opinion are sought whenever available.
>
> While YOUNG PEOPLE of high school age are encouraged to use the entire adult collection in branch libraries, collections of special interest to this age group, drawn from both juvenile and adult books, are maintained to aid the transition from the children's room to the adult department. The size of each collection differs from branch to branch, depending upon the number of young people and the space available. Whenever possible in branches with a heavy demand for young people's books, an alcove in or a separate room adjacent to the adult department is set aside for the use of young people.
>
> In selecting books for CHILDREN'S COLLECTIONS in the general branch libraries, primary emphasis is placed on developing critical taste and a sense of enjoyment in reading. These collections, which include picture books as well as material requiring greater reading ability, make available to children of pre-school or elementary school age books chosen with particular regard to literary merit and excellence of format. Because demand exists for factual material on a wide variety of subjects, books useful in supplementing school texts are also added to children's collections.

A major change in book budgeting was instituted in 1953 when standard unit values were determined for adult and juvenile books and branch allotments were made in terms of these units rather than in dollars, greatly simplifying accounting procedures.

The study resulting in publication of the *Book Selection Manual* also reemphasized the importance of maintaining high standards of selection, of securing maximum staff participation in book reviewing and in acquisition decisions, of selecting titles promptly to insure their early public availability, and of frequently examining existing collections to insure wise retention and appropriate withdrawal of titles.

During the period 1946–1956 book selection procedures were frequently hampered by inadequate facilities for book inspection by the staff, with several makeshift solutions improvised pending the eventual provision of appropriate quarters in the Donnell Library Center. Special training in book

selection by the borough coordinators and the coordinating specialists was also necessary because of extensive turnover among branch librarians, children's librarians, and young adult librarians. These last named specialists were, toward the end of the period, given increased responsibility for the direct selection of books for the teenagers.

Procurement and Preparation

The relatively unchanging rate of net acquisition obscures the fact that the gross number of new volumes added annually more than doubled from 1946 to 1956 and that the increased number of volumes withdrawn from the collections involved technical operations which greatly increased the workload of the Book Order Office, the Catalog Office, and the Binding and Processing Office. Reorganization of methods, redesign of forms, and partial mechanization of processes enabled a relatively small staff to cope with this increasing workload without the accumulation of continuing backlogs of unavailable materials. At the same time many manual and clerical routines involved in preparing new books for circulation were transferred from the branch libraries and consolidated in a central office. The centralization of these procedures and the establishment of assembly-line equipment in the Binding and Processing Office reduced previous physical preparation costs by more than 50% even after including the newly added cost of transparent plastic book covers. The improvement in the appearance of books resulting from these covers served to brighten the branch library shelves and helped to stimulate increased use of the collections.

Major changes in cataloging procedure occurred in 1950 and 1955 when local reproduction of catalog cards and the use of xerographic stencilling methods were introduced with considerable saving in staff and materials costs. Economy and improved service also resulted from the revision, in 1953, of the Circulation Department's Filing Code for use in the branch libraries.

The transfer of the procurement and preparation offices from the Central Building to the Donnell Library Center in 1955 provided more nearly adequate space for these operations and helped greatly to improve working conditions and staff efficiency.

Services

General

The range of services provided by the Circulation Department of The New York Public Library goes far beyond the important book-lending functions

implicit in the Department's name. General and specialized reference services supported by public funds are operated in the Central Building and in the Branch Libraries; extensive library use of books for leisure reading and self-improvement is a major service; individual reading guidance assistance is offered to children, young adults, and adults; an extensive variety of programs is offered to groups at all age levels including program counseling, film information, provision of library meeting space for community groups, joint sponsorship of college extension courses, educational film showings, recorded and live musical concerts, library orientation services for school classes, children's story hours, adult and teenage discussion programs, lectures, and radio and television presentations. Archival and record conservation activities are found in such branch libraries of the Circulation Department as the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and History, the Central Children's Room, the Municipal Reference Library, the Picture Collection, the Music Library, and the Municipal Archives and Records Center.

All lending services are available to residents of any borough in New York City or to anyone with a student or business affiliation in the City. Borrowing privileges from the Library for the Blind are available to the blind in New York City, Long Island, Connecticut, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the Panama Canal Zone. Reference, advisory, and program services are available without residence restriction.

In the three New York City boroughs primarily served by the Circulation Department (Manhattan, the Bronx, and Richmond) the number of branch libraries operated increased from 54 in 1946 to 82 in 1956 including the addition of one bookmobile and the reclassification of 12 former sub-branches to branch status. One service unit, the Veteran's center, was discontinued and two units, the Bronx Reference Center and the Nathan Straus Branch, were merged with other administrative units. Many small deposit collections previously maintained in fire stations and at summer camps were discontinued by 1956.

Branch service schedules were extensively revised in order to meet the changing needs of local communities. Many small units were opened for longer hours beginning in 1954 and 1955 but staff shortages required a slightly more than compensating reduction in schedules at other branches. After modification of city contracts in 1954 many branches in Carnegie buildings were closed on Saturdays and twenty-four branches were opened longer hours on Saturdays except during the summer months.

The use of the collections was for reference and library reading, neither of which was recorded between 1946 and 1956, and for home use, where

the recorded circulation increased by nearly 40% during the ten-year period as shown in the table below:

Circulation, 1946–1956

	Total	Adult *	Juvenile	Pictures
1946–47	8,787,641	5,894,883	2,459,279	433,479
1947–48	9,139,274	6,295,895	2,434,308	409,071
1948–49	9,596,472	6,665,157	2,547,040	384,275
1949–50	10,559,074	7,275,821	2,810,255	472,998
1950–51	10,245,036	7,024,696	2,696,313	524,027
1951–52	10,513,910	7,045,235	2,963,162	505,513
1952–53	10,797,028	7,313,363	3,024,427	459,238
1953–54	11,199,280	7,523,889	3,201,536	473,855
1954–55	11,986,679	7,948,654	3,548,872	489,153
1955–56	11,986,127	7,932,618	3,535,687	517,822

* Including circulation to young adults, not separately recorded.

Adult Services

In addition to the millions of books lent to adults each year from 1946 to 1956 many millions of reference inquiries were answered in person, by telephone, and by letter in the general and special branch libraries and the regional and borough reference centers. More millions of adults sought and received reading guidance in the branch libraries and from the Readers' Adviser in the Central Building. It is estimated that these reference and advisory services to individual users of the Circulation Department's collections accounted for more than a quarter of a million hours annually of professionally trained librarians' time by 1956.

Less staff time was devoted to group services in the Circulation Department, but many thousands of adults annually participated in a wide variety of program activities in the branch libraries. These activities included many local book discussion programs, concerts, lectures, film showings, current events discussions, and club meetings, but they also included several series of programs involving more than one local branch. Notable among these were the evening extension classes offered in cooperation with the College of the City of New York, the Great Books discussions, the India discussion programs (1955), and the American Idea discussions which originated in The New York Public Library and have since spread to hundreds of other public libraries.

The Readers' Adviser established an educational opportunities file in 1946 and an educational film information center in 1948. Other specialized infor-

mation services were developed during the decade by the Teachers Library (now a part of the Donnell Library Center), the Municipal Reference Library and its Public Health Division, and other special branches of the Circulation Department.

Services to adults also included the preparation of many branch displays and exhibitions and the publication of two periodicals, *Branch Library Book News* and *Municipal Reference Library Notes,* as well as many separate pamphlets and booklists.

Young Adult Services

During the decade, library service to young adults became established as a regularly authorized specialty in almost every branch of the Circulation Department, although a shortage of trained young adult specialists prevented full implementation of the service. At the beginning of the period, teenage services were concentrated in the Nathan Straus Branch and in a few Young People's Lounges such as that at Aguilar which had been established in 1945. In other branches there were "School and Reference Librarians" who combined service to school age young adults with general branch reference service. Systemwide coordination came from the Office of Work with Schools which was also concerned with elementary school contacts by the Children's Librarians.

Gradually it became recognized that wherever possible in the branch libraries there would be a teenage specialist, closely allied with the adult section of the branch but with specialized training and a small collection of books designated for young adults and supplementing the adult collection, which was also freely available to the teenage group. It was also recognized that the specialist and teenage collection should be located physically near the adult collection, and most teenage lounges and collections on separate floors were transferred to locations adjacent to the adult service areas. Reference service became recognized as a responsibility of each age level specialist with any one of them designated as the branch staff member primarily responsible for reference collection development.

Work with secondary and elementary schools became more clearly the respective responsibility of the Young Adult Librarians and Children's Librarians and in 1952 the Office of Work with Schools gave way to what is now called the Office of Young Adult Services and elementary school liaison was assigned to the Office of Children's Services.

The pattern of specialized but adult-related service became complete with the establishment of young adult services in the Central Circulation Branch

in 1952 and with the transfer of the Nathan Straus Collection to the Donnell Library Center in 1955 and its separation into a Children's Collection and a Young Adult Collection, with the latter connecting directly with the Adult Collection. In its new location and revised form the Nathan Straus Young Adult Collection continued to be the training and demonstration center for this specialized service.

During the decade covered by this report individual reference and reading guidance assistance as well as group programming activities continued to develop, fluctuating only with the availability of trained young adult librarians. Visits to secondary school classes and class visits to branch libraries also continued, aided by the central office specialists and the borough specialists established in 1953, 1954, and 1955.

An outstanding contribution, locally and nationally, has been the annual publication of *Books for the Teen Age*, expanded in 1953, and the continuing exhibition of the listed books at the Nathan Straus Young Adult Room. The Office of Young Adult Services has also published other book lists; has assisted the American Library Association on special teenage lists; has cooperated with the WMCA radio program, "Young Book Reviewers"; and has become an information center on all phases of teenage reading, books, and activities for publishers, authors, editors, teachers, librarians, parents, and the young adults themselves.

Branch libraries have sponsored young adult film forums, record concerts, discussion programs, and reading clubs. Climaxing the decade, in 1956 the Donnell Library Center held the first annual Mabel Williams Lecture honoring the Library's pioneer in this field of work and providing a new periodic stimulus for young adult reading.

Children's Services

The year 1956 marks the 50th anniversary of the establishment of what is now the Office of Children's Services and the appointment of Anne Carroll Moore as its first supervisor. In its fifth decade of work with children, the Circulation Department can report steady, healthy progress, limited only by continuing shortages in the supply of children's librarians. These shortages have frequently curtailed hours of service, and have even caused the closing of five children's rooms for several months in 1956. But all aspects of the collection improve, and the use of the children's rooms continued to increase, because of the dedication of the children's librarians and the vigorous training of new specialists in programs conducted by the central and borough specialists. Juvenile circulation has grown from two and a half

million in 1946 to more than three and a half million in 1956 in spite of staff limitations, branch closings, television, and the curtailment of story hours.

In addition to steadily increasing use by children the children's rooms report thousands of requests from adults — for reading lists, for talks to Parent-Teacher Associations, for suitable material on remedial reading, for books on crafts, music, games and plays needed by settlement workers, and for information by a constant stream of visitors from all over the world coming to see the collections and services. In 1952 the U. S. State Department produced a film about library work with children, using the setting and resources of The New York Public Library. The film, titled *The Impressionable Years,* has been shown in many foreign countries, and the Library's prints are in steady demand for domestic showings.

The reorganization of the curricula in the public schools during the period 1946 through 1952 caused some confusion in the children's rooms. Although the emphasis was on the wide use of books, the elementary schools were slow to develop their own library services, and pressure on the Public Library increased. In recent years this condition has slowly improved, but now that the Board of Education has recognized the need for improved reading standards and for a possible reorganization of teaching methods in reading, the schools are turning more and more to the trained children's librarians in the branches for assistance.

From the beginning of organized work with children in The New York Public Library, storytelling has been one of its outstanding specialities. Recently, increased use of films and recordings has lent variety to these programs and helped to relieve the shortage of trained librarians.

In addition to booklists prepared for individuals and groups to meet specific needs, the children's librarians have continued their internationally famous annual list of *Children's Books Suggested for Holiday Gifts,* and have supplied book suggestions for the Library's TV program of children's films and for occasional issues of *Branch Library Book News.* Specially annotated lists of books recommended for transcription into Braille are regularly prepared for the Library for the Blind. Frequent branch exhibitions have also given distinction to the work of the children's librarians.

Reading clubs, school visits by the branch children's specialists, family reading lectures, puppet shows, class visits to the library children's rooms, holiday celebrations, film programs, use of radio and television — all these supplement and stimulate the use of the outstanding collections of children's books, the dimensions of which set the standard for library service to children all over the world.

Organization

In addition to the transfer of many auxiliary functions from the Circulation Department to library-wide offices as described elsewhere in this report, the decade 1946–56 included extensive internal reorganization and the initiation of many management improvements. Beginning with the technical service units in the Department and extending through the public services and the coordinating administrative offices, the changes involved procedural improvements, centralization of clerical activities, development of assembly line operations, modification of printed forms, utilization of new equipment, clarification of authority and lines of responsibility, development of uniform terminology, identification of work units, preliminary work on performance standards, systematic review of service hours and the status of branches, and decentralized supervision of borough activities.

Regionalization and Departmentalization

As recommended by the City Planning Commission in its 1945 report, *A Program for the Public Libraries in New York City*, the Circulation Department organized the Staten Island branches into a Richmond Regional Library System, a federation of libraries designed "to develop better and more economical services by the maximum use of books and other library materials and by the maximum use of professional library staff." In 1952 the headquarters were established as the St. George Library Center. Following the successful Staten Island experiment, regionalization of the Bronx and Manhattan was accomplished in 1954 and 1955, their respective headquarters being established in 1956 in the Fordham Library Center and the Donnell Library Center. Borough-wide reserve collections were established in these centers, and late in the decade the strategically located reference, periodical, and civil service centers were given increased status as Regional Branches.

In consequence a more complex organization of materials and services became necessary. In addition to the Children's, Young Adult, Adult, and Regional Reference Sections which were necessary in other multi-floor branches, the division of space in the Library Centers led to the establishment of form, language, and subject collections. Examples of this include the Record Collections in each Center, the consolidated Foreign Language Collection in the Donnell Library Center, the transfer of the Teachers Library (Education Collection) and the Labor Education Service to Donnell, and the proposed establishment of the Donnell Art Collection. The Bronx Reference Center became an administrative part of Fordham Library Center.

Pastime and Happiness

The Family Reads Together *

By ANNIS DUFF

VERY OFTEN on hearing of happy family reading experiences, people say how lucky the *children* are. And the children *are* lucky. No one, especially with the memory of his own childhood happiness with books, would deny that. But think how even luckier the parents are! For there can be few things more satisfying than seeing children take firm hold on something you know is going to be life-long resource and joy.

Most reading with children begins purely for the sake of amusing them, and if the whole thing stopped right there fathers and mothers would still be better off than when they started, because there's something so fortifying about being able to make a tiny person laugh. But once you've proved that something out of a book can turn that handsome trick, you're not likely to rest on your laurels. And it doesn't take long to make a discovery that's one of the best possible regulators of success in reading, not just to lap-sized children but with children of all ages. You find that there's lots more enjoyment for the listeners in something that you enjoy yourself. This is not to say, of course, that if you happen at the moment to be single-mindedly devoted to books about the deciphering of Hittite writings or the Dead Sea Scrolls that's the thing for bedtime reading with the little ones. One of the truly exciting privileges of living with new human beings is to be able, through them, to recover your own innocence of mind, to recapture your delight in the small things that form the basic texture of living. And this being the case, you strive for perceptiveness in choosing books that are not only immensely beguiling to you, but seem to please the baby of your heart.

Actually — and fortunately — you're not entirely dependent on your own embryonic perceptiveness. Generations of the soundest possible critics of children's literature have set the seal of approval on an enchanting array of the best possible books. The critics are the children, and the books are the books they've loved enough to keep them alive among the classics of literature.

Here you'll find Mother Goose's Nursery Rhymes, the oldest and dearest favorites of little childhood. To the happy youngsters who chuckle over *This Little Pig Went to Market* and *Humpty Dumpty* and *There Was an Old*

* This essay is based on a paper which was read as the first annual Spring Lecture on Children's Books May 22, 1956 at the Donnell Library Center of The New York Public Library.

Woman Went up in a Basket, they are jolly little games, or compact small stories, or things to wonder about; good strong simple, graphic words, and fine sturdy rhythms. To the grownup who repeats them from memory, or reads them from a book with beautiful pictures — Leslie Brooke's *Ring O' Roses* or Kathleen Line's *Lavender's Blue* are two of the loveliest — they are a renewal of friendship with literature so old that no one knows any more where some of it came from. Some of Mother Goose's rhymes have historical significance that means nothing to the inexperienced minds of little children but has a genuine fascination for the adult who's interested in such things. I remember my own extra pleasure in saying "rub-a-dub-dub" — with actions — to a small boy, because of having learned that it originated at the time of the Reformation in Scotland. Church bells were forbidden as "smacking of Popery" in calling people to worship, and instead drums were beaten — "rub-a-dub-dub." The "tub" refers to the round, walled pulpit usual in Scots churches, and the "three men" — the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker — represent the lay preachers who held forth where formerly only vested ministers had stood. And "they all put to sea in a rotten potato" is a reference to the terrible famine of those years caused by potato blight. That's only one of the political broadsides of former times that little children have taken to their hearts and invested with their own meanings.

Not all of Mother Goose has any specific meaning to either child or grown-up, but the overtones of true poetry are there, inviting the imagination, by words and images, to construe meanings that satisfy the feelings.

I had a little nut-tree,
Nothing would it bear
But a silver nut-meg
And a golden pear.

The King of Spain's daughter
Came to visit me
And all for the love
Of my little nut tree.

I skipped over ocean
I danced over sea
And all the birds
In the air
Couldn't catch me.

Even more elusive and lovely is the ancient spring song which begins

Here we come a-piping
In springtime and in May,
Green fruit a-ripening
And winter fled away.

Many of the stories little children love the best are part of the same ancient tradition. *Goldilocks and the Three Bears* is one — a reliable favorite — and *The Old Woman and Her Pig, Three Little Pigs, The Gingerbread Man.* All of these and dozens more are compounded of the same imperishable elements that make all good literature — genuine ideas, good, simple, sturdy language, honest presentation of character where character is involved, and the quality of honest creation that is so difficult to define but so easy to identify in contrast with what is merely manufactured.

These elements are present in the best of the books that have been created for little children in modern times — *Johnny Crow's Garden,* for instance, and *The Story about Ping, Millions of Cats, A Walk in the Forest,* and Marie Hall Ets' most enchanting book, *Play with Me.* The wonderful thing about these newer books is the way artists have used their best gifts to make pictures that go hand in hand with the words to achieve the maximum of action and fun and beauty. Fathers and mothers who are just beginning their careers as companions-in-reading with small fry may sometimes find themselves a little bewildered by the very lavishness of illustration, the variety of styles, the profusion of color. But here again is a delightful experience in store, of recapturing the purity of a child's way of seeing things, and at the same time of learning perhaps for the first time what it is that makes a picture really good for what it's intended to do.

Not very long ago at a meeting of teachers one of them said, "I don't quite understand why it's so important to try to find the *best* books for little children. Do they know the difference?" The answer to such a question seems fairly obvious. Maybe little children don't know the difference at first. But they can learn. And when you think that the impressions of childhood go the deepest and last the longest, doesn't it seem only fair to make the first experiences with books not only as blissful as can possibly be, but also *worth remembering?*

There's this to think about too: what little people learn in these more impressionable years, before their minds become cluttered and confused in the great wide world outside their homes, can be the beginning of good, reliable standards of taste and judgment. Then too, where the enjoyment of people of assorted ages is concerned, as it is in family reading, there's simply got to be substance in the books you read together. It's only in good books, with *real* stories, *real* imagination, *real* people, *real* fun, that you find the substance of present delight and future good memories.

I don't mean to suggest that families can't have good times reading just run-of-the-mill books. Especially if for some reason not quite apparent to

the elders a younger member takes a fancy to some particular book of no great merit, it would be pretty stuffy not to make room for it in the family circle. Often rather mediocre books can lead the way into better ones. I'm not sure that our family doesn't owe it to Enid Blyton that Arthur Ransome came into favor with our son earlier than he might have done otherwise. It happened when he was about seven and somebody presented him with one of those Adventure books — you know, *Castle of —, Cave of—, Ship of —*, I can't remember which. Anyway, we read it en famille because the boy wasn't yet quite able to manage it on his own. And it wasn't at all bad fun, really — the conversation of the youngsters is often very brisk and amusing. My husband and I got pretty bored before the end — but not before we'd realized that it was the idea of a gang of children having adventures by themselves that appealed so strongly to both of our children. It was my turn to choose the next book for reading aloud and just on the off-chance that it wouldn't be beyond our young man's enjoyment, I chose *Swallows and Amazons*. And was I the popular mother! Even though the young man is now almost completely grownup he still occasionally reads the Ransome stories with delight because they are *good*.

This points up another feature of reading with children. It's probably a common experience with parents to find that a youngster who only yesterday, it seemed, was perfectly happy with the bookish amusement you provided for him, today is a young person of very definite individual interests and curiosities. And finding books to satify those intensely individual preferences is a perfectly delightful way for fathers and mothers to explore and understand the personality of a unique human being.

From the point of view of shared reading, it's necessary to find a least common denominator of interest, so to speak, for children of varied ages and temperaments, because of course no one member's interests should dominate. It wouldn't be fun that way — although later on when children reach the stage of making their own discoveries among books there's a special kind of fun in the way the whole family can be swept into enthusiasm for one discoverer's favorites.

But what everybody just naturally loves to share at any stage is laughter. And from the nursery age on, books of really good nonsense are just about the finest equipment any household can have. Now that both of our children have come to the point of reminiscing about their childhood it's absolutely soul-satisfying to hear them say, "Oh, and do you remember how we laughed over *Timothy Turtle*?" — or maybe it's *Giant Otto* or *Homer Price* or *Pippi Longstocking*. And then we start laughing all over again, and as likely as not

get out the books and re-read them. It's marvelous to find how well they wear, and good to be reminded that learning to laugh again, in the specially free and hearty way that children laugh, is one of the best gifts that parenthood brings.

Learning to ask questions and to feel a real tingle of excitement in finding answers is another of the blessings fathers and mothers often owe to their children. For it's woefully easy for minds occupied with the cares and responsibilities of adult living to lose both their effervescent curiosities, and the resilience of memory that preserves the harvest of answers those curiosities bring.

Maybe a small boy finds an arrowhead in his own garden, and asks how it came there, and who dropped it? And when? And why? You probably don't know the answers. But it's splendid fun to make a trip to the library to look for them. You may start with a simple book for a simple little boy, and find five years later that he's still pursuing his interest in, for instance, Chesley Baity's *Americans Before Columbus* — which possibly teaches you incidentally more than you ever knew before! Maybe a little girl wants to know the name of a big blue star that hangs above the fading summer sunset. You know it's Venus, but that's about all. So you look it up, perhaps in Peter Lum's *The Stars in Our Heaven,* if that's what happens to be handy. And first thing you know you're deep in the fascination of stars, planets and constellations, and the lovely myths and legends that explain their names. Who knows, a long time afterward the interest that began with one star may be the basis for understanding of, and deep delight in, such a book as Fred Hoyle's *The Nature of the Universe.* The intangible benefits of knowing that children's good minds are growing in strength and reach by being fed are beyond price.

Perhaps even more far-reaching are the benefits of stimulating and feeding the imagination of the young. The other morning my daughter and I were hanging the laundry in the garden when she suddenly startled me by saying, "Hi, Timmy Tiptoes, haven't you had enough trouble from digging up other people's nuts?" I looked over and there was a fat gray squirrel in the flower bed — I suspect digging for my crocus bulbs. We talked to him for a minute or two and then went on talking to each other about Beatrix Potter and what pure delight her books have given us. After a few moments of thoughtful silence my daughter said, "I wonder if modern children have imaginary friends and imaginary adventures from watching television the way we did from reading books?" I wonder too. I wonder if there's any such stimulus for children in a visual experience as there is in knowing all the

wonderful old folk and fairy tales like *The Twelve Dancing Princesses* and *The King of Ireland's Son;* the stories of gods and heroes like King Arthur and Odysseus; all the superlative modern creations of fancy like *At the Back of the North Wind* and *Martin Pippin in the Daisy Field,* and *The Borrowers?* It seems to me that in a world so full of cruelty and destruction as this we need the spiritual grace and stability that can come only through imagination. Our children are the ones who can help us to find this, and keep it.

Poetry shared with children has something of the same revivifying influence. Children whose ears are tuned in their early listening days to the cadence of poetry are likely to come in time, by way of A. A. Milne, and Robert Louis Stevenson, and Christina Rossetti, to appreciation of such as William Blake and John Milton and William Shakespeare. Poetry by its very nature is rememberable and much that is delightful just to listen to has meaning that grows with the growing person.

* * *

I know that many fathers and mothers feel they have neither the time nor the money to spend on reading with their children. But spending time with children is a way of living with children that's awfully good for the people who have them, as well as for the children themselves. And there aren't many cosier ways of being together than with books that everybody enjoys. Reading leads to such splendid talks! Of the families who do make of their reading together a real exercise in companionship there are probably no two who will do it in quite the same way.

But I should think there could be few fathers and mothers experienced in sharing their own pleasure in reading fully and honestly and joyfully with their children who would not feel in their bones what fine and enduring benefits come from it — benefits of learning together what the constant mind of man, in all times and states of being, has recorded in words on paper for the pleasure and comfort and stimulus and growth of people in all times to come.

I should think there must be few people who can look back on their own childhood joy in reading, treasure the renewed delight of sharing books with *their* children, look forward eagerly and hopefully — as I do — to carrying on a tradition of delight with grandchildren, who would not recognize the shining truth of the words

> Dreams, books, are each a world; and books, we know,
> Are a substantial world, both pure and good.
> Round these, with tendrils strong as flesh and blood,
> Our pastime and our happiness will grow.

The Earliest German Translations of Washington Irving's Writings

A Bibliography *

By WALTER A. REICHART
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THE popularity and fame of Washington Irving's work in Europe came suddenly with the publication of *The Sketch Book* in 1819–1820. At home Irving had enjoyed some reputation as a writer ever since the appearance of the *Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.* (1802–1803) and particularly after the publication of *Salmagundi* (1807), the first pamphlet of which sold eight hundred copies in one day.[1] With the appearance of *A History of New York* (1809) Irving became "the most eminent New York man of letters." [2] This work earned him the friendship of Walter Scott, who was delighted with its humor and wrote a keenly appreciative estimate of Irving's talents to Henry Brevoort,[3] a prelude to the friendly reception of Irving at Abbotsford four years later. But England was not prepared for the international success of *The Sketch Book* and to everyone's amazement, including his own, Irving found himself called "the most fashionable fellow of the day." [4] Hyde Park society sought his company eagerly and he was equally welcome at Holland House and in the drawing room of John Murray or Samuel Rogers. And this almost at the moment when Sydney Smith arrogantly had attacked American culture and posed the taunting question: "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?" [5]

Irving's work provided a convincing answer as *The Sketch Book* went through five British editions in one year and British critics vied with one another to praise this distinguished American man of letters. Francis Jeffrey, the editor of the *Edinburgh Review,* made amends most graciously in his detailed review of *The Sketch Book,* "the work of an American, entirely bred and trained in that country . . . now, the most remarkable thing in a work so

* This study was supported by a grant from the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan.

1 P. M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York 1862–1864) I, 179.

2 S. T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving* (New York 1935) I, 136.

3 *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott,* ed. by H. J. C. Grierson (London 1932) III, 259.

4 C. R. Leslie to Irving, Dec. 24, 1820. C. R. Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections* (Boston 1860) 230.

5 *Edinburgh Review* XXXIII (Jan. 1820) 79.

circumstanced certainly is, that it should be written throughout with the greatest care and accuracy, and worked up to great purity and beauty of diction, on the model of the most elegant and polished of our native writers. It is the first American work, we rather think, of any description, but certainly the first purely literary production, to which we could give this praise." [6] What finer tribute could be paid than to raise an American author to a position of almost equality?

The additional success of Irving's next work, *Bracebridge Hall* (1822), established his reputation on the continent. Especially in Germany, journals eagerly copied the flattering comments of English magazines about the new American author and promptly printed selections in translation. Irving's interest in German folklore, which had already contributed to his most successful stories and brought him to Germany in the summer of 1822, aroused further curiosity about that "rara avis," an American who could write like an Englishman. The rumor that he was planning a "German Sketch Book" proved even more intriguing. The next work, *Tales of a Traveller* (1824), actually written laboriously in Paris and London and drawing only slightly and unsuccessfully upon his observations during a year's sojourn in Germany, hardly fulfilled these expectations. In England and America its reception was disappointing and Irving became troubled about his literary future. It was at this critical moment that a new opportunity beckoned: Alexander Hill Everett, the older brother of the orator Edward Everett, in charge of the American Embassy at Madrid but with a passion for literature, invited Irving to join his staff and to prepare a translation of Navarrete's Voyages of Columbus. Irving gladly accepted and so began the period of his Spanish studies.

In Germany, however, the *Tales of a Traveller* were a great success and henceforth every new work of Irving's appeared promptly in German translation. In the 1820's Irving almost rivaled Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper in popularity and he remained a much-read author throughout the nineteenth century. Generation after generation of students made their first acquaintance with American literature in the original — they had all read *The Leatherstocking Tales* in translation — through Irving's *Sketch Book* and learned from it the niceties of style and the infinite richness of the English idiom. Irving's popularity in Germany is a matter of record, but the rapid dissemination of his work during the five years between the first publication of *The Sketch Book* and the appearance of *Tales of a Traveller* is revealed only in the periodicals of that day. The earliest selections from Irving's works appeared surreptitiously in papers and magazines not only forgotten today,

[6] *Edinburgh Review* XXXIV (Aug. 1820) 160.

but not even readily accessible in German libraries.[7] The following compilation of such ephemeral material presents the earliest periodical literature of the 1820's. It is a small supplement to the available check list of the translations and publications of Irving's work.[8]

* * *

CHECK LIST

1819

"Die Seereise" ["The Voyage," *The Sketch Book*] Bruchstück aus Godfried Crayon Esquire's Skizzenbuch. *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* Stuttgart und Tübingen, J. G. Cotta, Nov. 10, 11, 1819, no. 269, 270, p. 1073f., 1077f.

"Landleben in England" ["Rural Life in England," *The Sketch Book*] Bruchstück aus Godfried Crayon Esquire's Skizzenbuch. *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* Stuttgart und Tübingen, J. G. Cotta, Nov. 26, 27, 1819, no. 283, 284, p. 1129f., 1133f.

1820

"John Bull" *[The Sketch Book] Literarisches Wochenblatt, Beilage,* Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, VI (1820) no. 88

1821

[Extract from "English Writers on America," *The Sketch Book*] repr. from *Monthly Review,* London, XCIII (1820) 198–207. *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt,* Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, Feb. 23, 1821, no. 46, p. 184

"Stratford am Avon." Nach Irving's Sketchbook [Translation signed Mm] *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt,* Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, Sept. 4, 5, 1821, no. 203, 204, p. 809–812, 815

"Das ländliche Leben in England" ["Rural Life in England"] Nach Irving's Sketchbook [Translation signed Mm] *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt,* Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, Sept. 28, 29, 1821, no. 224, 225, p. 893–895, 899f.

"Der Stolz des Dorfes" ["The Pride of the Village"] Nach Irving's Sketchbook. *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt,* Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, Oct. 26, 1821, no. 248, p. 989–991; continued in *Beilage* of same issue [no pagination]

"Das Weib" ["The Wife"] Aus Irving's Sketchbook. *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt,* Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, Nov. 16, 1821, no. 264, p. 1053–1055

[7] For a full discussion see my article "The Early Reception of Washington Irving's Works in Germany," *Anglia* LXXIV (1956) 345–363.

[8] S. T. Williams and M. A. Edge, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Washington Irving. A Check List* (New York 1936) 172 f., where nine items from German "periodicals and collections" are listed before 1825, one each for 1819, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1825, and four for 1824. These are not always correctly or fully identified. In addition there are some German translations recorded at the end of each book title throughout the volume.

1822

"Washington Irving, ein humoristischer 'nord-amerikanischer' Schriftsteller" [Extracts from *A History of New York.* Notice of second edition of *The Sketch Book,* 1820, and of a "zweites Werk seiner heiteren Laune," *A History of New York . . .* by Dietrich Knickerbocker] *Zeitung für die elegante Welt,* hrsg. von K. L. M. Müller, Leipzig bey Leopold Voss, XXII (1822) March 1, no. 43, p. 340–342

"Der Weihnachtsabend bei einem alten, englischen Landjunker" ["The Christmas Dinner," *The Sketch Book*] Übersetzt von Chr. Niemeyer. *Zeitung für die elegante Welt,* hrsg. von K. L. M. Müller, Leipzig bey Leopold Voss, XXII (1822) March 2, no. 44, p. 345–348

"Ein Reiseabenteuer" ["The Stout Gentleman," *Bracebridge Hall*] Übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* Stuttgart und Tübingen, J. G. Cotta, June 26–28, 1822, no. 152–154, p. 605f., 610f., 614–616

"Alte Diener" ["Family Servants," *Bracebridge Hall*] *Der Gesellschafter oder Blätter für Geist und Herz,* hrsg. von F. W. Gubitz, Berlin, Maurer, VI (1822) Sept. 27, 28, no. 154, 155, p. 729f., 734f.

"Bäume des Waldes" [Extracts from "Forest Trees," *Bracebridge Hall*] Übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. *Zeitung für die elegante Welt,* hrsg. von K. L. M. Müller, Leipzig bey Leopold Voss, XXII (1822) Oct. 21, 22, 24, no. 206–208, columns 1643–1645, 1652–1654, 1660–1662 [no pagination]

"Die Dorfkirche" ["The Country Church," *The Sketch Book*] Übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. *Berlinischer Taschenkalender auf das Gemein-Jahr 1822,* p. 250–259

"John Bull" *[The Sketch Book]* Übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. *Berlinischer Taschenkalender auf das Gemein-Jahr 1822,* p. 259–278

"Philip von Pokanoket" *[The Sketch Book] Miscellen aus der neuesten ausländischen Literatur,* hrsg. von Alexander Bran, Jena, XXX (1822) 295–320

"Die Schläferhöhle" ["The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," *The Sketch Book*] *Miscellen aus der neuesten ausländischen Literatur,* hrsg. von Alexander Bran, Jena, XXXI (1822) 255–305

"Shakespeares Haus zu Stratford" [Extracts from Stratford-on-Avon," *The Sketch Book*] *Litterarischer Anzeiger,* Wien bey Carl Gerold, 1822, no. 8, p. 61–63

"Skizzen" *[The Sketch Book]* Nach Washington Irving. Übersetzt von Dr. August Kuhn, *Der Freimüthige oder Unterhaltungsblatt für gebildete und unbefangene Leser,* hrsg. von A. Kuhn, Berlin, XIX (1822). ["Notizen über den Verfasser" ("The Author's Account of Himself") no. 192, 193, p. 765f., 771; "Die Reise" ("The Voyage") no. 194, 195, p. 773–775, 778–780; "Rip Van Winkle," no. 202–205, p. 805f., 810f., 813–815, 818–820; "Roscoe," no. 206, 207, p. 821–823, 827f.]

Erzählungen von Washington Irwing [sic; *The Sketch Book*] *aus dem Englischen übersetzt* von W. A. Lindau. Dresden, Arnold, 1822 ["Frauenlob" ("The Wife"); "Die Schläferhöhle" ("The Legend of Sleepy Hollow"); "Die Witwe und ihr Sohn" ("The Widow and her Son"); "Rip Van Winkle"; "Der Bräutigam, ein Gespenst" ("The Spectre Bridgegroom")]

1823

"Der Bräutigam ein Gespenst" ["The Spectre Bridegroom," *The Sketch Book*] Aus dem Englischen des Washington Irwing [sic] übersetzt von W. A. Lindau. *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung und Unterhaltungsblatt für Freunde der Kunst, Literatur und des geselligen Lebens,* hrsg. von Adolf Bäuerle, Wien, XVI (1823) June 21, 24, 26, 28, no. 74–77, p. 293–295, 297–299, 301f., 305f.

"Das Haus des Shakespeare" [Extract from "Stratford-on-Avon," *The Sketch Book*] In *Romantische Denksteine; oder Schaustücke, Glanzmomente und Curiosa aus der Welt des Lebens und Wirkens* . . . von A. F. Rittgräff [pseud. for Franz Gräffer] Wien, 1823, Erster Theil, p. 91–94

"Das Haus des Shakespeare" [Extract from "Stratford-on-Avon," *The Sketch Book,* copied from A. F. Rittgräff's *Romantische Denksteine.* . . . Wien, 1823] *Der Wanderer,* Wien [newspaper] June 30, 1823, no. 181 [no pagination]

"Die Geisterbraut" ["The Spectre Bridegroom," *The Sketch Book*] Übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. *Berlinischer Taschenkalender auf das Gemein-Jahr 1823,* p. 227–252

"Rip Van Winkle" *[The Sketch Book]* Übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. *Berlinischer Taschenkalender auf das Gemein-Jahr 1823,* p. 197–226

Bracebridge-Hall oder die Charaktere. Aus dem Englischen des Washington Irving übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Berlin, Duncker und Humblot, 1823. 2 vols.

1824

"Porträts von Washington Irving. 1. Die Familie Cockloft" [No. VI, March 20, 1807, "From my Elbow-Chair," *Salmagundi*] *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* Stuttgart und Tübingen, J. G. Cotta, May 19, 20, 22, 1824, no. 120, 121, 123, p. 447f., 483f., 490f.

"Porträts von Washington Irving. 2. Mein Oheim John" [No. XI, June 2, 1807, "From my Elbow-Chair, Mine Uncle John," *Salmagundi*] *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* Stuttgart und Tübingen, J. G. Cotta, June 2, 3, 1824, no. 132, 133, p. 525f., 530f.

[Extracts] "Aus dem neuesten Werke von Washington Irving: Königsmark, der lange Finne" [Paulding's novel, *Koningsmarke,* the long Finne, a story of the New World (New York, 1823) was attributed to Irving] *Der Gesellschafter; oder, Blätter für Geist und Herz,* hrsg. von F. W. Gubitz, Berlin. Maurer, VIII (1824) July 24, 26, Aug. 4; Sept. 1, no. 118, 119, 124, 140, p. 581f., 586f., 613f., 690f.

"Jonathan Oldstyle's Briefe" [No. VII of *Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.*] *Der Gesellschafter; oder, Blätter für Geist und Herz. Beilage,* hrsg. von F. W. Gubitz, Berlin, Maurer, VIII (1824) Sept. 1, no. 140, p. 693–696

"Der dicke Herr" ["The Stout Gentleman," *Bracebridge Hall*] *Eos. Zeitschrift aus Baiern zur Erhetterung und Belehrung,* hrsg. von Franz v. Elsholtz, München, Fleischmann, VII (1824) Sept. 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, no. 143–147

"Die alten Sitten" [No. I of *Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.*] *Eos. Zeitschrift aus Baiern zur Erheiterung und Belehrung,* hrsg. von Franz v. Elsholtz, München, Fleischmann, VII (1824) Sept. 22 and 24, no. 152 and 153

"Über die Duelle" [No. VIII of *Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.*] *Eos. Zeitschrift aus Baiern zur Erheiterung und Belehrung,* hrsg. von Franz v. Elsholtz, München, Fleischmann, VII (1824) Sept. 25 and 27, no. 154 and 155

"Der Jagdschmaus" ["The Hunting-Dinner," *Tales of a Traveller*] *Abendzeitung,* Dresden, Arnold, Oct. 1, 1824, no. 236

"Meines Onkels Abenteuer" ["The Adventure of My Uncle," *Tales of a Traveller*] *Abendzeitung,* Dresden, Arnold, Oct. 2, 4, 5, 1824, no. 237–239

"Meiner Tante Abenteuer" ["The Adventure of My Aunt," *Tales of a Traveller*] *Abendzeitung,* Dresden, Arnold, Oct. 6, 7, 1824, no. 240–241

"Meines Grossvaters Abenteuer; oder, Der tapfere Dragoner" ["The Bold Dragoon, or the Adventure of My Grandfather," *Tales of a Traveller*] *Abendzeitung,* Dresden, Arnold, Oct. 7, 8, 1824, no. 241–242

"Des deutschen Studenten Abenteuer" ["The Adventure of the German Student," *Tales of a Traveller*] *Abendzeitung,* Dresden, Arnold, Oct. 9, 1824, no. 243

"Abenteuer eines deutschen Studenten" ["The Adventure of the German Student," *Tales of a Traveller*] *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt,* Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, Oct. 15, 1824, no. 238, p. 949–951

"Ballston" [Extract from "Style at Ballston," *Salmagundi*] *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* Stuttgart und Tübingen, J. G. Cotta, Oct. 26, 1824, no. 257, p. 1025f.

"Geschichte eines jungen Italieners" ["The Story of the Young Italian," *Tales of a Traveller*] *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* Stuttgart und Tübingen, J. G. Cotta, Nov. 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 1824, no. 279–284, p. 1113f., 1117f., 1121–23, 1125f., 1129f., 1134f.

"Abentheuer eines deutschen Studenten" ["The Adventure of the German Student," *Tales of a Traveller*] Ein Nachtgemälde nach Washington Irving. Übersetzt von Georg Lotz. *Originalien aus dem Gebiete der Wahrheit und Laune, Kunst und Phantasie.* Redigirt u. verlegt von Georg Lotz, Hamburg, Herold, VIII (1824) no. 110, p. 873–876; no. 111, p. 881–884

"Aus der Lebensgeschichte eines Banditen" ["The Story of the Young Robber," *Tales of a Traveller*] Übersetzt von Georg Lotz. *Originalien aus dem Gebiete der Wahrheit und Laune, Kunst und Phantasie.* Redigirt u. verlegt von Georg Lotz, Hamburg, Herold, VIII (1824) no. 112, p. 889–893; no. 113, p. 901f.

"Abentheuer des geheimnisvollen Fremden" ["The Adventure of the Mysterious Stranger" and "The Young Italian," *Tales of a Traveller*] Erzählung nach Washington Irving. Übersetzt von George Lotz. *Originalien aus dem Gebiete der Wahrheit und Laune, Kunst und Phantasie.* Redigirt u. verlegt von Georg Lotz, Hamburg, Herold, VIII (1824) no. 119, p. 945–950; no. 120, p. 953–957; no. 121, p. 961–965; no. 122, p. 973–975; no. 123, p. 977–981; no. 124, p. 989–992; no. 125, p. 993–996; no. 126, p. 1003–1007; no. 127, p. 1012–1015

"Buckthornes Schicksale" ["Buckthorne, or the Young Man of Great Expectations," *Tales of a Traveller*] *Lesefrüchte vom Felde der neuestên Literatur des In- und Auslandes,* Hamburg, J. J. C. Pappe, IV (1824) no. 28–31, p. 433–445, 453–464, 469–480, 481–494

"Die Reisenden in den Apenninen" ["The Belated Travellers," *Tales of a Traveller*] Erzählung nach Washington Irving. Übersetzt von Georg Lotz. *Originalien aus dem Gebiete der Wahrheit und Laune, Kunst und Phantasie.* Redigirt u. verlegt von Georg Lotz, Hamburg, Herold, VIII (1824) no. 131, p. 1041–1046, no. 132, p. 1052–1054, no. 133, p. 1057–1061, no. 134, p. 1069–1071

"Stratford am Avon" *[The Sketch Book]* Nach Washington Irving. Deutsch von K. v. W. *Der Kranz oder Erholungen für Geist und Herz. Eine Unterhaltungsschrift für gebildete Leser,* hrsg. von Karoline von Woltmann. Prag, Gottlieb Haase, XI (1824) Heft 1, no. 2–10, p. 6f., 10f., 14, 17f., 22f., 26, 30f., 34f., 38f.

Erzählungen eines Reisenden [Tales of a Traveller] Von Washington Irving. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Berlin, Duncker und Humblot, 1824–1825. 2 vols. [First volume actually was published in 1824 and has different pagination than 1825 reprint]

Jonathan Oldstyle's Briefe [Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.] Aus dem Englischen des Washington Irving übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Berlin, Duncker und Humblot, 1824

1825

[Extract from Anthony Evergreen's account of L. Langstaff from no. VIII of Apr. 18, 1807, *Salmagundi*] *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* supplement *Literaturblatt,* July 22, 1825, no. 58, p. 229–231

[Extract from "L'Envoy," *The Sketch Book*] *Litererarisches Conversations-Blatt,* Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, July 29, 1825, no. 174, p. 696

"Kleine Bilder von Washington Irving," *Der Sammler, ein Unterhaltungsblatt,* Wien, XVII (1825) no. 46, p. 182f. "Englischer Reisewagen" [opening section of "Adventure of the Popkins Family"]; "Der italienische Bandit" [description of chieftain in "The Italian Banditti"]; "Der alte Geitzhals" [description of miserly uncle in "Buckthorne"]; "Der verliebte junge Holländer" [description of Dirk Waldron in "Wolfert Webber"] [Selections from *Tales of a Traveller*]; no. 79 and 80, p. 315f., 319f. "Die Landung" [last two paragraphs of "The Arrival"]; "Der Adelige und der Reiche" [selection contrasting class behavior from "The Country Church"] [Selections from *The Sketch Book*]

Erzählungen eines Reisenden [Tales of a Traveller] Von Washington Irving. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Classische Cabinett-Bibliothek oder Sammlung auserlesener Werke der deutschen und Fremd-Literatur. 25. 26. 27. Bändchen. Wien, Chr. Fr. Schade, 1825

Erzählungen eines Reisenden [Tales of a Traveller] Von Washington Irving aus dem Englischen übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Hundert und ein Abend. Eine Sammlung vorzüglicher ausgewählter Erzählungen, Mährchen, Volkssagen und Novellen. Wien bey Kraulfuss und Krammer, 1825

Gottfried Crayon's Skizzenbuch [The Sketch Book] Von Washington Irving. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Wien, Chr. Fr. Schade, 1825. 3 vols.

Gottfried Crayon's Skizzenbuch [The Sketch Book] Aus dem Englischen des Washington Irving übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Berlin, Duncker und Humblot, 1825. 2 vols.

Gottfried Crayon's Skizzenbuch [The Sketch Book] Von Washington Irving. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Classische Cabinett-Bibliothek oder Sammlung auserlesener Werke der deutschen und Fremd-Literatur. 51. 52. 53. Bändchen. Wien, Chr. Fr. Schade, 1825. Zweite Auflage, 1826

Die Handschrift Diedrich Knickerbokers des Jüngern, von Washington Irving. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Leipzig, Rein, 1825. [Translation of the anonymous American imitation of Irving entitled *The Manuscript of Diedrich Knickerbocker Jun.,* New York, Bliss & White, 1824]

1826–1828

Bracebridge Hall oder die Charaktere. Aus dem Englischen des Washington Irving übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. 2. verb. Auflage, Berlin, Duncker und Humblot, 1826. 2 vols.

Bracebridge Hall oder die Charaktere. Aus dem Englischen des Washington Irving übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Wien, Chr. Fr. Schade, 1826. 3 vols. [Also reprinted in] Classische Cabinett-Bibliothek oder Sammlung auserlesener Werke der deutschen und Fremd-Literatur. 152. 153. 154. Bändchen. Wien, Chr. Fr. Schade, 1828

Bracebridge Hall oder die Humoristen. Übersetzt von Henriette Schubert. Taschen-Bibliothek der ausländischen Classiker, no. 159–161. Zwickau, Gebr. Schumann, 1826

Erzählungen eines Reisenden [Tales of a Traveller] Von Washington Irving aus dem Englischen übersetzt von S. H. Spiker. Wien bey Michael Lechner, 1826, 4 vols.

Washington Irving's sämmtliche Werke. Übersetzt von Mehreren und hrsg. von Christian August Fischer. Frankfurt am Main, Johann David Sauerländer, 1826–37, 74 parts [actually 24 vols; each part with individual title page] The first published were:

> *Gottfried Crayon's Skizzenbuch [The Sketch Book]* von Washington Irving. Aus dem Englischen. 1826 [parts 1–6]
>
> *Erzählungen eines Reisenden [Tales of a Traveller]* von Washington Irving. Aus dem Englischen. 1827 [parts 7–12]
>
> *Bracebridge-Hall oder die Charaktere* von Washington Irving. Aus dem Englischen. 1827 [parts 13–18]
>
> *Eingemachtes [Salmagundi]* von Washington Irving. Aus dem Englischen. 1827 [part 19]

"Die Gespensterbraut" ["The Spectre Bridegroom," *The Sketch Book*] *Allgemeine Unterhaltungsblätter zur Verbreitung des Schönen, Guten und Nützlichen,* Münster, Wundermann, IV (1828) July – Dec., p. 99–103, 121, 126

An Extraordinary Character

The Chevalier Littlepage and the European Experience

By CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

"THIS Captn Littlepage," General Washington confided to his diary one autumn day in 1785, "is an extraordinary Character." [1] The General was not notorious for overstating a case, and in this one, too, he was right. Lewis Littlepage (1762–1802), soldier and diplomat from Hanover County, Virginia, *was* an extraordinary character; yet the only readily available source of information about him is an article in *The Dictionary of American Biography* which is somewhat short on facts and a bit lacking in sympathy.[2] The details of his career are so little known to the American public that even an unusually learned member thereof — the late John C. Fitzpatrick, archivist to the Library of Congress — when preparing his monumental edition of Washington's writings, caused Lewis' name to be indexed, on the basis of the General's reference to a "Captn," as "Littlepage —, shipmaster"! [3]

This is only one of the several ironies and obscurities that have clustered 'round the memory of the tiny Virginian since his burial in Fredericksburg at the age of thirty-nine years seven months. If we glance just briefly at the sort of life he had led in less than four decades, we shall not boggle at the obscurities. Consider, for example, the mere variety of chieftains under whom, at one time or another, in one capacity or another, Littlepage served. There was an American, John Jay: jurist and diplomat. There was a Frenchman, the Duke de Crillon: professional soldier. There was a gentleman of German-Dutch ancestry, the Prince de Nassau-Siegen: courtier, adventurer, and cosmopolitan. There was a Pole, Stanislas II Poniatowski: last King of the Republic. There was a Russian, Potemkin: no tag required. And Littlepage's pan-European perambulations on behalf of this motley crew had all been crammed into less than fifteen years (1780–1794).

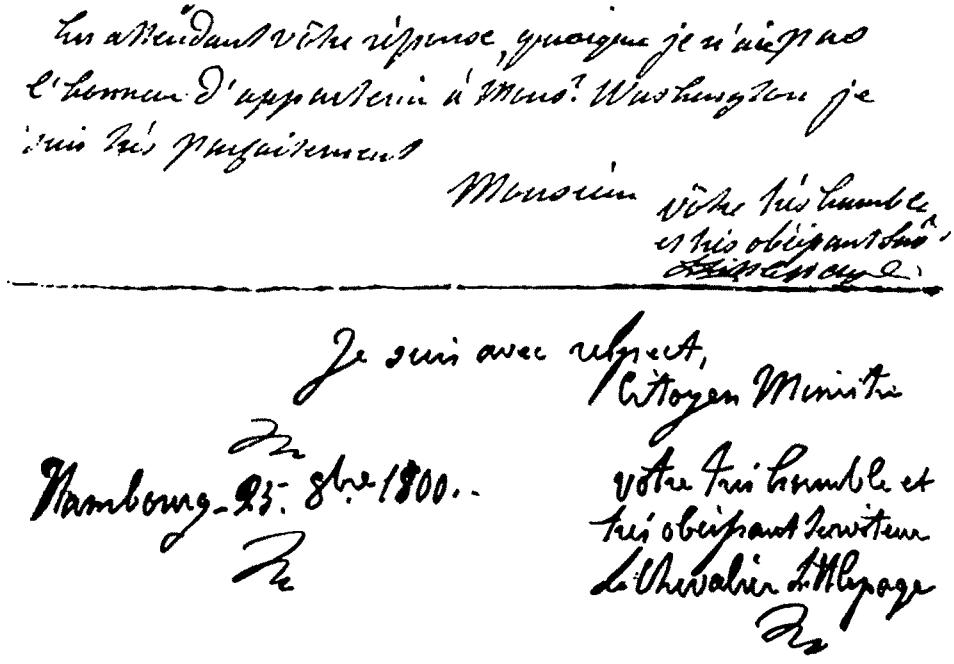
The young Virginian had first crossed the Atlantic toward the close of 1779, in order to go to Spain. There he served in the diplomatic household of Jay,

[1] Washington, *Diaries, 1748–1799*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, II, 433.

[2] Frank Monaghan in *DAB* s.v. "Littlepage, Lewis." Dr. Monaghan is also the biographer of John Jay, one of Littlepage's more outstanding enemies. Happily for Littlepage, we are now enabled to read his own account of his career in a recently uncovered, manuscript autobiography. See Curtis Carroll Davis, trans. and ed., "An American Courtier in Europe: Lewis Littlepage's 'Private Political Memoir' (Hamburg, 1795)," American Philosophical Society *Proceedings*, CI (June 1957) no. 3, 255–269.

[3] Washington, *Writings*, ed. Fitzpatrick, XXVIII, 308.

who had recently been appointed America's first Minister to Madrid. Presently Littlepage was off on a tour of the Near East in the entourage of the Prince de Nassau, who had taken a fancy to him during their common service as volunteers with the Franco-Spanish troops against Gibraltar in 1782. At the termination of the Prince's tour, he introduced Littlepage to the King of Poland at Warsaw in 1784, and the Virginian so charmed this monarch that he was forthwith offered a position at his court. During this Polish sojourn, which lasted effectively from 1785 to 1795 (in January of which year Stanislas left Warsaw for the last time, en-route to exile in Russia), Littlepage served his King as a diplomatic trouble-shooter at the courts of Russia, France, Eng-



Mr. Littlepage signs off: two letter fragments
Manuscript Division

land, and Spain, in that order. But he also took time out, during the summer of 1788, to fight as a volunteer with the Russian forces under Potemkin against the Turks along the Crimean shore of the Black Sea. During this period, as we have already emphasized, he scattered obscurities behind him.

Let us select two kinds for examination: a brace of what might be termed "physical" obscurities, and a pair of "literary" ones. To note the physical first.... Is it true that, at Constantinople, during Littlepage's brief stay there in the Prince de Nassau's retinue (1784), he was attacked "by a Turkish

assassin who, under the role of dispatch bearer, handed the papers to Littlepage with one hand and attempted to hew him down with a sword in the other hand. Littlepage, throwing his sword up, caught the blow, and his guards dispatched the false dispatch bearer."[4] True? We shall probably never know. But it is a fact that, among Littlepage's memorabilia still owned by collateral kin, there is an Oriental scimitar, twenty-nine inches in length, its curved steel blade incised with brass trim at top and sides, its ivory grip inlaid with mother-of-pearl and small green stones (perhaps chrysoprase).[5] Is this the Turkish assassin's murder weapon? In lieu of an answer, let us consider the second of our "physical" obscurities. Is it true that the Queen of Spain presented Littlepage with a "gold-hilted rapier" as a testimonial of the impression he had made at her court? Well, it is a fact that a thirty-seven-and-a-quarter inch smallsword — its hilt, pommel, and knuckle bows of brass, its wooden grip wrapped with gold wire — exists to this day among Littlepage's memorabilia owned by the Valentine Museum at Richmond.[6] And from late 1789 till December, 1790, the Virginian was Polish representative at the court of Carlos IV and his queen, Luisa Maria of Parma (1751–1819). Is this smallsword the Queen of Spain's rapier? In lieu of an answer, let us turn now to our "literary" obscurities.

These are two letter fragments from Littlepage's hand, and both of them are owned by The New York Public Library. *(See illustration.)* Notice the reading of the first fragment:

> En attendant vôtre rèponse, quoique je n'aie pas l'honneur d'appartenir à Mons^{r}. Washington je suis très parfaitement
>
> Monsieur
> Vôtre très humble
> et très obèissant Serv^{r}.
> L Littlepage[7]

What does the writer mean when he says he doesn't "have the honor to belong to Mr. Washington"? Verbally, Littlepage's French was fluent, but in the

[4] Sarah T. L. (S.) Anderson, comp., "Memorial" [on Littlepage], in *Lewises, Meriwethers, and Their Kin* (Richmond 1938) p. 391, quoting James Minor Holladay, one of the sons of Littlepage's half brother and executor, Waller Holladay.

[5] Owned by Mr. Garlick Rawlings Boggs of "Livingston," Bumpass, Va. Neither this weapon nor the "rapier"/smallsword carries a dent in its blade, as recorded in Anderson.

[6] Technically identified as a French Officer type smallsword, year-model 1767. The type is illustrated in Capt. Maurice Bottet, *L'Arme Blanche de Guerre Française au XVIII^{e} Siècle* (Paris 1910), Chap. VI passim and Plate XI.

[7] In the Miscellaneous Papers, Manuscript Division, The New York Public Library. Formerly tipped into, but later removed from, the Library's copy of Littlepage's *Answer to a Pamphlet* (New York, Francis Childs [1787?]).

written form it was often not impeccable. Hence we must conclude that what he intended to state was that he did not belong to Mr. Washington's "household" or "entourage" or such-like. Obviously the epistle is addressed to a European (though not necessarily a Frenchman), and presumably it antedates December 14th, 1799, when Washington died — assuming always that it is George Washington who is meant. More specifically, the script bears resemblance to Littlepage's handwriting of the year 1791.

In an effort to take a sounding of the Virginian's personality, the photostats of eight of his letters, written at as many different stages of his career, were submitted to the scrutiny of two different graphologists, independently, with the idea of comparing their findings. One of the letters submitted was penned in February 1791, hence probably at the same general period as the fragment we are now discussing. The first graphologist analysed this 1791 epistle in the following brief paragraph:

> By 1791 he was perhaps at his height and was expressing himself very openly and easily in his relationships with others. He shows generosity and a strengthening of his will power and drive. His pride and vanity are there, but not really in undue proportion.[8]

To analyse the same letter, the second graphologist required a full, single-space page of typewritten comment. Here are the concluding observations:

> With one part of his mind, he is aware [his plans] might not work, and fearful; yet there is an underlying optimism born from his need to bolster up his spirits which sometimes takes control and makes him feel that nothing is impossible for him to achieve.
>
> In the emotional department, he verges on instability, and although he wants to give the impression that he is direct and honest, the fact remains that he is somewhat secretive and not really "showing his hand." There are signs, too, that he has periods when he lives in the past and has moments of nostalgia when he sentimentalizes over memory-association connected with it.
>
> It is not that he lacks force but rather that his will is divided and he therefore "wants to eat his cake and have it." Also, he feels as though he has been taken advantage of and his motives not understood, and something of a martyr complex assails him. He thinks only, emphasizes what others have done to him without any real insight into what he may have

[8] Margaret D. Langdon (Mrs. Gilbert L.), Red Bank, N. J., August 23rd, 1956, to Curtis Carroll Davis. The letter analysed is Littlepage to William Short, Paris, February 16th, 1791, in the Dreer Collection: American Statesmen, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Another Littlepage epistle of this year, a twenty-page document to Thomas Jefferson, Warsaw, December 26th, 1791, is published in full in the article by Curtis Carroll Davis, "Mr. Littlepage Briefs Mr. Jefferson on the European Situation: 1791," *Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine* VI (December 1956) 542–553.

done to have brought him to the state of affairs in which he finds himself. He seems to have developed some physical mannerisms which derive from an inner hostility, and some of his gestures are nervously exaggerated.[9]

How accurate is all this? A moot point. There is nothing moot, however, about the fact that King Stanislas — while Littlepage was representing him at Madrid, and for various other services accorded His Majesty's person and cause — at Warsaw, on January 21st, 1790, bestowed upon Lewis the Order of Saint Stanislas,[10] from which date the American was privileged to sign himself "Chevalier." After the King had been compelled by Prussia and Russia to abdicate his throne and depart for unwilling exile in Saint Petersburg, Littlepage lingered on in Poland until the autumn of 1800. Then — disgusted, unhealthy, but rather wealthy — he began the long voyage home. By mid-October he had arrived at the port of Hamburg, in which vicinage he tarried till the late spring of 1801, before crossing to England and then to America. It is from this last, Hamburg hesitation that the second of our two letter fragments derives:

Je suis avec respect,
Citoyen Ministre
Hambourg, 25. 8^{bre}. 1800 votre trés humble et
trés obeissant Serviteur
le Chevalier Littlepage [11]

From the "Citizen" part of this, we may induce that the missive had been directed to one of the Cabinet officials of Revolutionary France — or, more accurately, France of the Consulate — most plausibly, perhaps, to its Minister of Foreign Affairs, the notorious Talleyrand. It is no induction but a fact, which Littlepage related to Thomas Jefferson in January, 1801, that he was "intending to have gone to France, but an attempt was made to embroil me

[9] Nadya Olyanova, New York City, August 8th, 1956, to Curtis Carroll Davis.

[10] See Stanisław Łoza, comp., *Kawalerowie Orderu Swiętego Stanislawa, 1765–1813* (Warsaw 1925) 46, 79 (U. S. copy in The New York Public Library). The Elector of Bavaria had already persuaded Stanislas to award the Order to a native of Massachusetts, Count Rumford, in 1785 (*ibid.* 97) — not in 1791, as is implied by Egon Larsen, *An American in Europe: The Life of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford* (London 1953) 73.

[11] Tipped into The New York Public Library's copy of John Jay's pamphlet, *Letters. . . .* (New York, Eleazer Oswald, 1786) the item which had stimulated Littlepage's *Answer* (see n. 7, above). Both these Littlepage signatures are probably among the several described in Stan V. Henkels, comp., *The Valuable Collection of Americana, being the Library of the Rev. Horace E. Hayden. . . .* (Philadelphia, 1907) 45–46, since the Library possesses some of Hayden's MSS. At least by June 25th, 1781, in a letter to the Count de Florida-Blanca, Prime Minister of Spain, Littlepage had begun to sign his letters "L. Littlepage"; and this signature steadily became standard with him, save for an occasional "le Chevalier Littlepage" from early 1790 on.

with the Government of that Country. . . ." Besides which (as he had informed his stepfather ten days earlier) he found himself threatened with "daggers and poison" in his present circumstances.[12] In view of such a background, it is small wonder that, during the last two or three years of his tumultuous life, the Virginian's handwriting erupted into the swollen and wobbly ungainliness it displays in the second of the two letter fragments we have discussed.

He was sick of Europe. So, too, and by this same period, were a couple other American expatriates, both of whom were acquaintances of Littlepage: Colonel John Trumbull and Joel Barlow.[13] Had theirs been the norm of our eighteenth-century experience in the Old World? At the end, it was certainly Lewis'.

[12] See, respectively, Littlepage to Jefferson, Altona, [Denmark], January 19th, 1801, in the Jefferson Papers, CIX, #18,642–3, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, and Littlepage to Major Lewis Holladay, Altona, January 9th, 1801, in Horace E. Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies* (Washington, D. C., Rare Book Shop 1931) 411.

[13] From London, March 24th, 1799, Trumbull wrote George Washington: "I certainly do not exaggerate when I say that Europe is rotten to the Heart, and that in Europe America has not one friend on whose support she can rely." The next day he wrote John Jay: "Europe is rotten to the heart . . . all is hollow. . . ." John Trumbull, Letter Book: 1796–1802 (transcripts), New-York Historical Society library. From Paris, September 14th, 1800, Joel Barlow wrote Governor James Monroe of Virginia: "I mentioned to you in my last my intention of coming to settle in Virginia with the hope of enjoying more tranquillity there than I could in my native State [Connecticut], as my intention is to confine myself to my little cabinet of books. And the intolerant spirit of priesthood & royalty that rages in the north would thus lose one of its victims." James Monroe Papers: 1783–1831, ac. 9,405, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

The Case for Internal Evidence (2)

An Uncollected Early Poem by Coleridge

By S. F. JOHNSON
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IN THE third number of Coleridge's *The Watchman,* March 17, 1796, there appear among others three poems signed respectively T., C., and S.[1] The poems are "Elegy," "The Hour When We Shall Meet Again," and "Lines on the Portrait of a Lady." In the standard edition of the poetical works, E. H. Coleridge includes the first two of these but nowhere mentions the third. He notes that the "Elegy" was first printed without signature in the *Morning Chronicle,* Sept. 23, 1794, reappeared in *The Watchman,* signed T., and was included in several collections of Coleridge's verse (1817, 1828, 1829, and 1834), although it was omitted from the edition of 1852 "as of doubtful origin.[2] He notes that "The Hour" was first printed in *The Watchman,* signed C., and included in the collections of 1797, 1803, 1844, and 1852.[3]

The third poem, signed S. in *The Watchman,* has never to my knowledge been reprinted, although Professor Lewis Patton has publicly wondered "if the third poem . . . is not also his."[4] Patton cites Coleridge's well-known partiality for his initials as the chief evidence for attribution. This partiality is apparent in the Silas Tomkyn (or Titus) Comberbacke escapade of 1793–94, the signature C. T. S. at the end of *An Answer to "A Letter to Edward Long Fox, M.D."* (Bristol 1795), and the transcription of his initials in the Greek alphabet, ΕΣΤΗΣΕ.[5]

In his edition of *The Watchman,*[6] Patton cites the essential external evidence but adds that the internal evidence is inconclusive, since the poem is written in the insipid manner characteristic of much of the verse of the time. With the aid of *A Concordance to the Poetry of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,*[7] however, I have assembled some parallels from Coleridge's known early

[1] Pages 77–79.

[2] *The Complete Poetical Works* (Oxford 1912) 69, 1178.

[3] Ibid. 96, 1178.

[4] "The Coleridge Canon," *TLS* (Sept. 3, 1938) 570.

[5] See the present writer's "Reflections on the Consistency of Coleridge's Political Views," *Harvard Library Bulletin* III (1949) 138 and plate Ib.

[6] Dissertation, Yale University 1937, p. 487 n. 31; Professor Patton is now preparing this edition for publication.

[7] Ed. Sister Eugenia Logan (St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana 1940).

poems, sufficient I think to support attribution on internal evidence. The poem follows.

Lines on the Portrait of a Lady

Tender as the sweets of Spring
  Wafted on the Western gale,
When the breeze with dewy wing
  Wanders thro' the Primrose vale;

Tranquil as the hush of night
  To the Hermit's holy dream;
While the Moon with lovely light,
  Quivers on the ripling stream;

Cheerful as the Beams of Morn,
  Laughing on the Mountain's side;
Spotless as the Cygnet's form,
  Heaving on the silver'd Tide.

Who can paint this varied grace,
  Charms that mock the mimic art?
Yet, my Laura! these I trace,
  With the pencil of the Heart.

S.

Stanza I. "Tender" appears frequently in Coleridge, but "sweets" occurs only six times, four of them early. "Wafted" occurs five times, all of them early, and once in a similar context: "And soft gales wafted from the haunts of spring." "Western gale" occurs twice. "Dewy" appears with "wing" or a synonym in two of the sonnets from the *Morning Chronicle:* "He bathes no pinion in the dewy light" and Fancy flings "Rich showers of dewy fragrance from her wing." "Primrose" is used twice, once in "primrose bower," but "vale" is frequently found.

Stanza II. "Tranquil her soul, as sleeping Infant's breath" occurs in 1791. An "agèd Hermit in his holy dream" appears in Coleridge's contribution to Southey's *Joan of Arc.*[8] The moon's "lovely light" is mentioned in 1791. Ripples are rare in Coleridge, but water-lilies ripple a stream in 1793, and there is another "rippling stream." The moon's light quivering on a stream is closely paralleled in 1793:

What time the pale moon sheds a softer day
Mellowing the woods beneath its pensive beam:
For mid the quivering light 'tis ours to play,
Aye dancing to the cadence of the stream.[9]

[8] 1796; later incorporated in "The Destiny of Nations," l. 331.
[9] "Songs of the Pixies," l. 85–88.

Stanza III. "Morn's first beams" are mentioned at the beginning of "Pain" (?1790), and "orient beam" occurs twice (?1795, 1796). "Cygnet" appears nowhere in the poems from which the *Concordance* was compiled, but swans heaving on water occur in two early poems: "Fair, as the bosom of the Swan / That rises graceful o'er the wave, / I've seen your breast with pity heave, / And *therefore* love I you, sweet Genevieve!" and "As these two swans together heave / On the gently-swelling wave. . . ." [10] "Silver" modifies lake or waters in several early poems (1792–93), and a current "silver'd its smooth course beneath the Moon" in 1794.[11]

Stanza IV. The last stanza has relatively few parallels in Coleridge's other verse. He speaks of painting "the moment" and "the hour"; five of the eight adjectival uses of "mimic" are early; "Laura" appears in four poems (all by 1800); and "pencil" occurs twice, the first time in the phrase, "those purple berries / Her pencil!" The constructions "paint . . . grace" and "trace . . . charms" along with the rhyme, "grace . . . trace," occur in the first quatrain of the sonnet "To Mrs. Siddons," published in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1795 and now attributed to Coleridge by David V. Erdman.[12]

The verbal parallels here adduced strongly support the external evidence for Coleridge's authorship.[18] Those few passages for which I have found no parallels are not impossibly remote from the normal manner of his early verse. The only elements that lack authority from the rest of his verse are the cygnet, the false rhyme in the third stanza ("Morn . . . form," but compare the rhyme, "thought . . . Court" in the third quatrain of the sonnet "To Mrs. Siddons," mentioned at note 12 above), and the rather infelicitous image of the heart's pencil. These may account for the fact that Coleridge never included the poem in a collection of his verse.

[10] "Lewti," 1798, as extensively reworked from the original by Wordsworth.

[11] *MS* variant of "Lines to a Beautiful Spring," l. 30.

[12] See below, p. 516.

[18] As a check on my method, I have looked for possible parallels in Lane Cooper's *Concordance to the Poems of William Wordsworth*. Except for the fact that Wordsworth does use "cygnet" a few times, the parallels are negligible; there are none of the verbal and phraseological echoes that are to be found in Coleridge's verse.

The Case for Internal Evidence (3)

Newspaper Sonnets Put to the Concordance Test: Can They be Attributed to Coleridge?

By DAVID V. ERDMAN

SOME years ago my search through three newspapers, the Cambridge *Intelligencer* and the London *Morning Chronicle* and *Morning Post*, for the period when Samuel Taylor Coleridge was an occasional contributor of verses signed, unsigned, and pseudonymous, unearthed a number of scattered sonnets that struck me as possibly his, and I copied them out.

Of all his ephemeral poetry Coleridge's sonnets seemed least likely to have been thoroughly collected, because of his early rejection both of the genre and of much of his own work in it. For by the spring of 1797 the writing of sonnets had come to be regarded by Coleridge as a youthful aberration, like Pantisocracy, of which the less that was said the better. Of the 51 items in his first edition of *Poems* (1796) 20 had been sonnets (4 of them supplied by Charles Lamb). But by the following May, when he was preparing a second edition, he had begun to repent of his folly. "The Sonnet," he now announced, "has been ever a favourite species of composition with me; but I am conscious that I have not succeeded in it." And he edited accordingly: "From a large number I have retained ten only [from the first edition], as seemed not beneath mediocrity. Whatever more is said of them, ponamus lucro [we need the money]." It is true that he added 8 more to the 10, but in the half-title he described his sonnets as only "Attempted," and before the end of the year he was heaping public ridicule on such attempts, in the form of three burlesque *Sonnets Attempted in the Manner of "Contemporary Writers"* published in the *Monthly Magazine* for November 1797 over the name "Nehemiah Higginbottom." [1] As a critical purgative these mock sonnets emphatically put the quietus on his own practice. In the next twenty years Coleridge was guilty of only three original sonnets, though in his last decade he relaxed sufficiently to compose four. The bibliographical effect of this recantation was to inhibit the publication of sonnets still in manuscript and to retard the collection of those that had appeared ephemerally.

[1] The Higginbottom parodies, never accurately analysed, call for treatment in a separate note. The images and diction ridiculed in the first and third sonnets are largely drawn from Coleridge's own work, including work of Wordsworth's which he considered his own.

Of 18 sonnets first printed in periodicals, 8 were collected in the first two editions of *Poems* (1796, 1797) but only two more were collected during the poet's lifetime. Editors slowly collected the others: one in 1836, three in 1877, one in 1880, two in 1893, and one in 1907. (Since there is some doubt about one of the two collected in 1893, I have added it to the group requiring examination.) Of the 20 other sonnets *written* before 1797, eight appeared in the first or second edition of *Poems*, one was printed without permission in 1826, eight were admitted into the canon in the collection of Coleridge's dying year (1834), while three were not published until 1846, 1849, and 1880. A sonnet written in 1801 was not published until 1893.

In the conviction that any proposal to admit new poems into a canon ought to be made only after protracted acquaintance, I have kept the newfound and doubtful sonnets on hand for about six years, tried them out on patient colleagues, and subjected them to various kinds of examination from time to time. Of seven poems studied I am now ready to propose that two seem admissable to the canon without further hesitation and a third admissable under a slight shadow of doubt. Another is too slippery to be accepted or rejected with certainty but is worth discussing as a marginal case. Three others are returned without hesitation or regret to oblivion. The rescued poems, while not above the Coleridgean mediocrity, are of interest. And I trust that a report of the testing method that has proved useful will be a contribution to the general discussion of the value and hazards of internal evidence.

The seven poems selected for examination had, of course, first passed the rough test of appearing potentially Coleridgean — externally, in date and place of publication; internally, in subject matter and style. It was then necessary to compare the questioned sonnets both with the known work of Coleridge and with the sonnets of contemporaries in the manner — William Lisle Bowles, Charlotte Smith, Charles Lloyd, Charles Lamb, and Robert Southey — but the unrewarding phases of this comparison may be passed over almost in silence. Efforts to find some sort of quantitative stylistic test were fruitless. Indeed a perusal of G. Udny Yule's *The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary* (Cambridge University Press 1944) soon convinced me that the sonnet's narrow room contains too few occurrences of any phenomena of vocabulary or prosody to supply statistical data ample enough to differentiate mannerists in the same genre. Taking the whole body of Coleridge's work and the whole body of say Southey's, one could compute impressive differentia — but none that would be reliable for testing a single poem of fourteen lines. At the other extreme, however, that of impressionistic

judgments backed up only by the circumstantial probability that Coleridge *could* have written on such a topic at such a date, it must be confessed that one day's "distinctive hallmarks" are another day's "universal clichés."

The aid that comes to the rescue of impressionistic judgment is the Coleridge *Concordance* (edited by Sister Eugenia Logan, 1940), which supplies evidence of a very strong kind, somewhat statistical but most usefully qualitative. The three sonnets that come through the concordance test with flying colors also *happen* to have external circumstantial evidence rather stronger than the simple possibility that Coleridge could have written them, but it is the evidence pointed to by the concordance that appears conclusive. My borderline sonnet happens to be weaker both in circumstantial evidence and in concordance support. The latter weakness is the more disturbing; yet it is not easily defined, for, as we shall see, the case is one that warns us of the limitations of the concordance itself.

Ideally we should have concordances of the works of all the poets in question. It is very easy to find the author of a poem which we know to be by Coleridge *or* Wordsworth, provided we edit the concordances first — free them, that is, from the error of results based on poems by one poet which have accidentally got into the canon and concordance of the other. And if there were concordances available for the works of Southey, Bowles, et al, the further comparison would perhaps be equally easy — though the small total output of some of the poets in question would make a difference. What in effect a concordance does, however, is to demonstrate whether or not the words and word-clusters in the poem under consideration are idiosyncratic for the poet of the concordance. Thus, when we check a Coleridge poem against the Coleridge concordance, we find (a) a few *unique* words, i. e. words not in the rest of Coleridge's verse; (b) a number of common or *neutral* words, i. e. words used elsewhere by Coleridge but without special prominence or distinctive association; and, nearly always, (c) a few words that may be called *magnetic*, i. e. words which stand in dynamic attractive relation to other words in Coleridge's vocabulary, so that our search in the concordance leads us to passages where clusters of associated words appear. To a limited extent, then, it is possible to make memory serve the same purpose, especially when we have a small body of works to consider. For example, with the questioned poems in mind (and on the desk) it does not take long to read through the published sonnets of Bowles in search of the positive evidence of associated word-clusters or the negative evidence of a high proportion of unique words. But beyond that, the Coleridge concordance can be used in reverse; that is, we can employ it to test the poems of Bowles and

Southey and the others. The striking result of a fairly extensive trial is that never do the sonnets of his contemporaries prove to be magnetic for the Coleridge vocabulary in any high degree. In an especially careful checking of Southey [2] only once did a sonnet of his *(The Evening Rainbow)* pick up a cluster of associated words in the Coleridge concordance — and these turned out to belong to the sonnet *On Bala Hill,* which was not Coleridge's in the first place but a variant of Southey's *Sonnet to Lansdown Hill* and had got into the concordance by mistake. (The parts of *The Fall of Robespierre* known to be Southey's had already been eliminated from consideration.) It seems a fair deduction that an anonymous poem that *does* elicit an impressive response from the concordance belongs to Coleridge — always provided we are considering only poems that are likely, from the external evidence of date and place of publication, to have been written by him, and assuming that we have ruled out the possibility of parody or deliberate imitation. (Even the deliberate imitator, however, does not prove capable of constructing a very strong magnet: witness the Shufflebottom poems by Southey and the contributions written by Lamb for Coleridge's signature.)

A drawback of this method is that it will not always work positively; that is to say, even for a known, signed Coleridge poem, the response of the concordance is sometimes largely unique and neutral, with no magnetic attraction to associated words. We might reject by the test a poem really his. And knowing this, we may be tempted to ascribe to Coleridge a poem that subjectively "feels like" Coleridge despite the weakness of magnetic evidence. On the other hand we must not forget that even the strongest of such evidence remains, in the final analysis, circumstantial.

I

MY first candidate for admission into the Coleridge canon is a pseudonymous sonnet in the *Morning Chronicle* of January 29, 1795. During December and January Coleridge had contributed a series of eleven numbered *Sonnets on Eminent Characters,* signed "S.T.C.," and for good measure an *Address to a Young Jack-Ass,* also signed. On January 29 directly under the last of the signed and numbered sonnets (the one *To Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq.*) I find an extra *Sonnet. To Mrs. Siddons,* signed "FONTROSE." Now exactly a month earlier a sonnet to Mrs. Siddons had been printed in the series as Number VIII and signed "S.T.C." though actually supplied by Charles Lamb. The hypothesis suggests itself that this second or extra sonnet to the eminent

[2] I am grateful to Charles H. Kegel for assisting me in a good deal of the spadework with Southey and Bowles.

Siddons is a belated one by Coleridge himself, who can sell it to the newspaper but must sign it with a pseudonym since his own name has already been attached to the one in the series.

January 29, 1795 London *Morning Chronicle*

SONNET.

TO MRS. SIDDONS.

'Tis not thy fascinating charms to trace,
Thou sweet Enchantress! that I strike the shell;
'Tis not to paint each mild seductive grace,
Which in thy polish'd form delights to dwell:

Thy brilliant eyes thro' Passion's maze that roll,
Thy piercing glance, the lightning of thy smile,
Thy magic tones which thrill th'enraptur'd soul,
And meek-ey'd anguish of her tears beguile.

No, SIDDONS! 'tis thy rich, creative *mind*,
Thy bold conception of the fire-clad thought,
Which sportive wanders, free and unconfin'd,
Where'er wild FANCY holds her fairy Court.

May *real Sorrow* ne'er thy bosom swell —
Or thou e'er *feel* those Woes, which thou can'st *feign* so well!

— FONTROSE.

A large cluster of about 25 words leads us, with hardly any need of the concordance, to Coleridge's *Translation of Wrangham's "Hendecasyllabi ad Bruntonam"* of the preceding autumn. Fontrose tells Mrs. Siddons that his aim is "not thy . . . charms to trace" nor to paint each grace in "thy polish'd form" nor in "Thy brilliant eyes thro' Passion's maze that roll . . . and meek-eyed anguish of her tears beguile." Coleridge had addressed the younger actress, Miss Brunton, as a "Maid of unboastful charms" who was guided safely "through the maze" of youth and was mothered by "meek-eyed Pity" who "lov'd thy kindred form to trace" while "Th'entrancéd Passions" kept vigil. The "lightning" of Siddons' smile seems a variant of the "raptures lighten'd from" Brunton's face. The matching words may be tabulated:

To Mrs. Siddons: charms to trace . . . Enchantress . . . grace . . . thy . . . form . . . eyes thro' Passion's maze that roll . . . lightning of thy smile . . . tones . . .

thrill th'enraptured soul . . . meek-ey'd . . . tears . . . wanders . . . bosom . . . Woes.

Ad Bruntonam: charms . . . through the maze . . . soul . . . meek-eyed . . . bosom . . . thy . . . form to trace . . . smile wander'd . . . Tones . . . woe . . . thrill[ing] . . . Passions . . . raptures lighten'd . . . grace . . . tear's . . . roll . . . [chaste]-eyed . . . Enchant[ing minis]tress of . . . woe.

In other poems Coleridge had used Milton's "meek-eyed Peace" and added "meek-eyed Power." He never used "meek-eyed anguish" but often "anguished" eye or sigh; in seven of his eight uses of "anguish" he associates it with eyes or tears. In his current sonnet on Pitt we see "the Tear's . . . dew Roll its soft anguish" while the "tones" of Mercy are "meek."

As for the Enchantress Siddons' "polish'd form" and "brilliant eyes," Coleridge would shortly write of "Meek" Sara's "polish'd Sense" as comparable to a "serenely brilliant" star. He had once called upon a "Sorc'ress" to summon a "dewy brilliance" to the "eyes"of Love. And he knew many an "Enchantress"; in a year or so he would hail Mrs. Robinson as a "mild Enchantress." From the eyes that roll with piercing glance the concordance leads us to "Eyes whose holy glances roll" in contemporaneous lines *To a Young Lady.* "Passion's maze" lines up with "Passion's stormy day" and "Passion's drooping Myrtles" in the present sonnet series and, in the following year, "youth's perilous maze" and "manhood's maze," and later "fancy's maze."

"Enraptured soul" is frequent in Coleridge and, surely, elsewhere. Few of the units of this vocabulary are unique with Coleridge. But again see how the cluster of "magic tones which thrill th'enraptured soul" draws us to another cluster in the contemporaneous lines *To the Rev. W. J. Hort,* where we hear the "passion-warbled strain" of a flute teacher "still'd with magic spell to roll The thrilling tones that concentrate the soul." Here are the shared words:

To Mrs. Siddons: thy . . . each . . . form . . . dwell . . . Passion's . . . roll . . . Thy magic tones . . . thrill [th'en]raptur'd soul . . . [meek]-eyed . . . tears . . . wander[s], free . . . wild.

To the Rev. Hort: thy . . . passion . . . each form . . . magic . . . roll . . . thrill-[ing] tones . . . soul . . . [chaste]-eyed . . . [im]passion[ed] . . . wild . . . Free-[dom] . . . dwell . . . Wander[ing] . . . thrill[ing] . . . Thy . . . form . . . raptur'd tear.

Another of Coleridge's maze-piercers is his Godwin, in the ninth sonnet of the *Morning Chronicle* series, whose eye shoots *glances* keen "thro' the windings of oppression's dark machine" — even (note the magnetic association) during "Passion's stormy day."

The thought which sportive wanders free "where'er wild Fancy holds her fairy Court" leads to another cluster of associations. Siddons' "fire-clad thought" has come up from the "fire-clad meteors" that fly about in Coleridge's facetious *The Nose*. In *Destiny of Nations* "Fancy" opens the mind that sees meteoric lights "dance sportively." "Wild Fancy" in an early poem is asked to prolong the "notes" of her "passion-warbled song" (cf. the *Hort* poem), and these become "mazy notes" in revision for the *Poems* of 1796. The mutual attraction among words in a cluster is surprisingly strong: if we look up any of these — fairy (faery), fancy, and even "where'er" — we are led to all the others; and they are frequently together in the Coleridge of this period. Indeed the unity of this whole maze of association is such that it is difficult to think of Fontrose as anyone but Coleridge himself. Could any imitator so implicate himself — and place at the center the Coleridgean "rich, creative *mind*"? The phrase is Coleridgean in content and impress — yet not to be found in the concordance: the poet will not use such a phrase more than once, as he will not build more than one "stately pleasure dome."

The contrast italicized in the closing couplet — real Sorrow vs. feigned — is characteristic, and the concordance reminds us that Coleridge *would* italicize *feel*. (The alexandrine, by the way, is common for Coleridge, Bowles, and Southey.)

A rapid survey indicates that the vocabulary of this poem is largely shared by Bowles and Southey but only singly, for none of these particular clusters is to be found in their verse. On the other hand the number of unique words in this sonnet is even below the average for poems in the Coleridge corpus, and most of these ("fascinating," "strike," "seductive," "conception," "unconfined") do occur in other forms. "Strike the shell" (line 2) is unique, but we may note that Coleridge, when copying out some lines from Bowles to put at the head of his sonnet to that Eminent Character, changed Bowles's "If his weak reed at times or plaintive lyre He touched" to the more forceful "If his weak harp at times or lonely lyre He struck."

Before we conclude that the Siddons sonnet which Coleridge did *not* sign is his, however, we should examine the one which he *did* sign but which is not his. Can we tell them apart?

In the sonnet to Mrs. Siddons in the *Morning Chronicle* December 29, 1794, which "may have been altered by Coleridge, but was no doubt written by Lamb" because Coleridge twice put Lamb's signature to it,[8] we find several Coleridgean words, chiefly paralleled in the contemporaneous *To an Infant*. Both poems picture a child affrighted clinging to a mother/grandam. Cole-

[8] See note in E. H. Coleridge, ed. *Poems* (Oxford 1912) 85.

ridge's child has "eager grasp," Lamb's has "eager wondering," a phrase which Coleridge uses later in his *Departing Year*. But we find no cluster of related words. "Spell," "mandate," "grandam," "beldame," "murky," "midnight," "murder'd," "hags" are all in the concordance, but their quality is neutral, leading to no vein of ore. "Sad heart" is a common phrase; he never used "Cold Horror" but had recently written "Black Horror." "Perturb'd" he would use only once; "perturb'd delight" he never wrote of, though in *Dejection* he would imagine a tale of a child at midnight as one of "affright . . . tempered with delight." Strong positive evidence is conspicuously lacking.

But now observe the idiosyncracies of Lamb's usage that remain and that mark off this poem as his, not Coleridge's. Diction foreign to Coleridge's practice appears in: "Listens strange tales" (Coleridge never wrote of "strange tales" — but the important point is that he would use a preposition, "listens *to*"); "mutter'd to wretch by necromantic spell" (Coleridge would not omit the article before "wretch," nor does he ever mutter *to* anyone or use the word "necromantic"); "hags, who . . . ride the air" (he always says "ride *on*" — never, as it happens, "on the air" but once "on the blast"); "mingle foul embrace with fiends of Hell" (again Lamb in Miltonic fashion omits the preposition; Coleridge would insist on "mingle *in*"); and finally the adverbial "dear" in "lov'd each other dear" is not to be found in Coleridge, nor the inversion "mandate fell" (although once thirty years later he uses the double epithet "Dragon foul and fell").

Despite much shared vocabulary, then, we have no difficulty in distinguishing the work of Lamb from that of Coleridge — even when Lamb is trying to pass for Coleridge (which may account for the few parallels with *To an Infant*).

At this point, since we have a Wordsworth concordance, let us see whether the Fontrose sonnet could have been his work — not that there is any actual likelihood. What we find is that the separate words are in his vocabulary but that the phrases, in the main, are not, and that when Wordsworth uses the "same" words, his connotations are very different. For example, eyes are never "brilliant" for Wordsworth, though other things are; he sees "polish'd" objects, but never the Coleridgean "polish'd wit" or "polish'd form." He has passion and some mazes, but these are mostly literal and never anything like "Passion's maze." When Wordsworth "pierced the mazes of a wood" (in the late text of *Descriptive Sketches*) he did it with his legs, not his eyes, and not metaphorically (Coleridge's one literal maze is the "margin's willowy maze" of the *Sonnet to the River Otter*, replacing a willowy "stream" supplied by Lamb; the image was clearly a favorite of Coleridge's at this time).

In Wordsworth, eyes do not roll, though once someone's "eye-balls" do. Coleridge's "meek-eyed" personifications, Mercy, Pity, Anguish, stand in contrast to Wordsworth's one use of the epithet in "meek-eyed woman." Wordsworth's Fancy is "sweet," "proud," or "maturer"; never "wild" (except in a very late poem). The total impression for the Fontrose sonnet is of nothing characteristically Wordsworth's as against much characteristically Coleridge's. In one place, however, "Fontrose" uses a phrase to be found in the *Descriptive Sketches* and possibly derived thence. Wordsworth had written of the "fire-clad eagle's wheeling form" before Coleridge wrote of the "fire-clad" nose or Fontrose of "fire-clad thought." Doubtless Coleridge could have told us of the history of the phrase; he was careful to acknowledge borrowing "green radiance" from Wordsworth's *An Evening Walk*.[4]

(To be continued in an early issue)

[4] Mrs. Henry Sandford, in *Thomas Poole and His Friends* (1888) I, 124–125, prints "a rude and halting copy of verses" by Poole dated Sept. 12, 1795, hailing "Coleridge" in 9 quatrains full of phrases and sequences of impressions from Coleridge's verse of the preceding months, such as *To the Nightingale* and *Religious Musings*. Oddly enough, Poole's poem contains the following: "I love to . . . see the passions in thine eyeballs roll" and "I hear thee . . . dispell The murky mists of error's mazy reign." The mists are from *Religious Musings*, but the conjunction of "passions" "roll" and "mazy" could indicate that Poole knew the Fontrose sonnet, as would not be unlikely.

Postscript: Now that Professor Johnson (in the preceding article) has added *Lines on the Portrait of a Lady* to the Coleridge canon, on strong enough external evidence to confirm the internal, it is valid to cite the affinity of its "paint . . . grace, Charms . . . trace" to the sonnet's "charms . . . trace . . . paint . . . grace" (see above, p. 507).

Preparing —

A Register of Editors, Printers, and Publishers of American Magazines, 1741-1810

By BENJAMIN M. LEWIS
Hamline University Library

BETWEEN January 1741 and December 1809 there were upwards of two hundred and twenty-four magazines published in the American colonies and in the United States of America, with more than four hundred persons directly involved in their production. Many of the most eminent men in the country were thus engaged at one time or another — men such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Isaiah Thomas, Mathew Carey, Noah Webster, Joseph Dennie, Charles Brockden Brown, and a host of others. For many the connection was short lived, while some devoted the most productive years of their lives to magazines. Brown, for one, may have hastened his end in trying to write and edit a thousand pages of the *American Register* each year, 1807–1809, and he had been hard at magazine editing most of the time since April 1799. Dennie is best remembered today as an essayist and as the editor of the *Port Folio,* while most of the rest of the men connected with magazines are now better known for other accomplishments.

In the register just completed, I have attempted to record every person who printed or published an American magazine during these years. The same might also be said of editors, except that in instances of an editorial group of many people, e.g., the *Adviser,* the *Boston Magazine* (1783–1786), and the *Monthly Anthology,* only those who seemed to be principal editors have been listed. Otherwise, all known editors have been identified as fully as possible and included in the register.

The printer's position on the early American magazine was usually clearly established, for he nearly always listed himself either on the title page or in a colophon at the end of each number. The volume title page was often misleading, however, for when there was a change of printers during the course of the volume, only the printer of the final number and of the title page appeared on that page. Consequently, identification of a magazine's printers must be made from inspection of individual numbers and not of title pages only. An example of a confusion of printers may be seen in volume three of the *Columbian Magazine,* for 1789. The title page says, "Printed for the Proprietors," while individual numbers through November say, "Printed for

James Trenchard," or, in May and June, "Printed for James Trenchard by Trenchard and Stewart." But in December the magazine was "Printed for the Proprietors, by W. Spotswood," indicating not only a change in printer but a change in publisher and editor also.

The position of the magazine publisher was often somewhat more obscure, and perhaps the best example of this obscurity is to be found in the management of the *Port Folio.* Joseph Dennie, for instance, should probably be called the editor and publisher of the *Port Folio,* for he speaks of himself as the one "on whom the sole management of the concern has devolved," [1] yet the imprint of the *Port Folio* for the issues of volume three reads, "Published for the editor, by William Fry," and later, "Printed and published by H. Maxwell." In such a case it seems clear that the publisher acted as the seller or the distributor of the magazine and handled many of the petty finances attendant upon it. William Fry is listed in the Philadelphia directories as a printer and bookseller, and many others who "published" magazines did so in their capacities as booksellers.

Edward Oliver and Isaac Munroe called themselves "Proprietors" of the *Boston Mirror,* meaning that they owned it, printed it, and handled its distribution from their office at 70 State Street, Boston. One might also suppose that they edited the magazine, but in the final number of their *Times* they say that "a gentleman of education and talents is engaged as editor" of the *Mirror.*[2] Who this person is we never discover, for all correspondence is carried on by the publishers. Editorial anonymity was the rule rather than the exception during these years, in some cases making it all but impossible to identify the editor of any given issue. Speaking of the *Pennsylvania Magazine,* Lyon N. Richardson said, "It seems not unlikely that [Thomas] Paine may have terminated his connections with the magazine about September 1775, and that assumptions that he remained with the publication until its demise can hardly be justified." [3] Richardson also tried to unravel the editorial threads of the *Columbian Magazine* and could offer no more than informed guesses as to the probable periods under some of its editors.

The *Boston Weekly Magazine* (1802–1805) presents an interesting case in the search for editorial identification. There is nothing in the magazine which would lead one to suspect any others than the publishers, Samuel Gilbert and Thomas Dean, as the editors, but the biographers of Mrs. Susanna

[1] *Port Folio* II (January 16, 1802) 6.

[2] *Times* I (October 15, 1808) 179.

[3] Lyon N. Richardson, *History of Early American Magazines, 1741–1789* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1931) 177.

Haswell Rowson have said that she was the editor of the magazine. The first to thus identify her was Samuel L. Knapp, whose "Memoir of Mrs. Rowson" was prefixed to the book *Charlotte's Daughter: or the Three Orphans. A Sequel to Charlotte Temple,* written by Mrs. Rowson and published in Boston, 1828, by the firm of Richardson and Lord. Knapp's statement was this: "She [Mrs. Rowson] also conducted the Boston Weekly Magazine, and contributed largely to the success of that popular periodical, by her ability as an editor and writer." [4] In 1870 Elias Nason wrote that "Mrs. Rowson was engaged as editor of the Boston Weekly Magazine. . . . The paper was continued three years when it was superseded by the more able *Monthly Anthology,* edited by Mr. William Tudor." [5] And in 1933 Mr. R. W. G. Vail wrote in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society:* "In 1802 *The Boston Weekly Magazine* was founded and Mrs. Rowson became its editor. . . . The magazine ran until 1805 under her editorship, when it was superseded by the *Boston Magazine,* to which she was a frequent contributor." [6]

In the absence of manuscript statements verifying the view that Mrs. Rowson edited the magazine, support may be found for the negative proposition in at least two sources, physical geography and evidence within the magazine itself. It is known that Mrs. Rowson conducted, throughout the years of the magazine, a full-time boarding school for girls, in addition to her rather prolific writing. This school was within the Boston city limits until 1800, when it was removed to Medford. In 1803 it moved to Newton. Both of these places are now within easy working distance of downtown Boston, but in 1802 a distance of eight or ten miles from a place of business would have presented some hardship to a person, even if she were not already full-time as a teacher and author. Editing a weekly magazine was a time-consuming task, as many editors have attested, and whether Mrs. Rowson could physically have edited the *Boston Weekly Magazine* is extremely problematical.

All evidence in the magazine points to the deduction that someone other than Mrs. Rowson was its editor. In the first page of the first number, Gilbert and Dean spoke of themselves as "Editors and Proprietors of the Boston Weekly Magazine," and in their valedictory address they said, "This number

[4] Page 10 of this "Memoir."

[5] Elias Nason, *A Memoir of Mrs. Susanna Rowson* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1870) 114. The *Monthly Anthology* actually began in November 1803, under the editorship of David Phineas Adams. The *Boston Weekly Magazine,* instead, was succeeded by the *Boston Magazine,* October 26, 1805 – April 26, 1806, and by the *Emerald,* May 3, 1806 – October 15, 1808.

[6] R. W. G. Vail, "Susanna Haswell Rowson, the author of Charlotte Temple: A Bibliographical Study," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* XLII (n. s.) (1933) 71.

concludes the third volume of the Boston Weekly Magazine; — and with it the present publishers conclude their editorial labours." [7] Later in the same address they spoke of the three years "in which they have conducted" the magazine.

More pertinent, perhaps, is the way in which the publishers spoke of Mrs. Rowson's novel, *Sincerity,* as it applied to the magazine. In the number of April 30, 1803, under the heading "To our Friends and Patrons," there is the statement that the editors "have been favoured with an original Novel in M.S. entitled 'Sincerity,' which we purpose commencing on the 4th of June next." [8] The novel actually began on the designated day. The instalments for February 1804 were saved from the fire which swept through the printers' offices in January because the manuscript happened to be "in the apartments of the Editors." [9] Finally, *Sincerity* was postponed in June 1804 "owing to a mistake made by the author in not sending it in season." [10]

The facts are that Mrs. Rowson contributed both prose and poetry to the *Boston Weekly Magazine,* that Gilbert and Dean paid some attention to her academy and its affairs, and that they published a book of her poems in the fall of 1804, but one looks in vain for evidence to support the contention that she "conducted" or edited the magazine at any time.

Another factor which makes difficult the positive identification of editors was their frequent multiplicity — interested men who formed themselves into a literary club for the purpose of editing a magazine and furnishing some of the material printed therein. Many of the magazines thus edited said on the title pages, "By a Society of Gentlemen" or some such statement. Others gave no indication as to their means of editorial support. The *Boston Magazine* (1783–1786), for instance, was edited from November 1783 to December 1784 by an anonymous, though not unidentified, group of men, with committees in charge of individual issues, appointments to these committees rotating alphabetically among the membership of the whole group. The *Monthly Anthology* operated in much the same way, except that the superintending committees of the Anthology Club did not change so often. Two other clubs which deserve mention for their magazine connections were the New York Friendly Club, which apparently edited the *American Review and Literary Journal* in 1801 and 1802, and the Tuesday Club of Philadelphia, which furnished contributors to Joseph Dennie's *Port Folio* beginning in

[7] *Boston Weekly Magazine* III (October 19, 1805) 205.
[8] *Ibid.* I (April 30, 1803) 109.
[9] *Ibid.* II (January 28, 1804) 55.
[10] *Ibid.* II (June 2, 1804) 128.

1801. These groups and many others performed important services on American magazines, but the majority of the people thus involved will continue to remain anonymous.

Chronologically, American magazines begin with the *American Magazine* of Andrew Bradford and John Webbe (January - March 1741) and Benjamin Franklin's *General Magazine* (January - June 1741). For the purposes of this register, the final magazine to be considered was Mathew Carey's *Thespian Monitor*, which ran from November 25th to December 16th, 1809. Magazines beginning before January 1810 but continuing beyond that date have been included and given a plus sign as an ending date to indicate that they go beyond the limits of the register. However, no title which began after December 31, 1809, has been included.

In the eighteenth century, the most productive year for magazines was 1798, when there were fourteen new titles published to add to the five already in existence; but the peak year for the whole period came in 1807, with twenty new titles and a total of fifty magazines in publication at some time during the year. The magazine centers were the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. One hundred and twenty-nine, or slightly over fifty-eight percent of the 221 titles examined for the compilation of this register, were published in these three cities, and even New York did not count seriously as a publication center until late in the eighteenth century. Four magazines between 1752 and 1755 were published in New York, which then went without a magazine for thirty-two years, or until Noah Webster's *American Magazine* was published in December, 1787. Between 1800 and 1810, however, more magazines were published in New York (twenty-seven) than in Boston, and as many as were published in Philadelphia. This period marked the beginnings of the movement toward New York as the national center of the American publishing business.

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE:

A Register of Editors, Printers, and Publishers of American Magazines, 1741–1810, by Benjamin M. Lewis, 40 pages, 75¢, is now off the press and may be ordered from the Public Relations Office, The New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue & 42nd Street, New York 18, New York. The register will not be printed in the *Bulletin;* it represents an expansion of the Library's publishing program to include direct and immediate publication of useful lists in monograph form.

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Two showcases of scrap books from the George DeMott Collection of Chautauqua Scrap Books. Through November 14.

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Acquisitions of the last five years: manuscripts, autograph letters, first editions.

GREAT AND RARE WORKS IN PARTS — ROOM 324
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Exhibition from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection of American Historical Prints.

PERMANENT EXHIBITIONS

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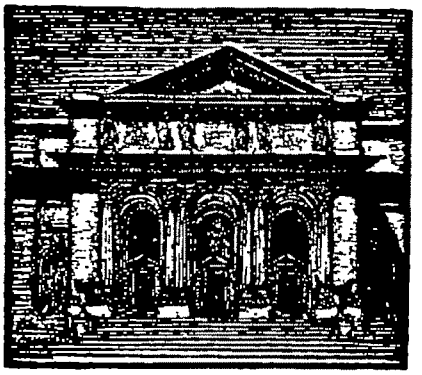

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HOLY THURSDAY

'Twas on a Holy Thursday their innocent faces clean
The children walking two & two in red & blue & green
Grey headed beadles walkd before with wands as white as
Till into the high dome of Pauls they like Thames waters flow

O what a multitude they seemd these flowers of London town
Seated in companies they sit with radiance all their own
The hum of multitudes was there but multitudes of lambs
Thousands of little boys & girls raising their innocent hands

Now like a mighty wind they raise to heaven the voice of song
Or like harmonious thunderings the seats of heaven among
Beneath them sit the aged men wise guardians of the poor
Then cherish pity lest you drive an angel from your door

Front Matter

Above Times troubled Fountains

Counting the centuries, we observe that two have passed since the birth of William Blake (hence this focused Number) and one since the publication of the *Kalevipoeg*, Estonian national epic. (Eight centuries of Estonian poetry are surveyed in a current Library exhibit; next month's *Bulletin* will have an essay on the subject by the Estonian-American poet and scholar Ants Oras.)

Our survey of "English Blake" jumps from early American interest in him, on the sentimental-sensational level, to a demonstration of modern scrupulosity about the text and context of his *Songs*. To have the text at hand for this discussion, and to supply the graphic context of Blake's "Illuminated Printing," we have re-engraved two of his pages for our pages 527 and 536. The "Holy Thursday," done in an approximation of the original color, is from the *Songs of Innocence* in our Berg Collection. The "Introduction" to the Experience series, blue and silver in the original, is taken from the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, with kind permission.

To read Blake in originals or in *good* facsimiles (only recently achieved), users of this Library will find in Room 303 one of the four unique originals of *Milton;* in Room 320 originals of *Thel, Songs of Innocence, America, Visions of the Daughters of Albion,* and *Europe;* and in Room 324 a set of the Blake Trust facsimiles of the elaborately colored *Jerusalem.*

Several prints of original Blake engravings are in Rooms 308, 320, and 322. An original watercolor is in Room 308. And the original MS of "Then she bore pale desire" and "Woe cried the muse" is in Room 320.

Culmination of Websteriana

It is not likely that the distinguished mid-nineteenth century Brooklyn business man, newspaper man, and collector Gordon Lester Ford married a granddaughter of Noah Webster merely to acquire that gentleman's books and papers, but the fact is that in the course of time a large portion of them passed into his library. Later the books and most of the manuscripts were given to The New York Public Library by Mr. Ford's sons Paul and Worthington and by J. Pierpont Morgan. Added to the material from other sources, this gives the Library the strongest Noah Webster holdings in the world.

Although Paul Leicester Ford and Worthington C. Ford were the only children in this household to make substantial names in the fields of scholarship and authorship, some of the others had leanings in this direction, especially their sister Emily, later Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr. As the two youngest of the family, she and Paul were particularly close, and in 1882, when both were in their teens, they compiled as a Christmas present for their father a list of the writings of Noah Webster, based on Webster's own copies in Gordon Ford's library. Since Paul had a small press they were able to print their effort, which they called *Websteriana;* six copies were made, two of which are now in this Library.

Their mother, Emily Fowler Ford, gathered a great deal of information about Noah Webster, which she left unpublished at her death. Emily Ford Skeel was asked by her brothers and sisters to edit this material, which the family had privately printed in 1912 as *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster,* in two volumes. This work includes a

more substantial list of Webster's writings, though it does not attempt to record all editions of his speller, grammar, or reader. This editing task seems to have interested Mrs. Skeel again in the bibliography of her great-grandfather, and with the encouragement of Wilberforce Eames of this Library she embarked on a project of compiling a list as complete as humanly possible.

The task was far greater than she envisioned, and she found herself involved in extensive travel, correspondence, and research. Fortunately Mrs. Skeel was in a position to visit libraries and other institutions and to engage research assistance, and over a period of thirty years or so substantial files were built up. Perhaps her greatest contribution to Webster studies, one which hardly anyone else could have made, was the examination of hundreds of volumes of old newspaper files, which uncovered a tremendous number of advertisements for Webster's works and articles by and about him. Ransacking the catalogues and shelves of historical societies and college and public libraries turned up hundreds of editions of the speller and many other works, and careful examination of manuscript sources occasionally produced evidence of printings of which no copy is known to have survived.

During this period Mrs. Skeel was leading an active life, which included many social welfare activities. Unfortunately the period when she had more time to devote to the project and felt she had the material ready to assemble for the printer coincided with the second World War, with its restrictions on travel, labor, paper, and so on, and the unavailability of many of the rare books and manuscripts located on the Atlantic Coast. By the time these difficulties had cleared up Mrs. Skeel decided that, although her health was good, she would never be able to complete the time-consuming and niggling tasks of preparing copy for the printer and proofreading. She therefore made arrangements with the Library to take over the files and unfinished manuscript and engage someone to complete and polish it and see it through the press.

It was fortunate that this was done, for soon thereafter Mrs. Skeel's health deteriorated to the point that the project would have been abandoned had not arrangements been made for its continuation by another hand. In October 1952 the Library engaged Dr. Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr., formerly Editor of Publications of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, to edit Mrs. Skeel's voluminous notes. The completed work will be published late in 1957. It has been printed by Clarke and Way, Inc., at The Thistle Press, with collotype illustrations by the Meriden Gravure Company.

The Library will be glad to receive advance orders for *A Bibliography of the Writings of Noah Webster* (732 pages, 40 collotype illustrations) at the strictly non-profit price of $12.50.

Other New Publications

This month's portion of our Ten Year Report deals with numerous library-wide services. Like the preceding portions on the Reference and Circulation Departments, it is selective and somewhat condensed. These selections will be concluded in the December *Bulletin* with a section on "Finances and the Future." The complete *Ten Year Report of The New York Public Library* will be available, free upon request, some time in December.

Twenty-five Rare Bibles 1455–1782, a descriptive list of the current exhibition prepared by Lewis M. Stark, is available in pamphlet form (8 pages) at the Inquiry Desk in the Main Lobby.

The Bibles include the first printings in Latin, Dutch, French, Hebrew, Bohemian, English, Swedish, Danish, and Armenian and the first printings in America (in Massachuset in 1663 and in English in 1782).

Fresh off our lithopresses is a new union list, in a "provisional edition," that should begin to serve a much neglected New York public, those who seek out copies of their home-town (especially foreign) newspapers. *Current Newspapers, United States and Foreign: A Union List of Newspapers Available in the Libraries of the New York Metropolitan Area,* by Aaron L. Fessler and Saro J. Riccardi, runs to 66 pages, legal size, and will be priced at only $1.

Almost ready to go to press is a complete checklist by Sara A. Dickson of the Arents Collection of Books in Parts. Watch for announcement in the December *Bulletin.*

Christmas book suggestions will reach you, as every year, in the list, ready next week and priced at 10¢: *Children's Books suggested as Holiday Gifts: On Exhibition in the Central Children's Room.*

Many choice Christmas cards, reproductions of prints in Library collections, are for sale at our Inquiry Desk in Central Building. This year a large facsimile reproduction, hand tinted, of one of the favorites in the Phelps Stokes Collection, "Corner of Greenwich Street, 1810," by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 13 x 7¼ inches, is available at $5.

London Times Completed

To fill a long-felt basic need the Library has now acquired a complete microfilm edition of the London *Times* from 1785 to 1956, the *Times Literary Supplement* from 1902 to 1956, the *Times Educational Supplement* from 1910 to 1956, and the *Official Index to the Times* from 1906 to 1952.

Bulgarian and Hungarian Periodicals

On exchange from the State Library of Bulgaria we have received *Durzhaven Vestnik,* the official gazette of Bulgaria, for the years 1941–1956.

Recently acquired is a collection of Hungarian newspapers published from October 29 through December 6, 1956, the period of political upheaval in Hungary.

Gifts Received

Received as gifts, to be more fully described in a later issue, are a collection of materials relating to the life of Isadora Duncan, the gift of Mrs. Sherman S. Rogers of Longway, Hillsdale, New York; and *Trade Mark Specifications, 1871–1921,* one of a limited number of sets issued by the United States Patent Office, the gift of Mr. Paul Struven, President of the Trade-Mark Service Corporation, New York.

The gift of Mr. K. B. Weissman of New Rochelle, New York, a collection of 169 volumes of French literature in limited and first editions, includes three presentation copies of Anatole France titles, one each of Victor Hugo, Pierre Loti, and Guy de Maupassant, and an edition of Marcel Proust's *Letters to Walter Berry* printed by Black Sun Press, with an original letter inserted.

Use and Additions October 1957

Visitors entering the Central Building 272,302; readers in the Reference Department 80,015; volumes consulted 218,763; volumes issued by Circulation Department for home use 1,089,692.

Received through purchase and gift

	Circ. Dept. Gift	Ref. Dept. Gift	Purchase and Gift
Volumes	739	3,691	46,853
Pamphlets	172	2,976	3,774
Maps	---	252	253
Prints	---	71	71
Misc.	26	---	26

BULLETIN OF THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

NOVEMBER 1957 VOLUME 61 NUMBER 11

Point of View and Context in Blake's Songs*

By ROBERT F. GLECKNER
Wayne State University

A flower was offerd to me;
Such a flower as May never bore.
But I said I've a Pretty Rose-tree,
And I passed the sweet flower o'er.

Then I went to my Pretty Rose-tree:
To tend her by day and by night.
But my Rose turnd away with jealousy:
And her thorns were my only delight.

JOSEPH WICKSTEED, the only critic to devote an entire book to Blake's songs, said this about Blake's poem, *My Pretty Rose Tree:* it "shows how virtue itself is rewarded only by suspicion and unkindness." And Thomas Wright, Blake's early biographer, commented on the poem as follows: "'My Pretty Rose Tree,' Blake's nearest approach to humour, may be paraphrased thus: 'I was much taken with a charming flower (girl), but I said to myself, No, it won't do. Besides, I have an equally pretty wife at home. Then, too, what would the world say? On the whole it would be policy to behave myself.' But his wife takes umbrage all the same. The thorns of her jealousy, however, instead of wounding him give him pleasure, for they excuse his inclination for the flower. Moral: See what comes of being good!"

On the contrary, the moral is that such off-the-mark commentary is what comes of ignoring the context of Blake's songs (that is, whether the poem is a song of innocence or song of experience) and the point of view from which a given poem is written. *My Pretty Rose Tree* is not about virtue per-

* A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association at Madison, Wisconsin, September 10, 1957.

versely rewarded, nor does it have to do with "policy" or morality in the ordinary sense of those words. Virtue by itself meant nothing to Blake unless clarified and qualified by context: in the state of innocence it is *The Divine Image;* in experience it is perverted to *A Divine Image* and *The Human Abstract.* Real virtue Blake defined in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell:* "No virtue can exist without breaking these ten commandments. Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules." In *My Pretty Rose Tree* the speaker acts from rules when he refuses the offer of the sweet flower. For, as Blake wrote elsewhere,

> He who binds to himself a joy
> Does the winged life destroy;
> But he who kisses the joy as it flies
> Lives in eternity's sun rise.

The speaker in *My Pretty Rose Tree* not only has let the moment go, but also has bound to himself a joy. Furthermore, since this is a *Song of Experience,* about the state of experience, the flower offered the speaker is the opportunity for a joy, a love, an ascent to a higher innocence. We recall that it was not just *any* flower, but a superb one, "such a flower as May never bore." Still, the offer is refused — because the speaker already has a rose-tree. Now, conventionally, this is admirable fidelity; for Blake, however, it is enslavement by what he called the marriage ring. The speaker thus passes up the chance of a spiritual joy (sweet flower) to return to the limited joy of an earthly relationship (pretty rose-tree). He is sorely tempted — but his desire has fallen subject to an extrasensual force symbolized by the existence of, and his relationship to, the rose-tree.

The result, of course, is the speaker's retreat from desire to the only substitute for desire in Urizen's world of experience, duty:

> Then I went to my Pretty Rose-tree:
> To tend her by day and by night.

The last two lines of the poem are the crushing commentary on the whole affair. Virtuous in terms of conventional morality, the speaker is rewarded with disdain and jealousy, ironically the same reaction which would have been forthcoming had the speaker taken the offered flower. It is Blake's trenchant way of showing the "rules" to be inane.

How easily, then, in reading Blake's *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* we can ignore Blake's own individual method. Basically that method is simple, its roots lying in his concept of states and their symbols. Like many other artists Blake employed a central group of related symbols to form a

dominant symbolic pattern; his are the child, the father, and Christ, representing the states of innocence, experience, and a higher innocence. These *major* symbols provide the context for all the "minor," contributory symbols in the songs; and my purpose here is to suggest a method of approach that is applicable to all of them — and thus to all the songs.

Each of Blake's two song series (or states or major symbols) comprises a number of smaller units (or states or symbols), so that the relationship of each unit to the series as a whole might be stated as a kind of progression: from the states of innocence and experience to the *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience,* to each individual song within the series, to the symbols within each song, to the words that give the symbols their existence. Conceivably ignorance of or indifference to one word prohibits the imaginative perception and understanding of the whole structure. As Blake wrote in the preface to *Jerusalem,* "Every word and every letter is studied and put into its fit place; the terrific numbers are reserved for the terrific parts, the mild and gentle for the mild and gentle parts, and the prosaic for inferior parts; all are necessary to each other."

For the serious reader of Blake's songs, then, a constant awareness of the context or state in which a poem appears is indispensable; and since each state is made up of many poems, the other poems in that state must be consulted to grasp the full significance of any one poem. Each song out of its context means a great deal less than Blake expected of his total invention, and occasionally it may be taken to mean something quite different from what he intended. Blake created a system of which innocence and experience are vital parts; to deny to the *Songs of Innocence,* then, the very background and basic symbology which it helps to make up is as wrong as reading *The Rape of the Lock* without reference to the epic tradition. Without the system, Blake is the simplest of lyric poets and every child *may* joy to hear the songs. Yet with very little study the child of innocence can be seen to be radically different from the child of experience, and the mother of innocence scarcely recognizable in experience. The states are separate, the two contrary states of the human soul, and the songs were written not merely for our enjoyment, or even for our edification, but for our salvation.

Closely related to the necessity of reading each song in terms of its state is the vital importance of point of view. Often it is unobtrusive, but many times upon a correct determination of speaker and perspective depends a faithful interpretation of the poem. Blake himself suggests this by his organization of the songs into series, *Innocence* introduced and sung by the piper, *Experience* by the Bard. Superficially there seems to be little to

distinguish one from the other since the piper clearly exhibits imaginative vision and the Bard "Present, Past, & Future sees." Yet for each, the past, present, and future are different: for the piper the past can only be the primal unity, for the present is innocence and the immediate future is experience; for the Bard the past is innocence, the present experience, the future a higher innocence. It is natural, then, that the piper's point of view is prevailingly happy; he is conscious of the child's essential divinity and assured of his present protection. But into that joyous context the elements of experience constantly insinuate themselves so that the note of sorrow is never completely absent from the piper's pipe. In experience, on the other hand, the Bard's voice is solemn and more deeply resonant, for the high-pitched joy of innocence is now only a memory. Within this gloom, though, lies the ember which can leap into flame at any moment to light the way to the higher innocence. Yet despite this difference in direction of their vision, both singers are imaginative, are what Blake called the poetic or prophetic character. And though one singer uses "mild and gentle numbers" and the other more "terrific" tones, both see the imaginative (and symbolic) significance of all the activity in the songs. The inexplicit, Blake said, "rouzes the faculties to act." The reader of Blake, then, must rouse his faculties to consider this imaginative point of view always no matter who is speaking or seeing or acting in a poem.

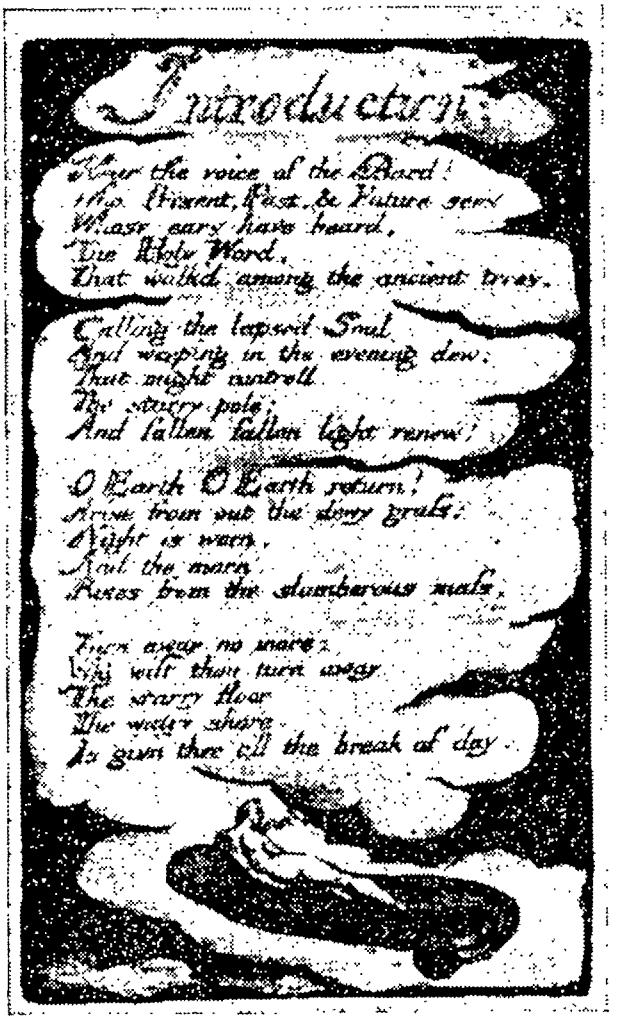
Both singers are of course William Blake. And since he, or they, sing all the songs, whether they are identifiable or not with a character in a poem contributes most importantly to the total meaning of the poem. To take an extreme example, in *The Little Vagabond* of *Songs of Experience* there are four points of view: that of the mother, who is now out of her element and can no longer protect her child as she did in *Songs of Innocence;* that of the parson, who is a part of the major symbol of experience, father-priest-king; that of the vagabond himself, a child of experience, not the carefree, irresponsible, thoughtless child of innocence; and that of the Bard, through whose vision each of the other points of view can be studied and evaluated. Without an awareness of this complexity in *The Little Vagabond* the poem dissipates into sentimental drivel. Another good example is *Holy Thursday* of *Songs of Innocence* (see illustration).

From a conventional point of view it is thoughtful and kind of the "wise guardians of the poor" to run charity schools and to take the children occasionally to St. Paul's to give thanks for all their so-called blessings. But from the piper's point of view (and Blake's of course) the children clearly are disciplined, regimented, marched in formation to church in the uniforms of

their respective schools — mainly to advertise the charitable souls of their supposed guardians. The point here (seen only through the piper's vision) is that in the state of innocence there is, or ought to be, no discipline, no regimentation, no marching, no uniforms, and no guardians — merely free, uninhibited, irresponsible, thoughtless play on the echoing green. Accordingly the children in *Holy Thursday* assert and preserve their essential innocence, not by going to church, but by freely and spontaneously, "like a mighty wind," raising to "heaven the voice of song." This simple act raises them to a level far above their supposed benefactors, who are without vision, without innocence, without love: "Beneath them sit the aged men, wise guardians of the poor." The irony is severe, but lost upon us unless we are aware of context and point of view.

As a final example consider the *Introduction* to *Songs of Experience* (see illustration). The main difficulty here seems to be Blake's chaotic punctuation and the ambiguity it causes. Stanzas 1, 3, and 4 seem to be an invitation to Earth to arise from the evil darkness and reassume the light of its prelapsarian state. Such an orthodox Christian reading, however, is possible only if we forget (1) that this is a *Song of Experience,* and (2) that the singer of these songs is the Bard, not God or a priest. In similar fashion, while ignoring the context or the point of view, one might quickly point out the obvious reference in stanza 1 to Genesis iii and forget that the speaker in that chapter is the Old Testament God, Jehovah, the cruel law-giver and vengeful tyrant who became in Blake's cosmos the father-priest-king image. And finally, the Holy Word in Genesis walked in the garden not in the "evening dew" but in the "cool of day," not to weep and forgive but to cast out and curse his children, to bind them to the soil, and to place woman in a position of virtual servitude to man. In view of this, if the second stanza is read as a clause modifying "Holy Word," it is either hopelessly contradictory or devastatingly ironic.

Blake himself hints at the correct reading immediately by means of the ambiguity of the first stanza. There are actually two voices in the poem, the Bard's ("Hear the voice of the Bard"), and the Holy-Word's ("Calling the lapsed Soul"); and the second stanza, *because* of its apparently chaotic punctuation, must be read as modifying both voices. The last two stanzas are the words of *both* voices, perfectly in context when the dual purpose of the poem is recognized. Only in this way can the poem be seen for what it is, an introduction to the state and the songs of experience, in which the Holy Word of Jehovah is hypocritical, selfish, and jealous, thinking and acting in terms of the physical phenomena of day and night and the earthly morality of rewards


Introduction.
Hear the voice of the Bard!
Who Present, Past, & Future sees
Whose ears have heard,
The Holy Word,
That walkd among the ancient trees.
Calling the lapsed Soul
And weeping in the evening dew:
That might controll
The starry pole;
And fallen fallen light renew!
O Earth O Earth return!
Arise from out the dewy grass:
Night is worn,
And the morn
Rises from the slumberous mass.
Turn away no more;
Why wilt thou turn away
The starry floor
The watry shore
Is given thee till the break of day.

and punishments. The Bard, mortal but prophetically imaginative, thinks and acts by eternal time and according to eternal values.

But how does one discover the all-important point of view in Blake's songs? One way is to observe the reactions of various characters to the same symbolic act, object, or character, for both the characters and the symbols ultimately resolve themselves into aspects of the major symbol governing that particular poem. Thus the mother of *Songs of Innocence* is symbolic in that her protection of the child contributes to the over-all picture of the child as major symbol of the state of innocence. In addition, many of Blake's symbols are recurrent, so that once a symbol's basic significance is revealed in a kind of archetypal context, each successive context adds association to association within the song series. When the beadle's wand appears in the first stanza of *Holy Thursday* of *Innocence,* for example, its immediate connotation is authority. But since a *beadle* wields the symbol, it is also religious authority, the organized church, institutionalized religion. It also represents an act of restraint which forces the children to act according to rule rather than impulse. The wand is "white as snow" to suggest the frigidity of man-made moral purity as opposed to the warmth of young, energetic, exuberant innocence. And finally, it suggests the worldly, non-innocent concept of duty (and its corollary, harm), the duty of worship which clashes with all of Blake's ideas of freedom and spontaneity. But all of this, it will be said, strongly suggests the world of experience, and *Holy Thursday is* a *Song of Innocence;* the over-all point of view is the piper's. The point to be made here is simply this. If we do not read the poem as a *Song of Innocence,* about the *state* of innocence and its major symbol, the joyous child, we *can* read it as a rather pleasant picture of nicely dressed charity children being led to church by a gentle beadle to sing hymns; or as a terrible view of unfortunate, exploited charity children under the thumbs of their elders. And we would *not* see that despite outward appearance the children *are* innocent, essentially free and happy, as they spontaneously sing their songs. Without an awareness of context the symbols do not work as Blake intended them to, and the song becomes a fairly inconsequential bit of sentimental social comment.

Considering, then, the care Blake took with point of view, recurring symbols, and symbolic action, we can see that gradually many of Blake's characters merge. The final products of these mergers are what I have called the major symbols. Kindred points of view tend to unite the holders of those points of view; characters who are associated continually with the same or similar symbols tend to melt into one another; and a similar pattern of action

reveals a fundamental affinity among the actors. In these ways the significance and value of any one character in any one song are intensified and expanded beyond the immediate context. The physical identity may shift, but the symbolic value remains constant — or better, is constantly enriched. When the beadle's wand in *Holy Thursday* is recognized as part of the basic sceptre motif, the beadle's identity, while being retained as representative of church law, merges with that of Tiriel, say, and the father — and ultimately with the "selfish father of men" in *Earth's Answer,* the pebble in *The Clod and the Pebble,* the "cold and usurous hand" of *Holy Thursday,* God in *The Chimney Sweeper,* the mother, parson, and "Dame Lurch" in *The Little Vagabond,* "Cruelty," "Humility," and the "Human Brain" in *The Human Abstract,* and Tirzah in *To Tirzah.* Within the identity are inherent all the other identities which combine to make up the major symbol of the context. The priests of *The Garden of Love* may bind with briars love and desire, but they do so because they are selfish, fatherly, cold and usurous, worldly, cruel, humble, hypocritical, and so forth.

One serious question remains: how does one distinguish among all these characters, or are they all precisely alike and hence redundant? Professor Mark Schorer answers the question this way — I know of none better: "The point is," he says, "that the individuality of these creations lies not in their rich diversity but in the outline that separates them from their backgrounds." That is, each individual identity in its specific context is at once a part of the whole context and the whole of which it is a part. Both the priest of *The Garden of Love* and the flower in *My Pretty Rose Tree* are self-sufficient for some understanding of these two poems. Blake simply asked his reader to do more than merely understand: that, he said, is a "corporeal" function. He wanted them to imagine as he imagined, to see as he saw, even to recreate as he created. Only then does his method make sense, only then can one see the minor symbols as parts of a major symbol, only then can the individual song take its rightful place as a *Song of Innocence* or *Song of Experience.*

William Blake as a Private Publisher

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BLAKE'S genius was so alien to the temper of his contemporaries that he was scarcely known beyond a narrow circle of professional artists, except perhaps as "an unfortunate lunatic, whose personal inoffensiveness secures him from confinement." [1] All his life he worked as a journeyman engraver on works of little distinction, and it is unlikely that he ever earned much more than enough to live on; at one time he may have been "reduced so low as to be obliged to live on half a guinea a week!" [2] Despite his great genius and persevering labor, Blake probably had to derive a very significant part of his income from such friendly and far-sighted patrons as the Rev. A. S. Mathew,[3] Thomas Butts,[4] William Hayley,[5] and John Linnell.

Because of his personal obscurity and the artistic eccentricity of his work, Blake's great problem was to find some means of conveying his ideas and art to the public. This problem was one that plagued him throughout his artistic life,[6] and he was continually struggling with new techniques and methods to improve his own system. Only two of Blake's creative works (*Poetical Sketches,* 1783, and *The French Revolution,* 1791) were ever printed, and neither of these was published. All of his works that were in any sense published were produced by some variant of the method Blake himself invented, a process which involved etching or engraving both text and "illumination," and printing the entire work from copperplates. The finished product was usually colored by hand and sold to friends and acquaintances, for prices ranging from three shillings (in 1793) to twenty guineas (in 1827).[7] The advantages of the system are obvious; it leaves all the steps of production in the artist's hands, and makes the finished book a work of art in every respect. The disadvantages are equally clear; production and sales must be slow be-

[1] R. Hunt, *Examiner,* September 17th 1809, quoted in M. Wilson, *The Life of William Blake* (London 1948) 225.

[2] R. H. Cromek, letter to Blake of May 1807, *The Letters of William Blake,* ed. G. Keynes (London 1956). It is difficult to discover whether this statement is a white or a black lie.

[3] Cf. "A. S. Mathew, Patron of Blake and Flaxman," to appear in *Notes & Queries.*

[4] Cf. "Thomas Butts, White Collar Maecenas," *PMLA* lxxi (December 1956) 1052–1066.

[5] Cf. "William Blake and 'Johnny of Norfolk,'" *Studies in Philology* lm (January 1956) 60–74, and "Blake, Hayley, and Lady Hesketh," *Review of English Studies,* N.S., vii (July 1956) 264–286.

[6] *Poetry and Prose of William Blake,* ed. G. Keynes (London 1948) 591, 691, 863, 915.

[7] *Ibid.* 692, 927.

cause they depend entirely upon the initiative and energy of one man working alone. As a consequence the works in "Illuminated Printing" were in the long run, Blake said,

> unprofitable enough to me, tho' Expensive to the Buyer. . . . The few I have Printed & Sold are sufficient to have gained me great reputation as an Artist, which was the chief thing Intended. But I have never been able to produce a Sufficient number for a general Sale by means of a regular Publisher [i. e., bookseller]. It is therefore necessary to me that any Person wishing to have any or all of them should send me their Order to Print them. . . .[8]

The audience that Blake reached was evidently extremely small, and some of his Prophecies have survived only in single copies. It would be a matter of great interest, therefore, if we could observe the way Blake went about marketing his works in "Illuminated Printing." Unfortunately this is not directly possible, because so few of his letters have survived, and because the books were probably sold largely on a personal basis. We can, however, see the way in which a similar private publishing venture in which Blake was involved was organized, and we may infer that Blake's own methods were not radically different.

In 1800 Blake moved to the little seaside village of Felpham to work under the patronage of William Hayley, a stilted, sentimental, superficial and extremely successful poet. The idea was that Blake would engrave illustrations to Hayley's incidental productions, such as his poetical *Essay on Sculpture*, 1800, and his *Life, and Posthumous Writings, of William Cowper, Esqr.*, [1802 and] 1803, and sell his own paintings and engravings to Hayley's numerous and influential friends. Both Blake and Hayley hoped and expected that such commissions would make the artist independent, and the prospects for success seemed good, since both artist and patron were indefatigable, and since Hayley could, through correspondence, introduce Blake to an audience of greater wealth and cultivation than he could have reached otherwise. Unfortunately there was an intellectual and temperamental chasm between Blake on the one side and Hayley and his friends on the other, and though Hayley industriously broadcast the talent and availability of Blake among his acquaintance, commissions did not pour in. Hayley was an extremely generous and kind-hearted man, but he could not refrain from giving Blake sound advice about how to make a living, and the relations between

[8] *The Letters of William Blake*, ed. G. Keynes (London 1956) 178–179. All Blake's letters are quoted from this edition.

the two men gradually became strained and difficult. As Blake wrote in January 1802,

> my dependence is on Engraving at present, & particularly on the Engravings I have in hand for Mr. H.: & I find on all hands great objections to my doing any thing but the meer drudgery of business, & intimations that if I do not confine myself to this, I shall not live. . . .

In the spring of 1802, when Blake had been at Felpham about eighteen months, Hayley felt called upon to find new means of adding to Blake's income, As Hayley himself wrote:

> Since friendship induced this meritorious Artist to leave London . . . for the sake of settling near me, it seems to be a duty incumbent on me to use every liberal method, in my power, to obtain for his industrious ingenuity, the notice and favour of my Countrymen.[9]

This project was a series of moral poems about animals which Hayley wrote, and which Blake was to illustrate and sell for his own profit. These Ballads were marketed almost exclusively among Hayley's acquaintances, and in the response of the purchasers to Blake's engravings we may find ample illustration of contemporary opinions about Blake's abilities and failings. This correspondence, partly unpublished, is particularly useful in that no other contemporary comment of proportionate bulk exists about any of Blake's other engravings, and in that no contemporary criticism of any kind relating to his prophecies is known.[10] It is also interesting because we can get our most extended view of Blake as a private publisher here, and because we may have some confidence that Blake was told most of these comments on his work.

By March 1802 the Ballads were finished enough for Hayley to write a preface,[11] and presumably soon after Blake was "led . . . to execute a few rapid sketches" and to begin his engravings.[12] These engravings were completed

[9] Preface to *Designs to A Series of Ballads* written By William Hayley, Esq And Founded on Anecdotes Relating to Animals, Drawn, Engraved, and Published, By William Blake. With the Ballads annexed, by the Author's Permission. Chichester Printed by J. Seagrave . . . for W. Blake, Felpham, 1802.

[10] Aside from Southey's comment that *Jerusalem* is "a perfectly mad poem"; cf. H. C. Robinson, *Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lamb, Etc.*, ed. E. J. Morley (London and Manchester 1922) p. 1.

[11] *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Hayley, Esq.*, written by himself, ed. J. Johnson (London 1823) II, 37.

[12] Preface to *Designs to A Series of Ballads* (Chichester 1802). According to this preface, the sketches and poems were circulated in manuscript, and received such a reception that Hayley was encouraged to convert them to Blake's "honour and emolument." I have found, however, no hint of this in Hayley's manuscript correspondence.

with some rapidity, and on May 16th Hayley reported to the young clergyman Johnny Johnson of Norfolk that Blake

> is at this moment by my side, representing on Copper an adam, of his own, surrounded [by] animals, as a Frontispiece to the projected Ballads.[13]

A week later, on May 24th, Hayley was explaining the project at some length to Cowper's fierce old relative Lady Hesketh:

> Do not be surprised if you receive in about a Fortnight a Bundle of Ballads, for I have a wicked project of turning your Ladyship into a Ballad Monger for the sake of serving the excellent friendy artist, who has been working so long & so patiently by my side on our Portraits of Cowper. — He has drawn & engraved some very ingenious designs of his own to a series of singular Ballads, one of which He proposes to publish every Month with three prints annexed to it. — for the moderate price of half a Crown. — His first number will be ready in a week or two, delicately printed on a fine quarto paper, & if I send you one dozen to dispose of among yr friends I know you will not think yrself overloaded by
>
> your sincere &
> affectionate HERMIT [14]

Lady Hesketh must have been surprised by this strange proposal, but on May 28th she replied most cordially from Bath:

> I shall be happy to assist *any* friend of *yours*, but am afraid, at this time, of year *Bath* will be a bad place to attempt to circulate any thing new, as there will be hardly a human Being left in it but myself in a week's time! . . . [However,] tell me in the plainest Terms, what I can do to serve your friend? *and conclude it Done!*

This was clearly the right spirit, and two weeks later, on June 10th, Hayley sent the first set of Ballads about an elephant off to her, with the following covering letter:

> If our Sussex Elephants have reached you, as I trust They have . . . you will require no commendation from me . . . you receive a *smaller number,* than I led you to expect: not from our apprehension that you might find it difficult to metamorphose them into Half Crowns for the ingenious Artist, at a Time, when Bath is deserted, but in Truth, because the busy artist had not Time to furnish a larger number of these interesting animals for his distant Friends *immediately* — He & his excellent Wife (a true

[13] All correspondence to or from John Johnson (with the exception noted in footnote 19) is quoted from "William Blake and 'Johnny of Norfolk,'" *S.P.*, LIII (January 1956) 60–74.

[14] All correspondence to or from Lady Hesketh is quoted from "Blake, Hayley, and Lady Hesketh," *R.E.S.*, N.S., VII (July 1956) 264–286.

> Helpmate!) pass the plates thro' a rolling press in their own Cottage together; & of course it is a work of some Time to collect a Number of Impressions. — But if you find, that you are likely to have *many Customers* in *your new Trade of Ballad Monger,* He will take care that you shall not want *a stock in Hand,* & He expresses himself highly gratified by the Honour you do Him in condescending to circulate his production —

The next day, June 11th, Johnny Johnson showed encouraging signs of life:

> I am *all eye* for the Blakian Elephants — you gave me reason to expect them this week but here's friday come, and no trunks! — Well, come when they will, they'll be sure of a welcome, and you shall hear of their arrival by the very next Post. —

Hayley replied promptly, on June 16th, before such worthy enthusiasm could fade:

> A score of Elephants will begin their March to you tomorrow. . . .
>
> As the Norfolcienses may love dumplins better than Elephants, that are not for the Kitchen, you may not find it so easy as we could wish to metamorphose this Tribe of animals into Half Crowns for our benevolent Artist — do all for Him among yr Friends, that you can do *with pleasure,* but be not *surpriz'd* or *vex'd,* if you find yr Countrymen not so well dispos'd towards a worthy Elephantmaker as you are yrself —

It is difficult to see why Hayley was being so discouraging — or so prepared for discouragement. On this same day Lady Hesketh was writing cheerful news from Bath:

> I should not Dear Sir worry you again so *very* soon, was I not extremely impatient to inform you of the Arrival of that powerful but gentle beast the Elephant, and likewise of my admiration of it! . . . I have done all I cou'd to second your kind intentions, having laid *one* in the most conspicuous part of Three of the most Conspicuous & best frequented Librarys which this City affords, having tacked to the same a few names together with my own as Sub^{rs} to this very agreable and elegant Work. I have likewise sent one to Lord & Lady Harcourt. . . . D^{r} Randolph was with me at the moment that your letter from Felpham, and the paquet . . . arrived together and consider'd himself as not a little fortunate in having calld on me at that Juncture; — he *read to me* both the preface and the ballad and instantly set his Name down . . . he dined yes^{y} with Lord Spencer, & I gave him one to shew to Him. . . .

This was most encouraging news; and more followed. Hayley had sent a cargo of Elephants to John Flaxman, who was a close friend of both Hayley and Blake, and whose opinion was probably particularly valued because of his

artistic judgment and his influential connections. On June 27th Flaxman reported of his consignment:

> Mr Hawkins has taken two copies, Mr Long one, Mr Rogers one, I enclose my subscription for the whole of my copy which I must beg of you to give to my friend Blake, & do me the favor to tell him that I will send the other Subscriptions as soon as I get them — I think the Etchings have Spirit & Sentiment, & calling the attention of man to the virtues & value of the brute creation & making this the vehicle of Service to the worthy artist & printer at the same time, is part of that tissue of Benevolence which forms the Good Bard's character. . . .[15]

There was still good news to follow. Charlotte Collins, whom Hayley had also entrusted with some Ballads, wrote on the next day, June 28th, to report that not only had she sold out her stock, but that she had another commission for Blake:

> suffer me to . . . shew you that I am willing to discover your kindness by my attention to the Interests of Mr Blake I have the pleasure to inform you that I have dispos'd of seven Elephants already, in my little Circle — and am ready to take as many Eagles — by the way, you must send me two more Elephants — as the one you brought to Lavington, is I think a little injured — I believe I told you that there was a new Family settled at Midhurst by the name of *Spilsbury* — the Gentleman has devoted his Time to the study of animals, and he has lately made a drawing of Mrs Payatz's *Prize Bull* — which he has some thoughts of having engraved — I believe that he would be glad to engage Mr Blake on the occasion — at least, he express'd a strong desire to be introduced to him as a brother-artist: and was so well pleas'd with the Engravings of the Ballad that he beg'd to become a purchaser immediately — I have sent a little sketch taken from some deer in Cowdray Park, not as being the best, but the most portable — Mr Spilsbury would rather have sent the Cowdray Bull, or the Burton Ox — but they were too bulky for my pacquet — can you tell me how these Knights of the Brush, & the Burin, are to meet? it is so long a ride, that I cannot find in my Heart to wish that you would undertake it — altho' I am always highly gratified by your Visits, I do not desire to put you to the slightest inconvenience on my account — settle the matter and let me know — . . . Remember me also to Messrs Meyer & Blake & believe me as ever. . . .[16]

This was good news indeed, and, though the distance separating them evidently prevented Blake from working for this genteel bull-painter, the prospect of such employment and emolument must have been most encouraging.

[15] Unpublished MS letter in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England; the written date is June 27, 1801, but the postmark is June 28, 1802.

[16] Unpublished MS letter in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Vol. xv of the Hayley Correspondence.

Obviously Hayley and Blake were both cheered mightily, and on June 28th Hayley wrote to Lady Hesketh in a fit of elephantine fancy:

> Your extreme Kindness, my dear Lady, to the Group of Elephants, that lately had the Honour of waiting upon you has so endeared you to the Tribes of the noble animals, that five imperial Eagles (who are preparing to take wing, as the immediate successors to the Train of Elephants) hope in the Course of next Week to have the pleasure of perching in your presence....
>
> In sober Truth I am heartily pleased that the Ballad & its decorations found such Favour in your sight: & both the Engraver & the Hermit feel most agreably obliged to you for your Kindness on this Occasion. —... If we are pleasd in finding the Elephant a Favorite with the Fair, we please ourselves yet more in fancying, that the Eagle may soar to a greater Height in the sunshine of their Favour.... — you will rejoice to hear that the good Blake & his Elephant are in triumphant spirits.

And that same evening Hayley wrote to Johnny of Norfolk in a similar strain:

> our alert Blake is preparing, con spirito, to launch his Eagle with a lively hope of seeing Him superior to the Elephant, &
>
> "sailing with supreme dominion
> Thro the azure deep of air." [17]
>
> our good Lady Hesketh has received & patronized his Elephant with the most obliging Benignity & we hope soon to hear, that the gentle & noble Beast arrived safe at Dereham & finds Favour with the good Folks of yr County. . . .
>
> Blake & his Elephant are marching triumphantly on the road of prosperity & salute you on their March — elated by the applause of Flaxman — Bravo!

So far all reports had justified fair hopes, and there seemed to be sound prospects of financial success. Evidently the friends of Hayley's friends were tolerant enough to take a few Ballads, but were not willing to make the experiment twice. Or perhaps they were willing to help a struggling artist sight unseen, but were less charitable once they had actually seen his work. For whatever cause, Lady Hesketh had bad news to report on July 3rd:

> Dear Sir—
> From my Heart I hope that London & Chichester make ample amends to y[r] ingenious Artist, for the def[ic]iencies of Bath, which I have reason to fear is still more empty and deserted, than I thought it possible it shou'd be; even at *this* Season of the year! too certain however it is, that it is abandond by all those of Genius and Taste, or the Elephants must have attracted more Company; sorry I am to say that not more than half a dozen Names are yet to be found, so low are the Arts fallen in this sweet

[17] These lines are from Gray's "Progress of Poesy."

> City of Bath. I flatter myself however that your bookseller in Pall Mall will have a long list of *Cowpers,* who I trust will gladly endeavour to attone for the deficiences of other people. I have sent them word that I shall expect to see *all* their Names, and to have *all their Interest* exerted towards the work in hand; — and now dear Sir, may I be *forgiven* if I say *to you,* that *some* among the *very few* now here, who have any pretensions to *Taste,* find many defects in your friends engravings? — . . . [After specifying which defects she continues:] I cannot help fancying that some hints from you very *gently applied,* as I know you will apply them, may be *useful* to your protegée, — and if they shou'd induce Improvement, I shall applaud myself for the liberty I have taken & for having had the *courage* to tell you, what perhaps *nobody else will!*

This disheartening news is expressed with great delicacy, and Hayley was fully aware of Lady Hesketh's tact. He replied to her promptly on July 6th:

> I cannot let a single post escape me without thanking you, my dear Lady, for yr very kind Letter — Sincerity is to my Feelings the Essence of Kindness, and I take all that you so benevolently say of my worthy artist, exactly as you would wish me to take it — . . . today sickness detained Him in Bed — . . . .
>
> He has packed off his Eagles to Kiss yr Hand, & I would not mortify him in his sickness by desiring Him to try & recall them. . . .

At this crucial juncture Johnny Johnson wrote cheerily of the Ballad's reception in Norfolk. On July 7th he reported:

> The Elephants arrived in perfect safety — and delighted us beyond measure. . . .
>
> We anticipate with rapture the arrival of the Eagle. . . . I have already disposed of several Copies of the Elephant, and hope shortly to send you a good account of my further progress. Remember me most kindly to Blake, the dear Sculptor, and clap him on the back for me. . . .

Such high spirits were badly needed, for on July 10th Lady Hesketh wrote further disquieting tidings:

> Dear Sir, I lose as little time as possible in acquainting you of the Arrival of those Imperial birds the Eagles, who arrived safe, and alighted at my Door the day before yesterday. — I dare give no opinion in regard to the Engravings, as I certainly place no dependance on *my own* Judgment in these matters, and have not yet been able to consult that of others — to me I own they appear more perfect than the Elephants, but that may be fancy — I have however one objection of *my* own to make. . . . the Countenances of his women and Children are . . . less than pleasing. . . . [His children lack] those Infantine Graces which few babies are without, and which are to me so delightful — in short the faces of his babies are *not young,* and this I cannot pardon!

This further criticism was evidently more than Hayley could bear, but he could not very well damn Lady Hesketh herself. Consequently on July 15th he wrote:

> Pray suffer no Mortal, my dear Lady, however you may give them *Credit for refined Taste in art,* to *prejudice you* against the works of that too feeling artist, whose designs met with *so little Mercy* from your *Octogenaire admirable!* I allow the *aimable Veillard* to be as severe as He pleases, as we happily counteract his Censure with the applause of a *more competent,* but *also a nameless Judge* [that is, Flaxman], who has said, I think with *more Truth,* that there is great spirit & sentiment in the engravings of my Friend. — . . . Whatever the Merits, or the Failings of my diligent & grateful artist may be, I know I shall interest your Heart & Soul in *his Favour,* when I tell you, that He resembles our beloved Bard [Cowper] . . . in the perilous powers of an Imagination utterly unfit to take due Care of Himself — with admirable Faculties, his sensibility is so *dangerously acute,* that the common rough Treatment which true genius often receives from *ordinary Minds* in the commerce of the World, might not only wound Him *more than it should do,* but really reduce Him to the Incapacity of an Ideot without the consolatory support of a considerate Friend. — From these excesses of Feeling, & of irregular Health (forever connected with such excesses) His productions must ever perhaps be *unequal,* but in all He does, however wild or hasty, a penetrating Eye will discover true Genius. . . .

This letter is remarkable for its masterly irrelevance and inconsequence. It is scarcely a valid defense of a work of art to say that the artist is mad and can't stand criticism. In her letter of a week later, July 22nd, Lady Hesketh pointed this out tactfully but firmly.

> The account you have so kindly sent me dear Sir of your amiable Protegée's, was not necessary to Impress me with a favorable opinion of their Merit. — . . . it was only respecting the Gentlemans Skill as an Engraver, that I took the Impertinent liberty of hinting my doubts, in which I say, *with regret* that I have been but too well authorized; and indeed I hope you do not think I obtruded my own Opinion in this Subject, in which I am perfectly Incompetent to give any, except the idle one I hazarded in my last. . . . I must however beg leave to observe, that this, *my only Criticism,* does not in the least impeach your friends character either as a painter or an Engraver, for Hogarth who excell'd so much, & whose fame will never dye, made all his children frightful!

At this temperate and sensible reply Hayley let the matter drop, and merely remarked in his next letter of July 28th that Blake

> is eagerly preparing [a lion] as a successor to his Eagle, [which] will have the Honor of Kissing yr Hand in the Course of next week. . . .

However, there was more bad news to come. On July 30th Samuel Greatheed wrote from Newport Pagnel in Buckinghamshire:

> My dear Friend,
> I have delayed replying to your last kind letter in the hope of giving you a good account of the Menagerie which you announced in it, and which arrived safely and peaceably at my recess. As collections of that kind are generally exhibited, I committed them for that purpose to the care of my neighbour. . . . He assures me that he has missed no opportunity of inviting gentlemen and ladies to see — the elephants; but although their anxiety has led them to survey those wondrous animals, I find with regret that nobody has discovered an inclination to keep them. It is I think a severe reflexion on the taste of my fellow pagnelians, as well as of their want of love toward the noblest of the Brute Creation. I heartily wish that they may act so as to vindicate themselves from these imputations, and to encourage the importation of the rest of your beautiful and respectable menagerie. I hope to hear better tidings from the Southern coasts than I am able to send you from the central part of our island.[18]

Strangely enough, Hayley does not seem to have kept Johnny of Norfolk, his most enthusiastic and successful salesman, supplied with a stock of Ballads. On July 22nd Johnny asked "Where is the Eagle?"; there is no indication that it was ever sent to him. Hayley at least announced the next Ballad to him on August 6th:

> our good Blake is actually in Labour with a young Lion. — The new born Cub will probably kiss yr Hands in a week or two — The Lion is his 3d Ballad, & we hope his Plate to it will surpass its 2 predecessors

However, no more Ballads seem to have been sent to Norfolk.

Instead, Greatheed was evidently thought to be a more trustworthy merchant, despite his outstanding lack of success. On September 1st Greatheed wrote to Johnny Johnson:

> Our kind friend Mr Hayley sent me half a dozen of his first Ballad, and I am ashamed of a flagrant deficiency of taste among my neighbours, betrayed by their inattention to this conjunction of the Muses and the Arts. I am above all surprised that a Copy sent by the Bookseller here to Mr Courteney's should have been returned unpurchased. I hardly know how to inform our friend of this circumstance which I fear will grieve him.[19]

[18] Greatheed's letters, with the exception noted in footnote 19, are quoted from the MSS in Vol. I of the Hayley Correspondence in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The omitted words above are "whose name closes the preceding page." There is no "preceding page," and the text seems complete, but this sheet is only half the normal size, and a section may have been torn off.

[19] Miss Mary Barham Johnson, of 28 Christ Church Rd, Norwich, kindly allowed me to transcribe this letter from the original manuscript in her possession.

Greatheed evidently could not bring himself to tell Hayley any of this bad news, for in his letter of September 3rd he wrote:

> I much wish for the arrival of the Royal Animals from your Menagerie. Being apprehensive I may not speedily find a conveyance more suited to their dignity, I shall be obliged to you when sending to Mr Blake if you will desire him to leave them for me at Conder's in Bucklesbury. I found that my active bookseller here, had sent a copy of the Elephant to Mrs Throckmorton before yours arrived. As I have not the honor of her acquaintance will it not be best for you to inclose to me a note for her, which I will send with a copy of each ballad, when the others arrive, to ensure her patronage?

After this Hayley seems to have given up using his friends as ballad-mongers. The last we hear from his correspondents on the matter is Lady Hesketh's letter of October 15th, in which she apologised for

> totally forgetting 'till Just now my debts of your Ingenious friend Mr Blake, who honord me more than I appear to have deserv'd, by the two packets of ballads he was so good to send me; — I think I had ten from Felpham, five of each of the two first; — the rest my bookseller at Bath has regularly from London, as well as those I take in for my Sistr and some other friends, — but for the above mentiond I am still debtr to Mr Blake and shall this day send a draft . . . for Five guineas which trifling Sum I flatter myself Mr Blake will have the goodness to accept. . . .

This reckoning is extremely generous on Lady Hesketh's part, because the ten Ballads she says she received would only sell for one pound five shillings.

After Hayley's friends had failed as ballad-mongers, Blake seems to have been left to unload the unsold Ballads on his own friends. At one time or another Blake's faithful patron Thomas Butts seems to have taken at least fourteen copies,[20] and other friends were probably also persuaded to buy. In his letter to his brother James on January 30th 1803 Blake wrote cheerfully about the prospects of the Ballads.

> I am getting before hand in money matters. The Profits arising from Publications are immense. . . . I am now so full of work that I have had no time to go on with the Ballads, & my prospects of more & more work continually are certain. . . .
>
> I send with this 5 Copies of N4 of the Ballads for Mrs Flaxman & Five more, two of which you will be so good as to give to Mrs Chetwynd if she should call or send for them. These Ballads are likely to be Profitable,

[20] Cf. "Thomas Butts, White Collar Maecenas," *PMLA*, LXXI (December 1956). Hayley himself owned two sets; cf. *A Catalogue of the very Valuable and Extensive Library of the late William Hayley, Esq. Removed from his Seat at Felpham . . . which will be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Evans, at his House, No. 93, Pall-Mall, On Tuesday February 13th, and Twelve following Days, (Sunday's excepted.) 1821.*"

> for we have sold all that we have had time to print. Evans the Bookseller in Pallmall says they go off very well, & why should we repent of having done them?

It is difficult to believe this, but at least it should be noted that Blake writes that the Ballads "are likely to be Profitable," not that "they have been Profitable." [21]

Three months later Blake and Hayley were evidently still considering the possibility of finding a publisher for the Ballads. On April 25th 1803 Blake wrote confidently: "The Reason the Ballads have been suspended is the pressure of other business, but they will go on again soon." A few days later, on April 30th, Hayley wrote to R. H. Evans, the bookseller who had sold the Ballads in London:

> My dear Evans
>
> Can you tell me what is become of our Friend Sockett? — He wrote to me from London on receiving the Life of Cowper, & I replied *immediately* to his Letter, giving Him some commissions *relating to you,* of which I have *not heard a syllable:* first I begged Him to convey to me your Bill, secondly I desired Him to send me your full & frank opinion concerning the adventure of my worthy Friend Blake, in the Ballads, that I gave Him in a sanguine Hope of putting a little Money in his pocket. — He suspended their publication, that He might proceed, without any Interruption, in his plates for the Life of Cowper, which have engrossed much of his time even to this Hour, as he and his good industrious Wife together take all the Impressions from the various Engravings in their own domestic Press —
>
> Do you think it will answer to Him to resume the series of the Ballads? — all the number mentioned in the preface [fifteen] are *written,* but his *designs are not prepared* for them, & I am very desirous of not leading Him into *an unprofitable adventure* — He has paid a Bill of 30£ for paper & the copies He has disposed of in the country have not produced more than half that sum to reimburse Him [21] — What Cash have you for Him? — He is an excellent creature, but not very fit to manage pecuniary Concerns to his own advantage. should you like (as you have by this Time probably been able to judge whether his publication is likely to prosper or not) to take the charge of it allowing Him any

[21] It is likely that we can account for almost all the money (probably less than £15) that Blake had received. £1.15.0 from Butts (fourteen copies at 2*s* 6d apiece), £5.5.0 from Lady Hesketh, 17*s* 6d from Charlotte Collins (for seven Elephants), £1.17.6 from Flaxman (paid in advance for the whole proposed series of fifteen), 10*s* from Messrs. Hawkins, Long and Rogers, and £1.17.6 from Evans (for about "fifteen numbers") comes to £12.2.6, not counting something from Johnny Johnson, Mrs. Chetwynd, and Mrs. Flaxman.

In his letter to Hayley of December 28th 1804 Blake mentioned "the Twelve Guineas which you Lent Me when I made up 30 Pounds to pay our Worthy Seagrave in part of his Account." A year later, on December 11th 1805, Blake still had not settled with Seagrave: "Present also my Thanks to the Generous Seagrave, In whose debt I have been too long, but percieve that I shall be able to settle with him soon what is between us." It was Phillips, and not Blake, who paid Seagrave for printing the second edition of the Ballads.

> settled conditional sum? — perhaps Ballads in *Quarto may not be* [as] *suited* for *general Sale,* as the same work might prove on a *smaller Scale* — my Idea for Him was to go thro the series in quarto, & afterwards to make a little Book of the whole like the small Triumphs of Temper, with 40[?] other plates to it, than *a single animal to each Ballad* like the *small Elephant* at the close of the first — Favour me with all your Ideas on this subject! & assist me, as far as you properly can, in my cordial wish to serve a very ingenious worthy Man, who is devoted to a life of Industry & Retirement! — [22]

Evans, however, had had too much first-hand experience of the Ballads to be lured into risking his own money on them. The last that we hear of this curious and unsuccessful way of selling Ballads is in Blake's letter to Hayley of six months later, October 26th:

> I called on Mr. Evans, who gives small hopes of our ballads; he says he has sold but fifteen numbers at the most, and that going on would be a certain loss of almost all the expenses. I then proposed to him to take a part with me in publishing them on a smaller scale, which he declined on account of its being out of his line of business to publish, and a line in which he is determined never to engage. . . . He advises that some publisher should be spoken to who would purchase the copyright: and, as far as I can judge of the nature of publication, no chance is left to one out of the trade. Thus the case stands at present. God send better times!

Thus ended in failure Blake's most commercially promising private publishing venture. What were the causes of this failure? In the first place, of course, the poetry itself was not of a kind to attract popular success. These poems designed for children were offered and sold almost exclusively to childless patrons. In the second place, the engravings were not the kind in demand; Blake's forte was not "Infantine Graces." And third, the system of marketing was clearly defective. Blake seems to have left everything to the usually efficient Hayley; and Hayley proceeded to ignore the suggestions of his salesmen, to overstock those ballad-mongers who proved to be ineffective, and to forget to supply the friends who had been successful. All these failings probably also contributed to Blake's lack of success in selling his illuminated prophecies as well. Blake had the bad luck, not only to be supremely inefficient as a commercial speculator himself; but to place his confidence in a man of business who had repeatedly demonstrated his ability, but who proved next to useless in this instance. Such a combination of mismatched talents should have been enough to discourage anyone.

[22] Quoted from a microfilm of the manuscript in the Library of Harvard University; the letter is also quoted, with some crucial omissions, by M. Schorer, *William Blake* (N. Y. 1946) 18-19. Hayley's reference to Blake's life of "Retirement" is curious, because five days earlier Blake had written of his plan to "return to London, with the full approbation of M^{r} Hayley."

As is clear in the last letter cited, Blake's mind had begun to turn towards more conventional methods of publication for the Ballads when his private distribution system proved to be ineffective. He had been seeing a good deal of the intricacies of publishing, not only because of his research work for Hayley's biography of Romney, but because of a proposal which was made by a publisher named Richard Phillips to Hayley. Blake was the first to announce this proposal in his letter of April 7th 1804:

> Mr Phillips is a man of vast spirit & enterprize with a solidity of character which few have. . . . His connections throughout England, & indeed Europe & America enable him to Circulate Publications to an immense Extent. . . . [He proposes that you edit a periodical which] may be call'd a Defence of Literature against those pests of the press, & a bulwark for Genius. . . .[23]

Hayley evidently wrote to Phillips expressing his general sympathy with the proposal and his lack of enthusiasm for the position offered to him. Phillips replied on April 20th, endeavoring to persuade him with a heavy dose of flattery: "it is in your power more than that of any other person to effect this most desirable purpose." [24] On the 23rd of April Hayley answered that Phillips overvalued his services: "You must think *me* therefore *entirely out of the question.*" This marked the end of the possibility of the establishment of an important liberal review in London.

Phillips' generous proposals remained in Hayley's mind, and early next year Hayley applied to Phillips on another publishing venture. Hayley wanted to raise a lump sum of cash, and in return he suggested that he sell all his literary copyrights to Phillips, including unwritten works, which could be brought out in a series of one elegant volume a year. Since Hayley was an extremely popular author, this promised to be an undertaking of some profit, and Phillips was very distinctly interested. As usual Blake was employed as a middleman, and on January 19th 1805 he reported that he had just been to see Phillips,

> & he has in the most open & explicit manner offer'd his service to you Expressing his desire that I will repeat to you his regret that your last beautiful Poem [*The Triumphs of Music,* published by Seagrave] was not Publish'd in the Extensive way (I speak his own words) that a Poem of Confessedly the first Poet of England ought to be given to the Public. . . . [He said, I hope that] if Mr H. has no Engagement with any London

[23] An account of this proposed journal is summarized from Blake's letters by D. V. Erdman, "Blake's 'Nest of Villains,'" *Keats-Shelley Journal,* II (January 1953) 61–65.

[24] All the Phillips-Hayley Correspondence is quoted from the original MSS in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Hayley's letters are copies or rough drafts, and this occasionally makes dating difficult.

> Bookseller I may myself be appointed by him in so honourable a concern as the Publication of his Labours. He then Proceeded to find fault with the Printing of our friend the Chichester Printer. Here I consider'd it my duty to interfere. I express'd my own respect for our Good Seagrave & said I knew your chief intentions in Employing him were 1st to Encourage a Worthy Man & 2d For the Honour of Chichester. Mr P. immediately replied, If Mr Hayley should think fit to employ me as his Publisher I should have no objection but a pleasure in employing his Printer & have no doubt I could be of service to him in many ways, but I feel for the Honour of London Booksellers & consider them as losing a great deal of Honour in Losing the first Publication of any work of Mr Hayley's & the Public likewise are deprived of the advantage of so extensive a diffusal as would be promoted by the methods which they use to Publish & disperse Copies into all parts to a very great amount. He then said: If Mr Hayley is willing to dispose of this his New Poem I will Purchase it & at his own Price or any other of his Works. . . . I thought it best to keep silent as to anything like a hint of a proposal relating to . . . the Ballads having come from you; accordingly I did not say that I knew of any Poem, but left all to you intirely. . . .
>
> Pray might I not shew Phillips the four Numbers of Ballads? or will you write to him? or will you think it best to commission me to answer him? whatever you command I will zealously perform, & depend upon it I will neither Do nor say but as you Direct.

This seemed a perfect opportunity to publish the Ballads, because Phillips might be willing to make same sacrifice to get for himself the copyrights to the rest of Hayley's works. Hayley must have written to Phillips about the Ballads immediately, for on January 22nd Blake hastened to express to Hayley his

> thanks for your generous manner of proposing the *Ballads* to him on my account, and inform you of the advice concerning them; and he thinks that they should be published *all together* in a volume the size of the small edition of the *Triumphs of Temper*, with six or seven plates. That one thousand copies should be the first edition, and, if we choose, we might add to the number of plates in a second edition. And he will go equal shares with me in the expense and the profits, and that Seagrave is to be the printer. That we must consider all that has been printed as lost, and begin anew, unless we can apply some of the plates to the new edition. I consider myself as only put in trust with this work, and that the copyright is for ever yours. I therefore beg that you will not suffer it to be injured by my ignorance, or that it should in any way be separated from the grand bulk of your literary property. Truly proud I am to be in possession of this beautiful little estate; for that it will be highly productive I have no doubt, in the way now proposed; and I shall consider myself a robber to retain any more than you at any time please to grant. In short, I am tenant at will. . . .

Evidently Phillips committed himself to rather more in conversation than he was willing to in writing, for many of the conditions which Blake mentions as agreed upon were haggled over for the next several months. Phillips seems to have begun by objecting to using a provincial printer like Seagrave of Chichester, and about January 25th Hayley replied firmly to Phillips that he had

> an unalterable attachment to my intelligent alert liberal goodhearted printer Seagrave & living or dying I shall ever desire that my publications may be printed by my worthy Countyman — I have desired our zealous Friend Blake to speak to you on some poetry of mine that I composed expressly for his Benefit & that I wish you to render as beneficial to Him as possible — I only wish to reserve to myself a right of inserting them, (without the ornaments annex'd) in a Collection of my works — [25]

Phillips delayed in replying to this letter for two weeks, and then he gave a transparent excuse which justifies suspicion of his motives and methods. On February 11th Phillips apologized for his tardiness in writing:

> This day is in fact the first on which I could write to you with effect, having in the course of it agreed with M[r] Blake about the publication of your Ballads....
>
> I am ready to participate in promoting your Scheme of benevolence. What are your wishes? — I shall endeavour on a twofold account to meet them. —

About this time Phillips evidently wrote to Seagrave trying to arrange special printing terms with him, and Seagrave replied that his prices were the same as those of the London printers.[26] This alarmed Phillips, who had counted on being able to get special rates, and on February 13th he wrote to Hayley that he could not do business on Hayley's terms because Seagrave's rates were so high as to endanger Phillips' independence. Hayley was astonished at this turn of affairs, and on the 17th wrote to conciliate Phillips; on the 21st Phillips wrote to Seagrave stating his position somewhat curtly, and on the 22nd of February he wrote to Hayley again:

> Dear Sir
>
> At the instance of M[r] Blake & in accordance with my own feelings I have written again to M[r] Seagrave, & if his answer is in any degree Satisfactory, I shall have pleasure in communicating the result to you.

[25] In this undated letter "poetry" was altered to "poetical compositions" and "composed" to "wrote." In his next letter of February 11th Phillips apologised for his delay in replying to Hayley's "Letter of the 25th Ult."

[26] This information is summarized from a number of undated letters from Seagrave to Hayley and Phillips in Volume XI of the Hayley Correspondence in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Poor Blake, of course, was caught squarely in the middle of these negotiations, and Phillips did not hesitate to use him to extort terms from Seagrave through Hayley. On March 5th Phillips wrote to Hayley agreeing to Hayley's terms of compromise, and calling Hayley "a minister of Peace!"

> I am chiefly concerned for Poor Blake who has been sadly tortured by these untoward circumstances. I shall now direct him to proceed with his designs & engravings.

To this letter Hayley replied brusquely on March 9th that the terms Phillips had agreed to were not the ones Hayley had proposed, and that Hayley's terms must be met.

> I am sorry the Impediments in our business have vexed Mr Blake but I must not permit my eagerness to serve one Friend to render me unjust to another —

In a letter postmarked March 11th Phillips acceded to Hayley's further terms, and went on, in implicit contradiction of his March 5th letter:

> Notwithstanding my numerous interviews with *Blake*, I have never been in possession of his address, I wish therefore that you would do me & him the favour to apprize him that we are all agreed & "ready for the fight." —

Hayley evidently did not write to apprize Blake immediately, for it was not until six weeks later, on April 25th, that Blake could write:

> This Morning I have been with Mr Phillips & have entirely settled with him the plan of Engraving for the new Edition of the *Ballads*. . . . I am making little high finish'd Pictures the size the Engravings are to be, & am hard at it to accomplish in time what I intend. Mr P. says he will send Mr Seagrave the Paper directly.

On this same day Phillips also wrote to Hayley:

> The Paper for the Ballads has been sent to Mr Seagrave & Mr Blake is forewarding the Plates. Before Mr S. puts any sheet to press I should like to see a proof that certain little features of his printing may be corrected to give it a metropolitan & fashionable Air.[27] I would recommend Mr Roger's pleasures of Memory, Campbell's Pleasures of Hope, or the Poems by the Author of the Heroic Epistle [Hayley?] as the most worthy of Mr Seagrave's imitation in this affair of the Ballads. —

[27] Blake to Hayley, January 19th 1805: "P's chief objection to the manner in which the Triumphs of Music are printed — were the strong Metal Rules at the Ends of the Canto's, but he confess'd to me that the first Page of the Poem was beautifully executed & could not be better done."

From this time the work progressed rapidly, and except for very minor interruptions there were no further difficulties. By July the new edition of the Ballads was published, and on the 18th Hayley wrote to Lady Hesketh that he was sending her

> a little Book, *a respectful offering* of *Gratitude to you* from a very *industrious* tho not a very *prosperous* artist — Smile on his Gratitude, tho you will frown on some productions of his pencil; particularly *the last* in the little volume, which He thinks his *best!* — so little can artists & authors judge of their own *recent* Composition. . . . I printed them only, that they may prove more beneficial in this *pocket size* to the diligent artist. . . .

Lady Hesketh was not the person from whom to extract sympathy for Blake, because besides her bother about the first edition of the Ballads she seems to have had suspicions about Blake's political sympathies.[28] On July 27th Lady Hesketh replied, expressing her astonishment that

> you can not only forgive but continue to *protect,* and *cherish,* one, (whom, for y^{r} Sake, I ever *tremble* to think of, and whom certainly I will *not name!* and now let me, before I say another word, return you a thousand thanks for your sweet little work of which I did not at all know that the whole were come out, and was rather surpris'd when a Lady of my acquaintance told me that her bookseller had sent her *Hayley's ballads.* . . . I apprehended the work had been laid aside, the rather as I knew you had undertaken it with a benevolent intention which I imagind you had not Judg'd necessary to carry thro.'[29] . . . I confess I think with you that the Horse is a little extra! [30] to say nothing of the extreme composure of the Lady, but I was never formd to Criticize any of the Sister arts, and shall leave to abler Judges to decide on the merits of the Engravings. . . .

[28] These suspicions may have been derived from Greatheed, who on January 27th 1804, soon after Blake's trial for treason, wrote to Hayley expressing his sorrow at hearing of Hayley's recent fall from his horse. "I have never forgotten the affectionate anxiety of our friend Blake, when the return of [my horse] Hidalgo (without his occasional rider) excited his apprehensions that a fate, somewhat similar to that which has fallen the poetical Hermit of Felpham, had occurred to the Theological pilgrim of Newport [i. e., Greatheed]. Gratitude, and my deference for Genius in every situation, excited therefore my sincere concern at what I learned from a Newspaper of the trial at Chichester. This was, merely, that he had been tried, and had been acquitted; with the very unsatisfactory explanation, that some soldiers had sworn to his having used seditious language. I knew our friend's eccentricity, and understood, that, during the crisis of the French Revolution, he had been one of its earnest partisans: but of everything else I remain ignorant; and shall be obliged to you for information."

[29] The Ballads were discontinued in the fall of 1802.

[30] Cp. *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham 1854–1870,* ed. G. B. Hill (London 1897) 158: "Ruskin's favourite (who has just been looking at it) is the *Horse;* but I can't myself quite get over the intensity of comic decorum in the brute's face. He seems absolutely snuffling with propriety."

Clearly Lady Hesketh had learned her lesson. Hayley, however, once again took fire, and on August 3rd defended Blake as vigorously and irrelevantly as he had before:

> I perceive by your striking Intimation, that you have heard some extraordinary Incidents relating to poor Blake, incorrectly, if not malevolently, reported. — you wonder, that I should continue to befriend Him; but I must be a despicable mortal in my own opinion, if I utterly renounced a *very industrious,* tho not a very *successful* artist. . . . [He was acquitted triumphantly at his trial, and] I of course rejoiced most cordially in the public Testimony of his Innocence; & shall ever be glad to do Him all the little good in my power, & for extraordinary reasons, *(that may make you smile) because* He is *very apt* to *fail in his art:* — a species of failing peculiarly entitled to pity *in Him,* since it arises from nervous Irritation, & a *too vehement desire to excell.* — I have also ever wished to befriend Him . . . because this poor man with an admirable quickness of apprehension, & with uncommon powers of mind, has *often appeared to me on the verge of Insanity.* . . .

Hayley's wide experience with both art and madness unfortunately never qualified him to be a very good judge of either.

Evidently Hayley sent the Ballads broadcast to his friends. On August 1st he wrote to Joseph Cooper Walker thanking him for the book he had sent:

> I make but a sorry Return to a Gift, that entertains & instructs me so agreably, by sending you a trifling little volume of *Ballads,* which I printed merely in the Hope of serving the very industrious, but not very prosperous artist, whose designs & engravings make a part of the Book — [31]

On August 12th Flaxman wrote to Hayley saying:

> the day after I received your last letter, Blake brought a present of two Copies of the Songs [Ballads, surely], it is a beautiful work, Nancy and I are equally thankful for this present and equally delighted with your bounty to the Poet-Artist [32]

On August 21st Jane Moody, writing for the ailing Richard Vernon Sadleir, sent thanks for the "small Vol:" and on the 28th she reported of Sadleir that "he has been reading one of Your interesting Ballads." [33] On November 21st Greatheed wrote to Hayley:

> Your pretty little volume of Ballads followed your letter, haud passibus aquis, some weeks behind. It has given me, and several others hereabout

[31] Quoted from Volume xv of the Hayley Correspondence in the Fitzwilliam. — Edward Newton owned a copy of the 1805 Ballads in which was written "Mr. Weller. With grateful remembrance from William Blake." *Rare Books, Original Drawings, Autograph Letters and Manuscripts* Collected by the late A. Edward Newton . . . For Public Sale (N. Y. 1941) 74.

[32] This letter, quoted from the MS in the Fitzwillian Museum, is also given in E. J. Ellis, *The Real Blake* (London 1907) 267.

[33] Quoted from Volume x of the Hayley Correspondence in the Fitzwilliam. There is no year on the dates of these letters, but the "Vol:" must refer to the 1805 edition.

> much pleasure, and I hope will do good both to my friend Blake, and to many of my junior friends to whose pleasure and benefit I think it exceedingly well adapted. Accept my hearty thanks for the gratification it has afforded me.[34]

This is the last glance we get of the effect of the Ballads upon Hayley's friends. By this time the Ballads were reaching a wider audience through the more conventional methods of publishing, but their success was not more noticeable. That they did not achieve popularity is clear enough from Blake's letter to Hayley of November 27th 1805:

> I cannot give you any Account of our Ballads, for I have heard nothing of Phillips this Age. I hear them approved by the best, that is, the most serious people, & if any others are displeas'd it is also an argument of their being Successful as well as Right, of which I have no Doubt; for what is Good must Succeed first or last, but what is bad owes success to something beside or without itself, if it has any.

At least Blake and Hayley had the satisfaction of knowing that their Ballads owed no success to anything like professional slickness or commercial string-pulling. They were probably unprepared, however, for the vigorous review of the Ballads which Southey wrote for the *Annual Review*.

> MEDIOCRITY, as all the world knows, is forbidden to poets and to punsters; but the punster has a privilege peculiar to himself, — the exceeding badness of his puns is imputed as a merit. This privilege may fairly be extended to Mr. Hayley: his present volume is so incomparably absurd that no merit within his reach could have amused us half so much. . . . The poet has had the singular good fortune to meet with a painter capable of doing full justice to his conceptions; and, in fact, . . . we know not whether most to admire the genius of Mr. William Blake or of Mr. William Hayley.[35]

It was perhaps this kind of harsh judgment which made Blake, in his letter to Hayley of December 11th 1805, turn his attention from temporal to eternal justice in this matter of the Ballads:

> I know that those who are dead from the Earth, & who mock'd and Despised the Meekness of True Art (and such, I find, have been the situa-

[34] Greatheed almost certainly wrote the eulogistic review of the Ballads which appeared in *The Eclectic Review*, I (December 1805) 921–923, which he edited. The comment on the engravings carefully ignores the work in hand: "The plates, of which there are five, mark the genius, if not the taste, of an artist to whom the public are indebted for an excellent likeness of Cowper, from a sketch by Lawrence, inserted in Mr. Hayley's biography of his friend. The correctness of its resemblance as much exceeds that of an engraving by Bartolozzi, which we have seen, from the same drawing, as the latter excels in delicacy of execution. We recollect, also, to have met with some of the engravings in this volume, and others on the subjects of these Ballads, on a larger scale; and we think it would be likely to impress the minds of young people more strongly with the subjects, if a plate by the same artist were prefixed to each tale, in any future edition."

[35] *The Annual Review*, IV (1806) 575.

> tion of our Beautiful, Affectionate Ballads), I know that such Mockers are Most Severely Punish'd in Eternity.

Blake never had had much faith in temporal justice, but he had seemed to be fairly safe in trusting to the judgment and patronage of two men as skilled in turning books into cash as Hayley and Phillips. It seems possible that this repeated failure with the Ballads was the final straw in Blake's relations with Hayley. The intellectual and artistic gap between the two men had always been enormous and dangerous, but Hayley had genuinely wanted to be helpful, and Blake had needed to be helped. During the last months Blake lived at Felpham relations had been ominously strained, but during Blake's treason trial Hayley had stepped forward manfully with loyalty and cash, and Blake left Felpham with a genuine regard for his patron. During the next two years Blake did a very large amount of leg-work in London for Hayley, chiefly relating to Hayley's biography of Romney, which was on the verge of publication for many years. Blake must have had an unpleasant feeling that he had been using Hayley's friendship for the sake of "Money, which is The Great Satan or Reason, the Root of Good & Evil"; "Where any view of Money exists, Art cannot be carried on." [86] It must have been a crushing blow when he finally realized that he had prostituted his genius and been paid in false gold. The letter quoted above is the last one that Blake ever wrote to Hayley (as far as we know). It was probably not long after this that Blake began jotting down in his notebook those vigorous epigrams that have done so much to keep alive the names of Hayley and Phillips. And, omitting the implication of malignant forethought, we can see from the letters given above that there was considerable reason for Blake's charges, and considerable justice in his bitterness.

> P[hillips] loved me not as he lov'd his Friends,
> For he lov'd them for gain to serve his Ends.
> He loved me and for no Gain at all
> But to rejoice & triumph in my fall.
>
> On H[ayley]'s Friendship
>
> When H[ayley] finds out what you cannot do,
> That is the very thing he'll set you to.
>
> To H[ayley]
>
> Thy Friendship oft has made my heart to ake:
> Do be my Enemy for Friendship's sake.[87]

[86] *Poetry and Prose*, 581.
[87] *Ibid.* 656, 657.

A few years later Blake had regained his old impoverished independence, and could face his God with clear eyes.

I have Mental Joy & Mental Health
And Mental Friends & Mental wealth;
I've a Wife I love & that loves me;
I've all but Riches Bodily.

I am in God's presence night & day,
And he never turns his face away.
The accuser of sins by my side does stand
And he holds my money bag in his hand.
. . . . . .

And so you may do the worst you can do:
Be assur'd Mr. devil I won't pray to you.[88]

After his three years' intimate experience of selling the Ballads in the desolate marts of commerce Blake had learned that his talent was not one that brings money, and that money is not worth the candle of genius.

[88] *Ibid.* 128.

Some Additional American References to Blake 1830-1863

By STEPHEN A. LARRABEE

THE following American references to Blake before 1863 supplement the earlier listings by S. Foster Damon and Thomas O. Mabbott: [1]

1. The Philadelphia *Casket, Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment,* May, 1830 (v, 5, 231–32), contained a brief account of the "Visions of Blake the Artist," from the second volume of Cunningham's *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters,* published at London, January 1830.

2. At the same time or even earlier, perhaps, the *New-England Weekly Review,* Hartford, May 3, 1830, printed the same selection about Blake's Visions.

3. The *Philadelphia or Literary Port Folio: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, Art and the Times,* May 13, 1830 (I, 19, 150), included part of Cunningham's version of the love of Blake and his wife. Since the first American edition of Cunningham's second volume did not appear until a year later, it is of some interest that editors in Philadelphia and Hartford called attention to Blake within five months of the London printing of Cunningham.

4. The *American Monthly Magazine,* Boston, June, 1831 (III, 3, 155–74), presented a nineteen-page excerpt from the American printing by the Messrs Harper of Cunningham's *Lives.*[2] A brief comment — perhaps by the editor, Nathaniel Parker Willis — introduced the seven pages about Blake the Painter thus: "The following anecdotes give one of the most singular pictures of a mind we have ever met." The Boston editor included the account of Blake's seeing a "fairy funeral" — the example of his "visions" that particularly impressed readers of Cunningham both in England and in America.

5–6. Mrs. Hemans' "The Painter's Last Work — A Scene," based on Cunningham's account of the poet's death, appeared in 1832 in two Philadelphia publications: *The Album and Ladies' Literary Weekly Gazette,* March 31 (VI, 13, 97) and *The Lady's Book* (better known by the name of the publisher, Godey), July (v, 7, 30).[3]

[1] See, respectively, *Modern Language Notes* XLV (1930) 365–70 and XLVII (1932) 87–88.
[2] A review in the *New-York Mirror,* May 14, 1831 (VIII, 45, 355), stated that the work, volume XVIII of the Harper's edition of the *Family Library,* had been published "within the last fortnight."
[3] Damon cited "Love's Last Work" by Mrs. Elizabeth J. Eames, a poem based on the work of Mrs. Hemans, *Southern Literary Messenger,* Richmond, September, 1843 (IX, 9, 599–600).

7. The *Long Island Star,* Brooklyn, a weekly newspaper, carried in its issue of November 27, 1833, Lucy Hooper's "The Fairy's Funeral," the earliest American poem inspired by Blake which has thus far been discovered.[4] Since the once-famous poetess often displayed interest in the arts and artists, her pleasantly sentimentalized version of Blake's vision probably came directly from Cunningham; for she introduced the work with the statement that "It was one among the many visionary fancies of the painter Blake, that he once saw a fairy's funeral, as here described." Disregarding the editors in Philadelphia, Hartford, and Boston, the poetess of Newburyport and Brooklyn, a devout Episcopalian, preceded by a number of years Job Durfee of Providence, Rhode Island, whom Mr. Damon termed "the first non-Swedenborgian to be impressed by Blake's power of visualizing."

John Keese, the well-known anthologist, included "The Fairy's Funeral" in his edition of Lucy Hooper's *Poetical Remains,* New York, 1842 (p. 174–76). Since Whittier contributed a tribute in verse to his friend, which appeared in that work, her poem should be mentioned, along with Cunningham, as a possible source for his reference to Blake's seeing "the funeral of the last of the little people" in *The Supernaturalism of New England,* New York and London, 1847 (p. 25–26).[5]

8. *A Familiar Treatise on the Fine Arts: Painting, Sculpture, and Music,* Boston, 1833 (p. 96–97), probably by Josiah Holbrook of Lyceum fame, contained three paragraphs of biographical information about Blake, apparently from Cunningham. The author's summary indicates what he felt would interest readers at the time: "Of Blake — His wild and singular character — Imagines himself visited by spirits — Anecdotes of his taking a portrait of Lot — His scriptural pieces — His poverty and cheerfulness — His death."

9. An unsigned article entitled "Past and Present," *New-England Magazine,* Boston, March 1834 (VI, 3, 235–36), contained the remark: "I have been enabled, in these pleasant somnambulisms, to study the individual countenances of Romans, whom I called up at will, as Blake, the painter, was wont to do when he would draw them."

10. In the *Outline History of the Fine Arts,* New York, 1840 (p. 301–03), Benson J. Lossing, the well-known engraver, made what is undoubtedly one

[4] Lucy Hooper displants the poet "A," whose ten-quatrain "The Fairy's Funeral" appeared in the *New-York Mirror,* June 21, 1834 (XI, 51, 406), rather than in 1831, the year given by Mr. Damon for this "first American poem to be inspired by Blake."

[5] Cited by Damon, p. 367. Whittier might have learned of Blake's visions first from the 1830 item (see above) in the Hartford literary magazine, of which he became editor only two months later.

of the earliest American references to Blake's technical achievements in the arts in his description of Blake's method of metallic relief-engraving.

11. Longfellow printed "The Tiger" and "The Little Black Boy" in his anthology, *The Estray,* Boston, 1847 (p. 36–37; 103–04), selecting the six-stanza version of the former poem for the first American printing of "The Tiger" other than in Cunningham.[6]

12. In addition to the five poems of Blake in the *Harbinger, Devoted to Social and Political Progress,* New York and Boston, July 8, 1848 (VII, 10, 73) — referred to by Mr. Damon — the four poems on the seasons in *Poetical Sketches* had appeared in the same magazine two weeks earlier, June 24, 1848 (VII, 8, 57). The editor described *Poetical Sketches* as a volume "which is very rare, and as coming from William Blake, the author of *Songs of Innocence and Experience,* as well as from its own merits, deserves republication."

13. Kazlitt Arvine included in the *Cyclopaedia of Anecdotes of Literature and the Fine Arts,* Boston, 1851, two items concerning Blake, whose "first work of much note" was said to have been "the Days of Innocence."[7]

14. Shearjashub Spooner used two items concerning Blake in *Anecdotes of Painters, Engravers, Sculptors and Architects, and Curiosities of Art,* New York, 1853 (I, 3–4; II, 79).

15. Charles A. Dana included five Blake poems in the highly successful *Household Book of Poetry,* New York, 1857 — "The Tiger," "The Little Black Boy," "My silks," "The Garden of Love," and "On Another's Sorrow."

16. *Folk Songs,* edited by John Williamson Piper, New York, 1861, for many years a popular anthology, offered one poem by Blake, "The Piper."

The earliest mentions of Blake in American publications are now found in the year 1830. Moreover, ten of the additional references belong to the decade, 1830–1840, during which "little interest in Blake" has been discovered previously. The material here presented, from Philadelphia, Hartford, and Brooklyn as well as from Boston and New York, invites further investigation of the early fame and influence of Blake in America, particularly outside Swedenborgian circles.

[6] Longfellow followed Wilkinson's text (1839) rather than the five-stanza version in Cunningham. It is worth noting, too, that both William Allingham (*Nightingale Valley,* London, 1860, p. 95) and Coventry Patmore (*The Children's Garland,* London, 1866, p. 158–59) used the poorer four-stanza version of the poem.

[7] P. 250 and 487. *The Illustrated Magazine of Art,* New York, 1853 (I, 1, 48, and 2, 111), printed two items on Blake, undoubtedly English in origin, for the magazine was edited in London.

Ten Year Report of The New York Public Library 1946-1956

IV. THE LIBRARY AS A WHOLE

IN 1901, when the Library corporation assumed, for the City, management of a circulating library system for Manhattan, the Bronx, and Staten Island, the system became its Circulation Department. To make both the distinction and connection clear the corporate library was called the Central Reference Library and, later, the Reference Department. Dual support as well as somewhat divergent aims led toward separate development of the Departments although they were recognized as two arms of one body.

This separate growth continued and became more marked as both Departments, increasing in size and varieties of service, tended toward almost autonomous internal organization.

Since 1946 there has been an administrative effort to reverse this trend. Offices which span both Departments have been established, and the heads of these offices meet regularly with the Director and the Chiefs of the Reference and Circulation Departments to discuss policies and practices which affect the Library either as a whole or in any of its parts. The former separate Staff Committees of the Reference and Circulation Departments have been consolidated as a Library Staff Committee. The whole staff is brought together once a year in General Staff meetings. Uniform pay scales, leave regulations, and other procedures and policies have been adopted. These latter are reported in detail elsewhere in this report.

Through 1946 the pattern of the Library's organization changed very little from that developed during Dr. Billings' directorship, 1895–1913. Although the Library became larger and more complex, its administration largely remained, under the general supervision of the Trustees, in the hands of the Director and his principal aides, the Chiefs of the Reference and Circulation Departments. Their tasks had grown considerably.

In 1901, when the Library corporation assumed management of the Circulation Department for the City, the Reference and Circulation Departments had 200 persons on their staffs; 897,000 books; 13 buildings and branches; and annual expenses of $192,000. Forty-five years later there were 2,300 staff members; 6,200,000 books; 82 buildings and branches; $9,600,000 expenses. The number of volumes consulted in the Reference Department had increased from 605,000 to 2,567,000; books lent for home reading by the Circulation Department, from 1,900,000 to 12,000,000.

The amount of administrative detail had grown correspondingly. When the late Ralph A. Beals became Director he set about the development of an administrative structure related to the needs of the Library as he found it. Working closely with the Board and its Officers and Committees he first identified the Library operations which needed individual supervision and then recommended the establishment of "library-wide" positions whose incumbents, reporting to the Director, would relieve him and the Chiefs of the Reference and Circulation Departments of many managerial duties.

Library-Wide Services

Offices created or transferred to library-wide service during the decade were: Public Relations Office (established January 1, 1947), Business Manager (June 16, 1947), Personnel Office (January 1, 1948), Executive Officer (July 1, 1949), Assistant to the Director (October 1, 1949), Chief Accountant (July 1, 1953), and Editor of Library Publications (June 1, 1956). The following reports, entered in chronological order, cover the decade of service both before and after the transfer from departmental jurisdiction.

(Only highlights of these reports are given in the present Bulletin; *the full reports will be printed in the complete* Ten Year Report *to be published at the end of the year.)*

Public Relations Office

Ten years ago the Library moved deliberately to gain a wider awareness of its significance and to extend its usefulness to more people. Since July 1946 the public collectively have read, each year, some 2,400 newspaper items concerning the Library, have seen Library copy on 8,000 subway advertising cards each month for 59 months, have heard many more than the listed 1,101 radio and 148 television programs dealing with the Library, meeting some 440 members of the staff through these media, and have picked up millions of folders and pamphlets and fliers which were free, as well as spending their own good money to buy thousands of pieces which deal with nothing else but the Library. And these are only some of the ways the Library has presented itself to the public. Whatever the degree of reception may be, a picture is being transmitted, at least, of a busy, active, inviting public library of vast resources.

The Public Relations Office was established as a unit of the Circulation Department in July 1946, following a successful effort to seek public support when the branch libraries were in severe financial straits. Six months later the Office was extended in scope to serve the whole Library. To the original

unit of two aides working under the then Administrative Assistant, only one new position has since been added, the rest of the current PRO staff of thirteen people having come from the amalgamation of various related functions — exhibitions, Inquiry Desk, publications sales, etc.

First and foremost the Office has sought to make its contribution in the area of improved service within the Library. It has produced recruiting posters and brochures to aid in keeping positions filled. It has given attention to public forms, routines, and notices — simplifying, eliminating, clarifying, where possible adding a softening note to necessary restrictions. It has increased the number of directional signs in buildings, prepared a series of information leaflets as guides to Library resources. A pamphlet explaining where to find and how to use materials in the Reference Department was followed by a location map for branches, folded into a general information sheet on the Circulation Department. Pieces have been prepared on special branch collections and central divisions, on service to children, to the foreign born, to trade unions, to teachers; on reading advisory service, on group programs. And there have been fliers, posters, programs announcing current Library activities, summarized, since 1954, in a bi-weekly "Calendar of Events."

Inquiry Desk

That first point of contact with visitors to the Library, the Inquiry Desk, was transferred to the Public Relations Office in 1951. The next year it was moved from its former inconspicuous nook to its present location in the main lobby, and the increased accessibility was reflected in an increase of questions answered. Before the move the daily average had been 587, with 739 representing the peak load. The first year in the new location saw an average of 939 questions a day, with a peak load of 1,728. The current average (five years later) is 1,086 questions daily, rising to 1,700 during holidays and a peak load of 2,035.

At the 42nd Street entrance, lacking Inquiry Desk facilities, a telephone was installed with direct connection to the Fifth Avenue Desk. A further development of the Desk's usefulness was an improvement of its sales function. A wholly new stock of reproductions from the Library treasures, in the form of cards, bookmarks, folders, etc. was developed, and display facilities were arranged for the sale of these and other Library publications.

Exhibitions

One area of the public relations operation remains an incompletely solved problem, from lack of space and funds. The exhibitions program for the cen-

tral building once consisted of twice-a-year mammoth bibliographical shows set forth in the exhibition hall (Room 113) by a staff for whom this was the major task. After loss of the hall — and the staff — exhibitions became a catch-as-catch-can matter, arranged in the lobby and various other areas by whoever could be released from his regular duties. Prohibitive was the estimated cost of a professional exhibitions program, complete with staff, workspace, equipment. But with a gift fund of a fraction of the estimate, with a talented staff and some rearranging of duties, exhibitions have contined to be presented in the Central Building — some thin, some good, some excellent.

Branch exhibitions as administered by the Public Relations Office have suffered from the great increase of other Library activities and the Office's lack of time for seeking out creditable exhibitions and circulating them through the system. The former 200–300 shows per year have thinned to barely a hundred. At the same time Library policy concerning borrowed exhibitions has polarized. For the Central Building loan exhibitions are not accepted; in the branches nearly all exhibitions are of borrowed material. Some of these displays are scant and of strictly local interest. Others have been the work of recognized photographers or artists and have attracted city-wide attention.

Business Office

The position of Business Manager was created in 1947 for the purpose of accomplishing whatever reorganization was possible within the framework of the Library's charter in the interests of smoother business operation and the freeing of librarians from the time-consuming details of duties not directly related to their professional work. Although at first no definition of specific functions and responsibilities was made, the Office of the Business Manager soon became engaged in many general activities: preparation of the various annual budgets and constant liaison with the City of New York; extension and simplification of ten kinds of insurance coverage; employee relations; relations with architects concerning plans for rehabilitation and alteration of existing buildings and construction of new ones; liaison with attorneys and the follow-up of bequests and gifts to the Library; and the acquisition of leased property for branch sites.

In various areas of Library operation the Business Office has conducted special studies and made suggestions leading to improvements in efficiency. Achievements here include the simplification and centralization of overdue procedure within the Special Investigator's Office, the housing of the Library for the Blind in more suitable quarters and the improvement of its operating procedures, and various improvements for the promotion of staff comfort.

In addition the Business Office has gradually assumed supervision over many library-wide operations formerly handled separately by the Reference and Circulation Departments with dual quarters and staffs: Accounting (transitionally between 1951 and 1953, when it became an independent office); Building Maintenance and Operation; the Purchasing Department; and the three auxiliary enterprises, Photographic Service, the Cafeteria, and the Printing Office and Bindery; also the Special Investigator's Office, Shipping Room, and Telephone Room.

Building Maintenance and Operation

Since June 1947 the maintenance and operation of all Library buildings has been the responsibility of the Business Manager, but for several years there continued to be separate maintenance staffs for the Central Building and for the branch buildings of the Circulation Department. In January 1952 all maintenance, repair, and construction agencies were consolidated into one unit called Building Maintenance and Operation (BMO). With this consolidation changes in procedure were instituted involving record keeping and a complete reorganization of the manning situation, eliminating many kinds of duplication of effort. The establishment of a work request control board, providing immediate visual control over pending work projects, led to an increase of 140% in the number of requests received and completed in the first year. Important additions were made to repair equipment.

There followed a great increase of efficiency in the expansion and maintenance of the 71 buildings in three boroughs that comprise the Library's physical plant. In the early part of the decade there had been a serious lag in rehabilitation and new construction, primarily a function of the Department of Public Works of the City of New York. Subsequently the City granted larger appropriations for new building and allowed for a yearly increase in manpower allotments for our repair staff from the City Expense Budget.

In 1950 AC power and lighting were installed in the Central Building, replacing the DC steam generating equipment which had supplied light and power since the opening of the building in 1911 and had become completely outmoded. Thereupon it was possible to install fluorescent lighting, increasing illumination by two to fifty foot candles in some of the most depressing work areas and in the hallways. New lighting in the stacks made for easier and speedier location of books. A further improvement, already approved by the City Board of Estimate, will be the replacement of our old boiler plant with steam purchased from the Consolidated Edison Company.

In the timing and designing of new construction and branch library remodeling there was a great improvement toward the end of the decade. In 1952 the construction of Donnell Library Center, under consideration for many years, was finally undertaken, and this large modern building was opened for service in 1955, at a cost of less than two percent over the original contract, but not without serious difficulties along the way and even the elimination, because of limited appropriations, of integral parts of the original design such as air conditioning, elevators, and floor ducts. That these would subsequently be installed appeared likely as the period closed.

More recently the Library and the Department of Public Works, after much study of the elements of ideal library structures and an examination of modern libraries in other cities, reached agreement on the construction of new branch libraries on such a plan that all functional activities are on a single floor or in a split-level building when suitable land is available.

Rehabilitation and Relocation

Libraries rehabilitated since 1946 are the Epiphany, Seward Park, Tremont, Hudson Park, Harlem, Aguilar, Morrisania, 67th Street, Hunt's Point, 115th Street, 125th Street, and Muhlenberg branches. Renovations made by the Library's own repair staff include modernization of the Countee Cullen branch and the adjacent Schomburg Collection, of the Music Library, of the Central Circulation branch; reference collection relocations at Seward Park and 96th Street; the consolidation of service onto one floor at Stapleton and 125th Street; the consolidation of charging at 115th Street, Morrisania, Hamilton Grange, and Wakefield branches; and the establishment in attractive rented quarters of Macomb's Bridge, Pelham, Clason's Point, Throg's Neck, Sedgwick, Gun Hill, South Beach, Todt Hill branches and Bloomingdale Children's Room. Other changes were the abandonment of the Nathan Straus Branch, with transfer of the collection to the Nathan Straus Room in Donnell Library Center; the transfer of Central Registration from Melrose to the Annex; the establishment of the Municipal Archives and Records Center in the Rhinelander Building; the acquisition of the Riverdale Branch.

Projected branch rehabilitation approved by the City Planning Commission included the Chatham Square, 96th Street, Melrose, Tompkins Square, Yorkville, and Columbus branches.

New Construction

Newly constructed buildings were the St. George Library Center, Inwood, Library for the Blind, West Farms, Mosholu, Great Kills, Westchester Square,

Fordham Library Center, and of course Donnell Library Center. Projected new branch construction approved by the City Planning Commission: Grand Concourse, Hamilton Fish Park, Allerton, Bloomingdale, Jerome Park.

Photographic Service

The Photographic Service of The New York Public Library has had a reputation for more than a quarter of a century for speed, quality, and reasonable fees. To maintain that reputation in the face of changing conditions, the Service has been almost completely reconstituted since the end of World War II. On December 1, 1945, it was made a separate division under the Reference Department; in June 1947 it was incorporated into the Business Office structure. The most significant organizational accomplishments since that time have been the establishment of business methods commensurate with the volume of orders, the development of techniques and procedures for the large scale preservation of Library material by microfilming, the modernization of the photostat laboratory, and a complete reorganization of the division itself. With these accomplishments also came the introduction of modernized equipment and improvements in methods for doing the work.

The division is one of the larger units of the Library, both in number of staff members and in number of volumes handled. It ranks fourth in the number of readers served. For approximately 35,000 readers per year the Photographic Service *is* the Library, since they use this service without entering its doors. The statistical tables that follow show the use and development of the division during the decade:

Photostat Orders January 1946 – June 1956

Year	No. of Public Orders	Prints Made for Public	Prints Made for Library	Total Prints Made
1946	47,166	468,736	3,882	472,618
Jan. – June '47	23,899	211,789	2,102	213,891
1947–48	44,225	403,428	4,176	407,604
1948–49	42,011	374,970	5,090	380,060
1949–50	38,502	311,630	6,723	318,353
1950–51	35,748	284,167	4,605	288,772
1951–52	39,858	328,523	4,838	333,361
1952–53	43,187	362,492	5,587	368,079
1953–54	44,949	367,162	6,197	373,359
1954–55	45,724	390,433	4,598	395,031
1955–56	47,621	398,939	14,551	413,490
TOTALS	452,890	3,902,269	62,349	3,964,618

Figures for various years are not strictly comparable because of changes in equipment. To correct figures, add 7% to 1949–50 and 10% to succeeding years.

Microfilm Orders January 1946 – June 1956

Negative Frames

Year	Public	Library	Revolving Fund	Total
1946	146,834	122,206	29,069	298,109
Jan. – June '47	86,622	91,888	35,988	214,498
1947–48	189,905	59,620	118,298	367,823
1948–49	257,490	47,823	110,206	415,519
1949–50	568,571	128,154	201,562	898,287
1950–51	396,903	455,044	134,880	986,827
1951–52	134,678	741,852	36,713	913,243
1952–53	166,795	835,647	34,955	1,037,397
1953–54	201,298	1,098,449	15,253	1,315,000
1954–55	226,178	877,656	267,835	1,371,669
1955–56	257,914	904,956	16,222	1,179,092
TOTALS	2,633,188	5,363,295	1,000,981	8,997,464

Printing Office and Bindery

In the Printing Office, the most impressive accomplishments during this period have come about as a result of the addition of new equipment. For the most part, this capital equipment was supplied by the City of New York. In May 1952 a Meihle Vertical Press was purchased to replace an old hand press which was returned to the City. This press is used for printing transaction cards, publication covers, and letterheads. In one year it is now possible to print approximately 6,000,000 transaction cards as compared with 750,000 on the old press. In August 1953 a Multipress was purchased to print book pockets. This new press prints about 1,600,000 pockets per year, as compared with the previous 350,000 to 450,000 per year. A 39-inch Lawson power cutter was obtained in September 1954, a power saw in July 1955 for cutting linotype slugs, and a Challenge power paper drill — replacing equipment originally purchased in 1914.

During a busy month in the Library Pressroom in 1956, production was reported as follows: (Printed and Delivered) 10,000 Science and Technology leaflets; 100,000 Civil Service pamphlets; 7,400 *Municipal Reference Library Notes;* 6,500 *Branch Library Book News;* 330,000 book pockets, 300,000 borrowers' applications; and 405,000 borrowers' cards. Periodicals printed in this department include also the bi-monthly *New Technical Books,* the monthly *Bulletin,* and the weekly *Staff News.* During the past decade 19 monographs were printed and numerous reprints of *Bulletin* articles (running from 8 to as many as 300 pages).

Also under the supervision of the Printing Office is the Offset Department, where three Davidson Offset Machines run by three operators reproduce printed material from typed "masters." During one month in 1956 this department printed 90,000 catalog cards from 1,749 Reference Department masters, 79,800 Circulation Department catalog cards, and various letters, forms, notices, programs, etc., from 208 masters.

The Library Bindery has long had a fine reputation for its superior output. It has been one of the "laboratories" of the country where new materials were tested and new methods tried under practical conditions. The bulk of Bindery work is the repairing of worn books and the binding of periodicals as files are completed. Hand bookbinding is fast becoming a lost art, and binding methods vary with the years and with the countries of origin, but the Library's Bindery is prepared to replace any binding or to repair it in the exact style of the original.

Many new methods have been devised for saving time and increasing production. With a new way of folding paper it is now possible to prepare 1600 end sheets in the time formerly taken to prepare 500. A new way of repairing torn pages has increased the speed of this operation by 25%. During the last year of this report the Bindery completed 39,614 volumes.

Replanning for Efficiency: Library for the Blind

An impressive achievement in library replanning and rehabilitation has been the successful modernization by the Business Office of the Library for the Blind. This special library, begun in 1896, was housed in a succession of inadequate quarters, since 1938 the ninth and tenth floors of the Annex building. Rapid expansion after the war made new quarters imperative, and in 1953 the building on Spring Street and the Avenue of the Americas, originally erected by the City to be used for Library maintenance, was converted for use by the Library for the Blind.

Adequate space was by no means the only need; a complete study of operating procedures, suggested by the Business Manager, led to a revision of all forms, letters, book containers, etc., and to the introduction of new methods for registration, circulation, book ordering, shelving, discarding, and the handling of mail. After a complete modernization of all systems and procedures, time studies proved the new to be immensely preferable. In its new quarters and with its new procedure the Library for the Blind was able to continue with the same staff as before yet handle over twice the amount of work.

Representatives of many libraries in the country have come and studied this new system of handling such bulky material as braille and "talking" books, and it is now in use in Philadelphia, Albany, and Cincinnati and in the Library of Congress and the Perkins Institute of Watertown.

Personnel Office

Effective utilization of the Library's resources in staff skills — one of NYPL's principal goals in the decade here reported and possibly its most signal achievement — required uniformity of policy and practice respecting the staff. Prior to 1948 the too-common idea that the Reference and Circulation Departments were separate systems was fostered in part by differences in vacation, sick leave, promotion policies, and salary scales. These could not but adversely effect the attractiveness of NYPL careers, severely restrict staff transfer between departments, and have unhappy effects in staff morale. Centralization of personnel functions was needed, too, if the Library was to make a well-coordinated and uniform approach to the practical requirements of the then-developing plan for public librarians' certification and other aspects of State aid, as well as those of the New York State Employees' Retirement System and the requests from the staff for definitive statements of Library policy. Thorough job evaluation and coordinated in-service training programs were urgently needed and the Library needed a single agency to coordinate its efforts to improve salary scales and to recruit library school graduates and specialists in other fields.

In mid-1947 the Personnel Office was organized and on January 1, 1948, it began operation on a library-wide basis, responsible for "recommendations as to personnel policy, recruiting, in-service training, job classification, service ratings, transfers, promotions, grievance procedures, health and safety, employee relations, and staff benefit plans." In the ensuing eight years a uniform pattern of practices as well as policy was largely achieved. There developed an entirely new series of communications among the staff. Virtually for the first time basic personnel policy was codified and published. A *Handbook of Information for the Staff* (1951; republished in 1955 as the *Staff Handbook*) was prepared and became a basic tool for individual staff orientation. This was complemented by a formal program of orientation meetings for new staff members and a series of annual meetings for the entire staff. A Staff Committee, an elected advisory group which serves also as an effective channel of communications for staff suggestions, had existed in the Circulation Department for many years. A new one was developed for the Reference Department and by 1955 the separate committees were consolidated into one and

expanded to include business and maintenance staffs not previously represented.

The Library's first broad position classification study was made in the Reference Department in 1948 and basic job specifications were adopted. By 1955 the Library had achieved its first virtually uniform pay plan when the Trustees approved the incorporation of Library positions paid from public funds into the classification and wage structure of the New York City career and salary plan and authorized an adjustment to a parallel salary pattern for privately paid positions. A full classification survey of the City sponsored positions was begun in 1956.

Library-wide uniformity of policy in personnel matters had other practical consequences. In 1953 a new service review form and a related procedure were installed to provide for the periodic review and recording of individual staff performance. By 1954 manning tables for positions paid from public as well as private funds had been established. With uniform standards of workloads, where they could be developed, the tables offered a means of systematic staff disposition throughout the Library. The consolidation of personnel functions and the consistency of policy permitted the gathering in one place of previously disparate personnel records, many of which could be simplified. Channels of information to and from the records were defined, and a single, multiple use form was adopted for all personnel actions.

Prior to 1948 the Library's program for the development of staff for advanced responsibility included little real training. The qualifications of professional staff members were to a certain extent tested and evaluated in the Circulation Department promotion schemes, but there had been little attempt to improve skills, to add new ones, or to develop administrative and supervisory talents. A conspicuous beginning can be reported: the branch system promotion process is no longer simply a program of tests; it is now a full-fledged curriculum of instruction, the Intermediate Training Program, some of it devoted to general and specialized library services, and some to supervisory and administrative skills. An Advanced Training Seminar has been established and extended to candidates for leadership positions in all departments. A training program for senior clerks is in its incubation.

The first eight years of the Personnel Office have seen significant improvements in organization, communication, and management — but its particular problem and its most absorbing duty has been and remains the recruitment and placement of staff (1,100 appointments annually) in a period of general manpower shortage, particularly of qualified librarians. These years have been marked, too, by inflation, which has left the Library somewhat

behind the market in salaries and hours of work, notwithstanding much improved leave and retirement benefits. Salary revision, the 35-hour week, progress toward a fully uniform classification, improved communications, and training devices are its principal goals for the immediate future.

Library Publications

In the long publishing history of the Library this was a characteristically productive decade. Serials which were continued with only minor change were the weekly *Staff News,* the *Branch Library Book News* (five times a year), and the *Municipal Reference Library Notes* (monthly, September through June). *New Technical Books,* begun in 1915, was increased in 1948 from a quarterly to a bi-monthly, enabling the *Bulletin* to drop its list of "Technical Books of the Month." Numerous large and small volumes were published, mostly reprints from the *Bulletin,* including several monographs of major importance.

Backbone of the Library's publishing remained the monthly *Bulletin,* established in 1897. By 1946 some 1,000 reprints, varying in size from thin pamphlets to volumes of a thousand pages or more, had been published, many the standard bibliographical sources in their fields. For several decades the *Bulletin* had run to about a thousand pages a year (80 to 88 a month), but economy reduced it in 1948 to a monthly average of 52 pages, including cover — economy and a new policy of publishing more monographs independently and freeing the pages of the magazine for more short articles. The "independent" program began well with a bibliography of Don Byrne, in 1949, a Catalog of the Work of Utamaro, in 1950, and a two-volume Index to *The Nation* in 1951–53. But in practice fewer independent monographs were published than had been hoped. At the end of the decade it was partly in order to implement this policy that the editorial office was strengthened by the addition of an assistant and established as a library-wide function.

Important volumes that were published as original monographs include most of the Arents series, the first of the Berg series, several volumes of rare early music, *The Olive Branch Petition,* and Paltsits' edition of Stevens' *Recollections of James Lenox.*

Notable volumes originating in the *Bulletin* include bibliographies of Howells, Montesquieu, Martineau, Sandys, Ptolemy's Geography, Katherine Anne Porter, Little Magazines, and the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia; Black's *Surnames of Scotland;* registers of the early book trade in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; Sternfeld's *Goethe and Music;* and Dickson's *Panacea or Precious Bane.*

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* Closed temporarily. † Closed July 29. To be replaced at a later date by the new Francis Martin Branch.

CURRENT EXHIBITIONS

CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS AROUND THE WORLD — MAIN LOBBY
A holiday exhibition of North and South American, European, Baltic, Asian, and other Christmas festivities as depicted in materials in the Library. Opens December 6.

25 RARE BIBLES, 1455–1782 — MAIN LOBBY
An exhibition of outstanding editions of the Bible. Through November.

RARE BOOKS RECENTLY ADDED TO RESERVE DIVISION — LANDING CASES
Twenty-one items, ranging in date from about 1470 to 1956. Through November.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS SUGGESTED AS HOLIDAY GIFTS — ROOM 78
A selection of outstanding children's literature published during 1957 with original drawings from some of the books. November 19 through January 6.

CHRISTMAS & OTHER PICTURE BOOKS — ROOM 323
An exhibition from the Arents Collection of Books in Parts. Opens December 1.

GREAT AND RARE WORKS IN PARTS — ROOM 323
Masterpieces of literature from the Arents Collection of Books in Parts.

VIRGINIA & TOBACCO — ROOM 323
350 years as represented in books, manuscripts, letters, and prints from the Arents Tobacco Collection.

EDGARD VARÈSE — MUSIC DIVISION
The second of a series of exhibits titled "Three Major Revolutionaries in XXth Century American Music" opens November 26. The first of the series, "Carl Ruggles," is now on display.

ESTONIAN POETRY — SECOND FLOOR CORRIDOR
Books, prints, maps, manuscripts, and photographs, in honor of the 100th anniversary of *Kalevipoeg*, the Estonian national epos, and the 40th anniversary of the "Siuru" literary movement.

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE THEATRE COLLECTION — MAIN LOBBY — WEST WALL
Two showcases of memorabilia from the Annie Russell Collection. November 15 through January 4.

THE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT — ROOM 322
A chapter in the history of Gothic and Early Renaissance printing, as seen in original works from the Spencer Collection.

IGAS, 1952–1957 — PRINT GALLERY
A showing of 75 prints by contemporary artists in honor of the International Graphic Arts Society's fifth anniversary. Through January 15.

NEW IN THE BERG COLLECTION, 1952–1956 — ROOM 318
Acquisitions of the last five years: manuscripts, autograph letters, first editions.

HISTORICAL VIEWS OF AMERICAN CITIES — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH
Exhibition from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection of American Historical Prints.

PERMANENT EXHIBITIONS

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY
An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1926.

WASHINGTON IRVING — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR
Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc.

HISTORY OF PRINTING — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR
Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTRAITS AND OTHER NOTABLE PAINTINGS — ROOM 318
Works by Copley, Stuart, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Morse, Raeburn, and others.

UNIVERSITY

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

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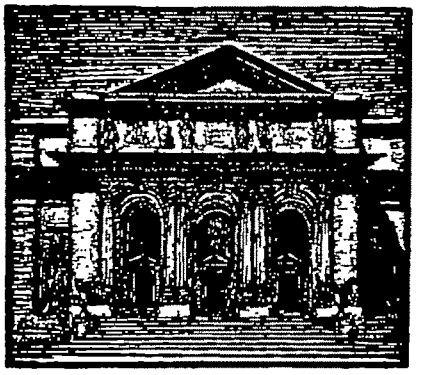

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NYPL Imprints 1957

Vital Lists for Your Reference Bookshelf

Current Newspapers United States and Foreign. A Union List of Newspapers Available in the Libraries of the New York Metropolitan Area. Compiled by Aaron L. Fessler and Saro J. Riccardi. 66 p. $1.

Children's Books Suggested as Holiday Gifts. On Exhibition in the Central Children's Room. 46 p. 10¢.

A Register of Editors, Printers, and Publishers of American Magazines, 1741–1810. Compiled by Benjamin M. Lewis. 40 p. 75¢.

Walt Whitman's Correspondence. A Checklist by Edwin H. Miller and Rosalind S. Miller. 170 p. $3.

Gift Suggestions

Mrs. Gamp, by Charles Dickens. A Facsimile of the Author's Prompt Copy. Introduction and Notes by John D. Gordan. 137 p. including 63 collotype facsimiles. Cloth binding. $6.

Oscar Wilde. The Importance of Being Earnest. In four acts as originally written. 2 vols. boxed. $20.

Crossing the Line. Tales of the Ceremony During Four Centuries. Gathered by Harry Miller Lydenberg. 240 p. cloth. $5.

Current Offprints

When All the World Was Dancing. Rare and Curious Books from the Cia Fornaroli Collection. By Marian Eames. (August Bulletin). 16 p. illus. 25¢.

Bene veneris . . . An Early Example of St. Birgitta's Influence on the Iconography of the Nativity. By Karl Kup. (December Bulletin). 11 p. illus. 30¢.

Estonian Poetry. By Ants Oras. (December Bulletin). 13 p. illus. 25¢.

Ten Year Report of The New York Public Library. (Partly reprinted from the Bulletin, January, September–December). 94 p. Free on request.

Ready in a Few Weeks

A Bibliography of the Writings of Noah Webster. Compiled by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel and edited by Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr. 732 p. including 40 collotype illustrations. $12.50.

The Arents Collection of Books in Parts and Associated Literature. A Complete Checklist with an Introductory Survey by Sarah Augusta Dickson. Price to be announced.

To Order: The Library pays postage and delivery charges. Orders amounting to less than $5 should be accompanied by check, stamps, or money order; larger orders will be billed. Order from Public Relations Office, NYPL, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Free on Request: *NYPL Publications in Print 1957*. 24 page list including a selection of titles available on microfilm.

Front Matter

Theatre Memorabilia

The Annie Russell-Dorothy Lockhart Collection of theatrical memorabilia and correspondence covering the period 1890–1949 has come to the Library through the efforts of our Honorary Trustee, Henry Bruère, a friend of Miss Lockhart.

The first and older portion of the collection consists primarily of scrapbooks, playscripts, and photographs of the late distinguished actress Annie Russell (1864–1936), who was long connected with Daniel Frohman's old Lyceum Theatre on Fourth Avenue at 24th Street, and whose name now graces the Memorial Theatre at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida. There is, for example, the corrected typescript of Miss Russell's lecture for the St. Ursula Club April 28, 1908, on George Bernard Shaw at the rehearsals of *Major Barbara.* The Shaw-Russell materials were carefully studied by Charles Laughton while making his celebrated revival of this Shavian comedy last season.

The second portion of the collection consists of several hundred holograph letters to Miss Russell and Miss Lockhart. The Russell correspondence includes letters by Bayard Veiller, Benjamin DeCasseres, Weber and Fields, William Gillette, Rosamond Gilder, Rupert Hughes, Israel Zangwill, George Bernard Shaw, William Lyon Phelps, Tommaso Salvini, Charles Frohman, Raymond Massey, Channing Pollock, Rachel Crothers, Paul Kester, Josephine Hull, Jerome K. Jerome, Eugene Field, George Arliss, Winthrop Ames, DeWolf Hopper, William Faversham, Hall Caine, and Mrs. Andrew Carnegie. There are also a letter of Oscar Wilde's and one of Arthur Conan Doyle's addressed to her husband, Oswald Yorke.

Miss Lockhart, who now heads the Town Hall Lecture Series of Winter Park, was a friend and confidante of Miss Russell and was associated as a publicist with such ventures as the Hedgerow Theatre of Moylan, Pennsylvania, and the Philadelphia Theatre Association which produced Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* with great success on Broadway in 1930. In connection with this production she came into close association with the celebrated designer-producer Norman Bel Geddes. Among the letters to Miss Lockhart are many from Geddes and from Ogden Nash, Otis Skinner, Elizabeth Montgomery (Motley), Randolph Ray, Pablo Casals, Elmer Davis, Courtney Burr, Daniel Frohman, Heywood Broun, Clayton Hamilton, Charles Coburn, Julie Harris, Greer Garson, Margalo Gillmore, Barrett H. Clark, Norman Marshall, Terence Gray, Ann Harding, Ivah Wills Coburn, Charles Collingwood, Alexander Kirkland, Leopold Stokowski, and A. A. Milne.

Use and Additions November 1957

Visitors entering the Central Building 268,701; readers in the Reference Department 87,791; volumes consulted 233,305; volumes issued by Circulation Department for home use 1,196,550.

Received through purchase and gift

	Circ. Dept. Gift	Ref. Dept. Gift	Purchase and Gift
Volumes	583	2,718	34,036
Pamphlets	126	5,623	6,557
Maps	---	276	277
Prints	---	46	4
Misc.	16	---	16

THE NATIVITY, Florentine engraving, about 1470–90. *Prints Division*

The Canonization of St. Birgitta of Sweden. From Ulrich von Richenthal's *Chronicle of the Council of Constance*, a German paper manuscript, about 1450.

Spencer Collection

delicet comedēdo ⁊ bibendo et loquēdo ita occulte: ꝙ nullus alioꝝ hoc sciat nec intelligat. Ego etiam scōm dictam regulā non possum licite pecuniā tangere: neqꝫ aurum vel argentū possidere: et ideo aliquē specialem amicū habere volo: qui pecuniā et aurum meū teneat secrete secū ex parte mea vt illa pecunia vtar ego ad voluntatē meā. Ego etiam addiscere volo artes liberales et sciētiam ad hoc: vt ex illa honorē et dignitatem aliquā habere valeam in ordine habendo equos ⁊ vasa argentea ⁊ pulcras vestes ac pretiosa ornamenta: et si aliquis ꝙ istis me arguerit respōdebo ei: ꝙ hoc facio propter honorē ordinis mei. Si etiam ego adhuc tm̄ laborare et facere possem ꝙ fierem episcopus: tunc vere felix et beatus essem pro tali vita qualem tūc ducere possem quia tūc ego essem: in propria libertate mea: et haberem omnē delectationem corporis mei. ℰ Audi modo tu quid dyabolus fecerat in predicto ordine franciſci. Mā vere ita est: ꝙ plures sunt illi fratres in mūdo: qui tenent aut opere aut voluntate ⁊ desiderio regulā predictam: quā dyabolus docuit fratrē aduersarium: ꝗ illi qui seruant regulā illam quam ego ipse edocui fratrem franciſcum. Scias tu: ꝙ ꝗuis isti fratres scilicz franciſci et fratris aduersarij commixti sunt ꝗdiu viuunt in mundo. Attamē ego separabo eos post mortem quia iudex eorum sum: ⁊ iudicabo fratres regule franciſci ad permanendū mecum: simul cum frācisco in eterno gaudio. Illi aūt qui sunt de regula fratris aduersarij: iudicabunt ad penas eternales in profundo inferni: si ante mortem se noluerint corrigere et humiliter emendare. Nec est mirandū de hoc: quia illi qui deberent mūdanis hominibus dare humilitatis ⁊ sancti tatis exempla: ipsi prebent eis exempla vita et ribaldica cum sua cupiditate et superbia. ℱ Et ideo certissime sciāt dicti fratres: ꝙ tam ipsi ꝗ ceteri religiosi quibus regula prohibet habere proprīū: et tamen habent aliquod ꝓprīū contra regulam suā volētes per hoc me placare ꝙ inde aliquā partem mihi conferūt: eorum munera ab hominabilia sunt mihi ⁊ exosa: nec aliqua remuneratōe bona sunt digna. Magis cm̄ mihi gratū et placitum est: ꝙ pauptatem beataz quā ꝓfessi sunt scōm regulas suas diligenter obseruēt: ꝗ ꝙ totum aurz et argentū: ac etiā omnia metalla que in mūdo sunt: mihi p̄sentarent. Scias etiaz tu que verba mea audis: ꝙ nō fuisset tibi licitum istam prefatā visionem scire: nisi ꝓtervnū bonū seruum meū: qui ex toto corde suo ꝓ illo fratre minore sincerē me rogauit: qui desiderabat eidez fratri ꝓfulere aliq̄ ꝓfitia vtilia sue aīe: ex diuina charitate. Dis aūt visis et auditis hec visio disparuit.

Visio quā habuit dña Birgitta in bethleem vbi virgo maria oñdit ei totū modum sui ptus qualiter ipsa peperit glorioſum filium suum sicut ipsa virgo ꝓmiserat eidem dñe birgitte in roma anteqꝫ iret ad bethleem p. xv. annos vt patet in primo capitulo istius vltimi libri. Cap. XXI

Cum essem ad p̄sepe dñi in bethleem. ℬ Vidi quandam virginem pregnantē pulcerrimam valde: indutā albo mantello et subtili tunica: per quā aperta eius carnes virgineas clare cernebā. Cuius vterus plen⁹ et multum tumidus erat: qz iam prope erat ad pariendū. Cū qua senex quidā honestissimus erat: et secū habebant ambo vnū bouem et asinū. Qui cū intrassent speluncaz senex ille ligatis boue et asino ad p̄sepe exiit extra: et portauit ad virginē candelam accensam fixitqꝫ eam in muro: et exiuit extra ne partui ꝑsonaliter interesset. Virgo igitur illa tunc discalciauit calciamēta pedum suoꝝ: et discooperuit mantellum albuz quo operiebat: amouitqꝫ velum de capite suo et iuxta se reposuit ea: remanēs in sola tunica: capillis pulcerrimis quasi de auro extentis sup spatulas. Que tūc duos panniculos lineos ⁊ duos laneos mūdissimos et subtiles extraxit: quos secum portabat ad inuoluendū nasciturū infantē: et duos alios paruulos lineos ad cooperiendū et ligandum caput illius: ipsosqꝫ posuit iuxta se vt eis vteret tempore debito. ℬ Cū ꝗ hec omnia sic parata essent: tunc virgo genuflexa est cuz magna reuerētia ponens se ad orationem: et dorsum versus presepe tenebat faciem vero ad celum leuatā versus orientem. Erectis igitur manibus et oculis in celum intentis: stabat quasi in extasi cōtemplationis suspensa: inebriata diuina dulcedine. Et ea sic in oratione stante: vidi tunc ego moueri iacentem in vtero eius: et illico in momēto et ictu oculi pepit filiū: a quo tanta lux ineffabilis ⁊ splendor exibat: ꝙ sol nō esset ei comparabilis: neqꝫ candela illa quā posuerat senex quoāmodo lumen reddebat: quia splendor ille diuinus splendorem materialē candele totaliter adnihilauerat: et tam subitus ⁊ momē taneus erat ille modus pariēdi: ꝙ ego nō poteram aduertere nec discernere quomō

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Bene veneris . . . filius meus

An Early Example of St. Birgitta's Influence on the Iconography of the Nativity

By KARL KUP

"WHEN therefore the Virgin felt that she had already born her child, she immediately worshipped him her head bent down and her hands clasped, with great honor and reverence and said unto him: *bene veneris deus meus, dominus meus, filius meus,* be welcome my God, my Lord, my Son."

These words are part of the revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden,[1] a medieval mystic of force and persuasion whose writings, divinely inspired, were denounced at one time but confirmed by the Council of Basel.[2] Living in the fourteenth century and related to the Swedish royal family, St. Birgitta left

[1] *Revelationes sancte Birgitte.* Lübeck, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 25 Nov. 1492 (PML); Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, 21 Sept. 1500 (Spencer Coll. NYPL) *Revelationes* VII, 21. The Lübeck edition, in Latin, was printed in 80 copies, of which 16 were on vellum, for the monastery of Vadstena in Sweden, endowed by St. Birgitta in 1344. According to tradition, the woodcuts were designed and, probably, engraved by one Gerardus, lay brother of Vadstena. The Nürnberg edition, edited by Florian Waldauf of Waldenstein, was printed in both Latin and German at the editor's expense and under the patronage of the Emperor Maximilian. The woodcuts have at times been attributed to Dürer.

[2] The Council of Basel took place in 1520. St. Birgitta (1303–1373) had been canonized by Pope Boniface IX, in 1391, at the time of the schism; the Scandinavian clergy asked for confirmation by the Council of Constance, 1414–1418; cf. Karl Kup, "Ulrich von Richenthal's Chronicle of the Council of Constance," *Bulletin of The New York Public Library* April 1936. The MS of the Council of Constance (Aulendorf Codex), in the possession of the Spencer Collection of The New York Public Library, contains an interesting illustration of the event. Nine Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish doctors are being interrogated in connection with miracles attributed to St. Birgitta. The archbishop of Denmark and bishops hold up a statue of the Saint while monks chant and a religious service is in progress. The event took place in Constance, in February 1415; repr. in Otto H. Brandt, *Chronik des Konzils zu Konstanz* (Leipzig 1928) 40–41.

her native country upon the death of her husband, Ulf Gudmarssen, and went to Italy. In Naples, St. Birgitta, then forty-six years of age, became attached to the court of Cardinal Beaufort, later Pope Gregory XI.[3] Her revelations, as they were conveyed to her, are of a dual nature: they partly concern events of the day such as the ecclesiastical situation in Italy and the schism of the church; but they are also mystical and religious in nature. Among the latter, there are important revelations which have bearing on the Marian cult, many having to do with the holy legend of the Nativity. St. Birgitta lived in Italy for twenty-three years with the exception of a short trip, in the year 1370, to the Holy Land, promised her in an earlier revelation. There she was to visit the towns and places where Mary had walked and lived, she was told, and there she was to see more clearly than any other human being before her, and to report, the way Christ had been born and the way he died. "Thou shall come to the Holy City when so shall be the pleasure of my Son," the Virgin had said to her.[4] When St. Birgitta reached the Holy Land, all the promises of Mary were fulfilled. St. Birgitta saw with her own eyes how it had come to pass that Mary gave birth to her Son and remained a Virgin, and she recorded the vision for her fellow men.

St. Birgitta was not exactly the first person who had thus spoken of the birth of Christ. Indeed, centuries before her, medieval writers and teachers had delved deeply into the mysteries of the life of Christ as one of the mainstays of their philosophy, their medieval mysticism. St. Bernard of Clairvaux,[5] St. Mechthild of Magdeburg,[6] St. Bonaventura,[7] and the learned Ludolphus of Saxonia [8] had envisioned, speculated, taught, and written in their various *meditationes* and in many *Vita Christi* of the nativity of the Christ as an expression of divine mystery. The older conception and interpretation of the birth, in which Christ was born in pain, had been repugnant to these mystics; in keeping with the growing cult of Mary, they had defined the birth as painless and a divine mystery only.[9]

[3] Pierre Roger de Beaufort (1331–1378) became Pope Gregory XI (1370–1378); ended "babylonian captivity" of popes by removing from Avignon to Rome, 1377.

[4] *Revelationes*, op. cit., VII, 1.

[5] St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153), French Cisterician, founder of the Abbey of Clairvaux.

[6] Mechthild von Magdeburg (1212–1283), great German mystic and poet.

[7] St. Bonaventura (Giovanni di Fidanza) (1221–1274), Italian Franciscan, called "the Seraphic Doctor," alleged author of *meditationes vitae christi*. More recent opinion ascribes this work to the so-called Pseudo-Bonaventura (Giovanni de Caulibus di San Gimignano, 1300); cf. Günter Aust, *Die Geburt Christi* (Düsseldorf 1958), quoting *sancti Bonaventurae opera* (Mainz 1609) VI, 339.

[8] Ludolphus of Saxonia (ca. 1300–1370), French Dominican, author of *vita christi* and *speculum humanae salvationis*.

[9] Henrik Cornell, *The Iconography of the Nativity of Christ* (Uppsala, Universitets Arsskrift, 1924) 28–38.

It was the contribution of St. Birgitta of Sweden to formulate verbally, accurately, and realistically that which had been revealed to her. "Then the Virgin drew off the white mantle, that enveloped her, removed the veil from her head, laying it by her side, thus remaining in her tunic alone with her beautiful golden hair falling loosely down her shoulders. . . . thus with her hands extended and her eyes fixed on the sky she knelt in extasy, lost in contemplation, in a rapture of divine sweetness. . . . and while she was thus in prayer suddenly in a moment she gave birth to her son." [10] These words were uttered by St. Birgitta in the year 1373. The date is of significance. It is a turning point in the iconographical rendering of the scene of the Nativity. For the art historian and the student of iconography it is a *terminus ante quem.*

The Nativity does not appear in representational, early Christian art until about the sixth century. The Byzantine and the early Italian renderings set the style for centuries. Here, the Virgin is shown reclining, if not lying, beneath a roof of an open hut, inside a cave, before a roughly hewn shelter. She holds the new-born child in her arms; ox and ass are present, as recorded by the Apostles: there are angels about; sometimes even St. Joseph plays a part. The Virgin appears in many poses: seated, lying in bed, propped up against a bent mattress, half sitting up, but always with the child in swaddling clothes. This was the manner of representation before the Birgittine revelation of 1373, which changed the iconography considerably. According to St. Birgitta, the birth took place while the Virgin knelt in prayer; there was no pain, no physical knowledge. The birth reveals divine mystery. The dissolution of the older iconography begins about the end of the fourteenth century and the Birgitta tendencies in representation make themselves felt soon thereafter, first in Italy, then in Germany and France. The first fully developed illustrations of St. Birgitta's revelation of the Nativity, that is, the Virgin in kneeling position with the child lying on the ground and not in the manger, is a small fresco decorating the entrance wall of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, attributed to a disciple or follower of Ambrogio and Pietro Lorenzetti,[11] and dating toward the end of the fourteenth century, about 1375–1380. The Virgin is depicted kneeling, her mantle dropped to the ground, her hair falling loosely

[10] *Revelationes* VII, 21.

[11] Henrik Cornell, op. cit. p. 15–27, lists additional representations, even quoting lost paintings such as the small fresco in the church of San Antonio Extra Muros in Naples which existed in 1380, according to testimony in connection with the canonization of St. Birgitta, brought forth by Niccolo Orsini, in 1391.

over her back, her hands folded in prayer. Before her lies the new-born child, "from whom radiated such an ineffable light."

Soon we find representations, murals or paintings, of variant or identical iconography by Gentile da Fabriano, Fra Angelico, Lorenzo Monaco, and later by such men as Filippino Lippi, Pesellino, and Lorenzo di Credi. North of the Alps, too, the new iconography appears. In 1420, an anonymous master of the Southern German school painted the Vision of St. Birgitta.[12] Robert Campin of Dijon [13] was the first Frenchman to paint the new conception and composition; the date is 1425.

A change, too, came over St. Joseph; and, again, St. Birgitta's visions and words were responsible. Iconographically, he is the most static of all the participants of the Nativity. Somewhat neglected as foster father, St. Joseph was treated but poorly by medieval writers and artists. His inactive role caused him to be represented in mystery play, in stained glass, in mosaic, in mural, and in sculpture as a figure seated in deep meditation, or resting head in hand — is one allowed to say? — asleep. Not so St. Birgitta. In her revelation, she paints a different man, a holy man, a man of devotion and of insight. Knowing that the time of birth had come, St. Joseph gathered straw for the child to lie on and then *portuavit ad virginem candelam accensam* — brought the Virgin a burning candle — attached it to the wall, and went outside, so that he might not be present at the birth.[14] From a mere spectator, a mere presence by sufferance, St. Joseph has become an active participant in the holy scene; the divine secret had been revealed to him also; the burning candle represents or symbolizes the sacred light which he, too, now experiences: *tunc virgo genuflexea est cum magna reverentia. . . .*

A recent acquisition of the Print Room of The New York Public Library, an anonymous engraving of the Nativity, appears to be a unique impression of a Florentine print, made between the years 1470–1490.

The engraving shows the familiar scene in the iconography established by St. Birgitta of Sweden. The Holy Family is set against an open shed or stable — the Virgin kneeling to the right, her mantle partly discarded, her hair loosened, her hands folded in prayer; St. Joseph kneeling to the left, burning

[12] Rosgarten Museum, Konstanz; painting on wood.

[13] Museum of Dijon. For the earliest representations in Spanish art, cf. F.-P. Verrié, *Iconografía de la natividad a través de la pintura catalana medioval* (Barcelona 1942).

[14] *Revelationes* VII, 21.

candle in hand. Between them on the ground lies the Christ child on a cloth lined with straw. Ox and ass fill the center of the composition, while to the right above, angels sing heavenly songs, and to the left above, shepherds against a hillside with their flock of sheep and goats receive the divine message. Above it all, in the center, is the haloed bust of God the Father, from whom radiate three sparkling rays, representing Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The engraving measures 5⅞ x 3⅞ inches, printed on fifteenth century paper without a watermark. The impression is fine, strong, and even, ranging from a deep black to a subtle grey. There are indications of *retroussage,* the printer's loving care to add tone to line in the process of taking the impression. The print shows no sign of having been in a collection; there are no owners' marks on its back. It appears to have been pasted down at one time, perhaps into a prayer book, perhaps into a scrap book of an *amateur.* The print is not reproduced or listed in any of the standard reference books and catalogues. It does not appear to be in any of the great print rooms of the Western world. And it seems a unique impression, a source of possible speculation.

Stylistically, one is tempted to assign the print to Italy, and more locally, to Florence. In its two-dimensionality, it resembles other versions of the same representation, made in Florence about the end of the fifteenth century. Comparing it with two early Florentine engravings in the British Museum,[15] of like subject matter, one is inclined to assign it to an anonymous engraver who had worked from a possibly lost original drawing or painting. Another theory might be that the print is an Italian copy of a no longer existing German prototype, woodcut or copper engraving.[16] There are certain char-

[15] See Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving,* pt. 1, vol. II, *Florentine Engravings and Anonymous Prints of Other Schools* (New York and London 1938) plates 2, 71, especially the composition of the latter. Mr. Philip Pouncey, Deputy Keeper of Prints, The British Museum, London, suggests an even closer relationship to plate 48, "namely in the treatment of the wattle fence, the ox and ass, the haloes of the Infant Christ, Joseph, and the angels, and most particularly in the sheep on the hillside." See John Goldsmith Phillips, *Early Florentine Designers and Engravers* (Cambridge 1955) for the study of the complexities of Florentine copper engraving, in particular plate 101, a Nativity engraving, executed by Roselli after a design by Boticelli, 1465–1475.

[16] Max Lehrs, "Italienische Kopien nach Deutschen Kupferstichen des XV. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (Berlin 1891) 125–136. Cf. Max Geisberg, *Geschichte der Deutschen Graphik vor Dürer,* pl. 17, "Die Geburt Christi," a dotted metal print, similar in composition and some detail. Miss Anne Hoyt of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, suggests possible antecedents in the engravings of the Master of the Playing Cards, the Master of the Banderolles, and the Master E.S., the latter repr. in Max Geisberg. See *Der Meister E.S.* (Leipzig 1924) pl. 10, 17, and for special subject matter, pl. 39, which depicts a Birgittine Nativity, with the Saint kneeling to the right of the composition, holding a burning candle.

acteristics, particularly in the grouping of the shepherds, the angels, the animals, which bring to mind German work of the middle of the fifteenth century, but the manner of engraving is decidedly Italianate.

Many of the early copper engravings and woodcuts were based on paintings, drawings, sculpture, already in existence. And while some of them were so closely related to their models as to be called reproductions, others deviated in the rendering of subject matter according to the spirit of their makers. This is particularly the case in fields of established iconography such as the representations of biblical stories and those taken from hagiography. Here, the printmaker drew freely from models leaving room for his own imagination or conception, rendering the scene as it pleased his spirit which, in turn, guided the burin and the knife. One might call these prints "variations on a theme," original in composition and detail but thematically dependent on existing sources. It is here that creation begins and copying ends. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, great artists took to the medium of the print for its own sake, signing their names to the plates which they had designed and which, in many cases, they had engraved themselves.

The Nativity engraving of the Print Room cannot claim such distinction. Yet, for the record, it must be said that it has possible connections with still existing paintings of the time. Such a connection can be established with the Nativity of Francesco Pesellino in the Boston Museum of Art;[17] with the painting of the same scene from the brush of Jacopo della Sellaio, formerly in the John E. Thompson Collection;[18] and with the Filippino Lippi Nativity of the Berlin Museum.[19] If our engraving has any roots to any of these, its place and date might safely be assigned as coming from Florence between the years 1470 and 1490.[20]

Praise must go to the anonymous artist for the charm and the artistry of the rendering. Not being able to advance further documentation than to say that the print was made by one of the many artist-craftsmen living in the modest side streets of Florence at a time when hundreds of such prints were being made and being sold to the devout, we must pause to reflect upon its

[17] Francesco di Stefano, called Pesellino (ca. 1422–1457), repr. in Boston Museum of Fine Arts *Bulletin* XIV (April 1916) p. 13.

[18] Jacopo de Sellaio (1441–1493), repr. in *Catalogue of the John R. Thompson Collection* (Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, Jan. 15, 1944).

[19] Fra Filippo Lippi, called Filippo del Carmine (1406–1469), painted for the private chapel of the Medici family, Florence; since 1821 the property of the Berlin Museum, now at Wiesbaden.

[20] Mrs. Ina Cassirer and Mr. Aleksis Rannit of the Art Division of The New York Public Library have effectively assisted in research; their share in this paper is gratefully acknowledged.

aesthetic appeal. It was designed and printed with probably no more in mind than to enter into competition with other prints of similar nature to be sold at the market place, at the destination of pilgrimage, at the door of the parish church. *Imagerie populaire,* they might have been called at the time. Today, with the recognition of lost values and an increased appreciation of the creativity of the craftsmen-artists of the period, we must go beyond mere documentation and must add to its value the underlying spiritual forces which prompted it to be made. At the time of Christmas, we must pause to consider the religious and the mystical meaning of the message, feelingly rendered by anonymous hands, and — could we sing — we would join in that lovely thirteenth century Italian folk song:

Christo é nato et humanato
Per salvar la gente
Ch'era perduta é descaduta
Nel primer parente.

Christmas 1957

Preparing a Union List of

Current Newspapers Available in the Libraries of the New York Metropolitan Area

By Aaron L. Fessler, *Reference Librarian, Cooper Union Library, and* Saro J. Riccardi, *Chief, Newspaper, Division, The New York Public Library*

THAT nothing is as dead as yesterday's news appears to be a generally accepted truism. Yet those who are in a position to know, those who have a professional or commercial interest in newspapers — i. e. librarians, newspaper dealers, publishers — would not hesitate to refute this statement with some heat. Librarians, particularly those working in public institutions, could testify to the strong, constant demand on the part of the general public for both current and back-number newspapers. Scholars, students, businessmen, housewives — almost everyone at one time or another for one purpose or another has occasion to seek out an elusive story, an advertisement, an obituary notice, some one of the myriad details which regularly appear in the press. True, the news may be buried, but it is not dead.

Libraries everywhere have therefore assumed the responsibility for maintaining files of newspapers — especially newspapers of local vintage, but not necessarily only those. One of the greatest concentrations of published materials in the world, including newspapers, may be found in the twenty-two counties which comprise the New York Metropolitan Area. The truth of this statement is attested to by the fact that of the nearly 1,000 libraries in the three states of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut in which the twenty-two counties lie, 228 have indicated collective holdings of more than 1,100 different newspapers representing all parts of the world and an amazing diversity of special interests.

The New York Public Library, for example, regularly receives hundreds of newspapers which it makes available to the general public through its Newspaper and other Divisions. Since its establishment in 1859 the Library of the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art has maintained a sizable current newspaper collection open to the public without charge. Other extensive collections in New York City may be found in the Brooklyn Public Library, the Queens Borough Public Library, and many college, university, and special libraries. Outside of New York the Bridgeport (Connecticut) Public Library deserves mention for its outstanding newspaper service.

To uncover this great wealth, the compilers devised a brief questionnaire which was distributed during the summer of 1956 to all the libraries in the area, public, college, university, and special, except those which are definitely closed to the general public under any conditions. These were determined from the *Special Libraries Directory of Greater New York* (New York, Special Libraries Association, 1953) and the *American Library Directory* (New York, Bowker, 1954). The libraries were requested to list all newspapers which they are currently receiving and plan to continue to receive and which are kept for any length of time, regardless of place of origin, language, frequency of publication, or special interest served.

Before proceeding very far in consolidating the lists received, the compilers had to face the particularly knotty problem of defining the term "newspaper" and distinguishing a "newspaper" from a "magazine." Many of the entries submitted were obviously not newspapers in the commonly accepted sense of the term, though a consultation of a variety of sources and authorities disclosed that there is no general agreement on a precise meaning. The compilers developed the following definition to determine which entries should be included:

> A newspaper is a publication appearing daily, weekly, or at other intervals, in sheet form, following conventional newspaper format (masthead, columnar arrangement, headlines), the chief function of which is to report, illustrate, and comment upon current events of either general or special interest.

Doubtless some of the reporting libraries would have included more titles if guided by this definition originally, but it was thought advisable to publish the present list, provisionally, rather than repeat the process of questionnaires. On the basis of this definition a number of publications appear in the present compilation which are often thought of as "magazines," especially among those published monthly. There has not been time to examine actual copies of all periodicals noted; so the list may inadvertently contain some titles which do not exactly fall within the limits of the definition. In general all titles submitted were included, except house organs, school and college papers, publications of individual churches, and any other very highly specialized publications of presumably greatly restricted interest.

In brief, it has been the aim of the compilers to provide the public with a finding-list of all newspapers of more than strictly special or local appeal *currently* being received in the libraries of the New York Metropolitan Area, and thus to make it possible for any interested individual to locate a desired issue of any available paper.

Information in the list has been arranged in four parts:

A. A numerical list of libraries in the New York Metropolitan Area in which the newspapers can be found, arranged alphabetically by state, and by city within each state, for Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York.

B. A list of United States newspapers according to place of publication, arranged alphabetically by state or territory and by city within each state or territory.

C. A similar list for newspapers of foreign origin, arranged alphabetically by country and by city within each country.

D. An alphabetical name index of all newspapers listed, giving their points of origin and including cross references for the more obscure institutional papers so that these can be located by name of institution as well as by title.

The compilers wish to acknowledge their gratitude to all the libraries which have cooperated in submitting the desired information, and to the many librarians who have furnished additional information on request. Without their cooperation this list could not have been assembled.

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Current Newspapers, United States and Foreign: A Union List of Newspapers Available in the Libraries of the New York Metropolitan Area, by Aaron L. Fessler and Saro J. Riccardi, 66 pages (legal size), $1.00, is now off the press and may be ordered from the Public Relations Office, The New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue & 42nd Street, New York 18, New York. The list will not be printed in the *Bulletin;* it represents an expansion of the Library's publishing program to include direct and immediate publication of useful lists in monograph form.

Famous Poems in Manuscript

An Exhibition from the Berg Collection

By JOHN D. GORDAN

THE FORTY-FOUR poems selected from the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection for the exhibition opening December 18 are works that have won fame for the English and American poets who wrote them. They have been popular with anthologists because they are characteristic of their authors; a few represent their authors' highest achievement. Some lines, indeed, have gained the immortality of passing into the language so that we quote them without realizing that we quote.

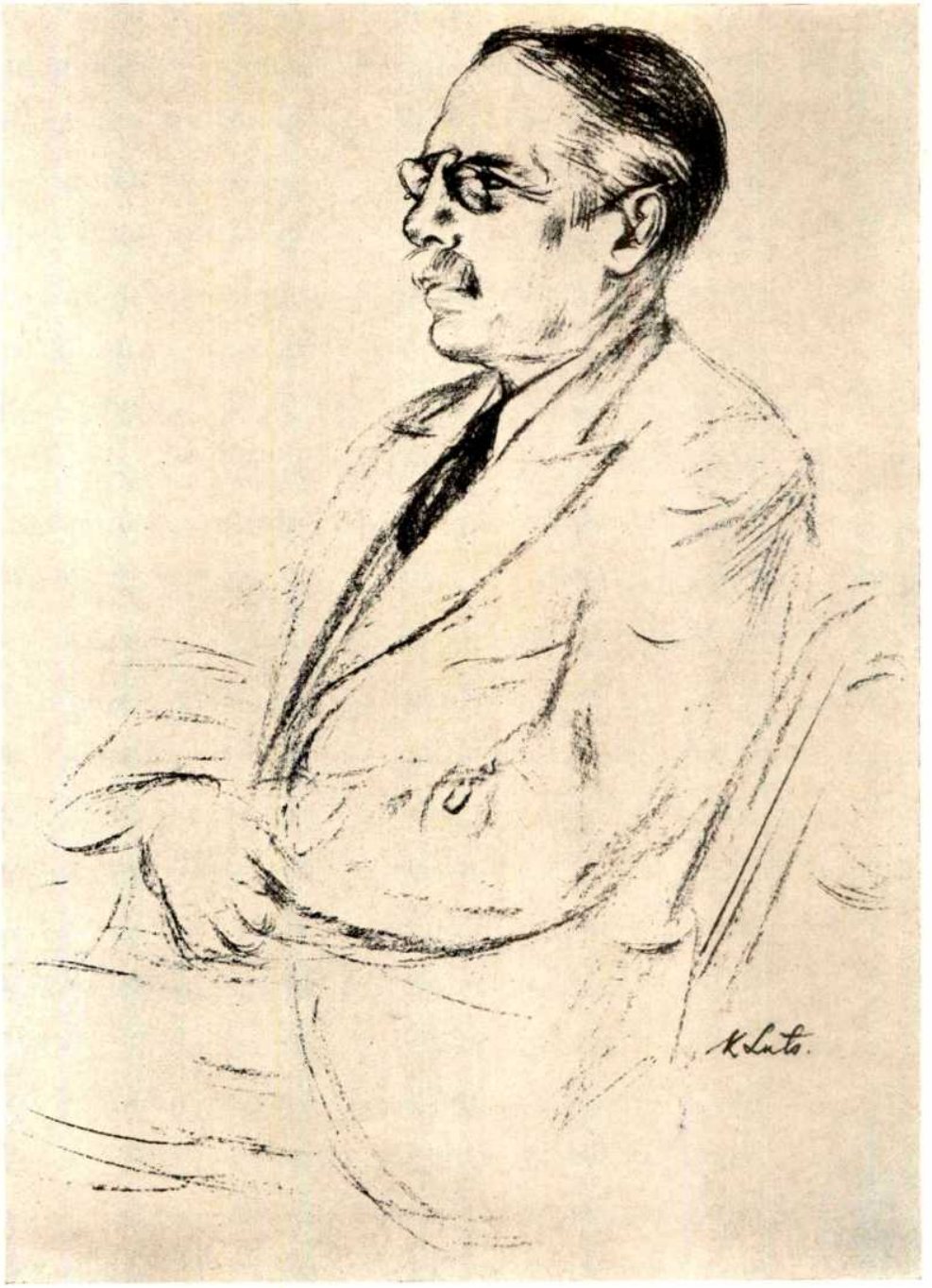
The exhibition has been set up to provide an unusual pleasure — the pleasure that comes from reading a favorite piece in the original manuscript. In a most vivid and personal way these scraps of ink-marked paper bring the poems and the poets into our lives. All the manuscripts except one are in the handwriting of the poets themselves. They include early and late working drafts and some fair copies.

During the five centuries which these selections span, taste in poetry has undergone many changes. To illustrate trends in thought, versification, and style, the poems have been arranged chronologically according to the poets' birth dates. John Donne is the earliest. Robert Graves, John Masefield, and Siegfried Sassoon are still living. Beside each poem a typed transcript reproduces as closely as clearness allows the wording, spelling, and punctuation of the manuscript.

* * *

John Donne (1573–1631): Holy Sonnet XI: "Death Be Not Proud"
Alexander Pope (1688–1744): "An Essay on Man: Epistle II"
Robert Blair (1699–1746): "The Grave"
David Garrick (1717–1779): "Epitaph on Oliver Goldsmith"
Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774): "The Haunch of Venison"
Robert Burns (1759–1796): "Bannockburn"
Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834): "This Lime-Tree Bower My Prison. Addressed to Charles Lamb, of the India House, London"
Leigh Hunt (1784–1859): "Abou Ben Adhem"
George Noel Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824): "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: Canto the Third"

William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878): "Thanatopsis"
John Keats (1795–1821): "Sonnet to Sleep"
Joseph Rodman Drake (1795–1820): "The Culprit Fay"
Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882): "The Rhodora"
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882): "A Psalm of Life. What the Heart of the Young Man Said to the Psalmist"
Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809–1892): "The Princess: 'The Splendour Falls on Castle Walls'"
Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–1894): "Old Ironsides"
William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863): "Sorrows of Werther"
Walt Whitman (1819–1892): "Come, Said My Soul"
James Russell Lowell (1819–1891): "The First Snow-Fall"
Emily Dickinson (1830–1886): "Though the Great Waters Sleep"
[Lewis Carroll] Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832–1898): "Hiawatha's Photographing"
John Hay (1838–1905): "Jim Bludso, of the Prairie Belle"
Thomas Hardy (1840–1928): "The Man He Killed"
Joaquin Miller (1841–1913): "Columbus"
Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894): "Looking-Glass River"
Eugene Field (1850–1895): "The Lyttel Boy"
Edwin Markham (1852–1940): "The Man with the Hoe"
Oscar Wilde (1856–1900): "Impression du Voyage"
Alfred Edward Housman (1859–1936): "With Rue My Heart is Laden"
Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936): "Road-Song of the Bandar-Log"
William Butler Yeats (1865–1939): "The Wild Swans at Coole"
[A. E.] George William Russell (1867–1935): "Germinal"
Ernest Christopher Dowson (1867–1900): "Non Sum Qualis Eram Bonae Sub Regno Cynarae"
Charlotte Mew (1869–1928): "Love, Love Today"
William Henry Davies (1870–1940): "Days Too Short"
Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953): "About John, Who Lost a Fortune by Throwing Stones"
Walter de la Mare (1873–1956): "The Listeners"
John Masefield (1878–): "Sea-Fever"
James Stephens (1882–1950): "What Tomas an Buile Said in a Pub"
James Elroy Flecker (1884–1915): "The Old Ships"
David Herbert Lawrence (1885–1930): "Song of a Man Who is Loved"
Siegfried Sassoon (1886–): "The Rear-Guard"
Rupert Brooke (1887–1915): "The Way That Lovers Use"
Robert Graves (1895–): "A Pinch of Salt"



Gustav Suits

Lithograph by Karin Luts, Prints Division

Marie Under *Photograph*

Estonian Poetry

By ANTS ORAS

University of Florida

SITUATED in an insecure corner of the Northeastern Baltic and exposed to countless foreign raids and invasions in the course of thousands of years, the Estonian people, as numerous foreign observers have remarked with surprise and admiration, has yet been able to preserve not only its language and traditions but their creative use even during the gloomiest periods of its history. Although often decimated, and sometimes reduced to only a fraction of its original number — for example, during the Great Northern War in the early eighteenth century — this small Finno-Ugrian ethnic group closely related to the Finns but much less numerous, sturdily, and often triumphantly, asserted its national identity even in the intellectual field.

A delicate but firm tradition of poetic art found numerous practitioners, many of whose spontaneous songs — now stored in the files of archives or on the printed page — reached a high level of artistry. These poems, with their seemingly simple but actually intricate technique of quantitative metre, alliteration, parallelism, and deft periphrastic imagery, were the outcome of centuries of careful, inspired practice. No translations have as yet succeeded in conveying an adequate idea of the subtle discipline informing these apparently effortless productions. While expressing intense feeling, they yet frequently have the chastity of perfectly controlled art. They reflect a mentality very different from that of the eastern neighbours of the Estonians, the Russians, with their swinging from one emotional extreme to another. The Estonian joy of beauty is more measured; being easy and responsive to the inspiration of the moment, it is nevertheless neither wild nor primitive. In this it is perhaps like the nature of the people: resilient, receptive but seldom carried away to the point of complete self-forgetfulness. Experience had steeled the nation, teaching it to control itself. Irony, humor, and wit helped the Estonians to bear their otherwise often intolerable burden — qualities suggestive of intelligence, self-possession, and toughness. But rhythm and the pleasure of imaginative language constantly softened the toughness and kept the soul alive.

There is, perhaps, not quite so much overflow of fantasy in the Estonian race as there is, for instance, in the Celts. A certain native reserve, a shyness, sometimes akin to self-irony, somewhat restrains its emotional and imaginative

flights. Despite the long gloom of their past, the Estonians have created no Avalon and no happy land of faery to take refuge in, if only in thought. Their mind is of a more distinctly realistic cast. The Estonian did not so much soar above or away from life as he enriched and poetized life itself. Reason and discipline tempered his feelings, but these feelings were strong, and the intensity of expression only gained by the discipline. Intellectual curiosity and versatility made him easily assimilate knowledge — as was cogently proved by the rapid advance of Estonian literacy and education in the nineteenth century — but he was not so easily overwhelmed by the impulses and stimuli that he derived from outside. The Estonian mind tends to absorb things rather quickly and then to put them to intellectual and imaginative uses in the way its own nature dictates.

FOLKSONGS, fairy-tales, legends, anecdotes, and proverbs were the media through which the national mind expressed itself during many centuries, taking definite shape and creating established traditions. The advent of modern civilization, which poured into the country as soon as the first easing of foreign oppression in the nineteenth century made education accessible to the masses, at first inevitably led to a break with the past — though not a complete break, since the study and canonization of folklore played an important part in the awakening of national consciousness. Even so, the main task of the idealistically minded leaders of the national movement consisted in linking Estonia with the culture of the West. German Romanticism, Macpherson's Ossianic poems, and classic antiquity influenced the minds of the first considerable figures of Estonian literature, even in their handling of traditional folk themes: the most perfect Asclepiads in the language date from the first half of the nineteenth century. These as well as other foreign influences had to be absorbed and assimilated before the original inspiration of the race could come into its own. True, the National Awakening — which lasted almost until the end of the last century — had some considerable literary achievements to its credit. Thus the national epic, *Kalevipoeg* (*The Kalevid*, 1857–1861), was an impressive repository of traditional folk poetry, but not in its purest form. It was a cultural factor of immense importance because it showed what the creative faculty of the people had been capable of; but the compiler, F. R. Kreutzwald (1803–82), was not possessed of sufficient creative genius himself to develop adequately what he had discovered. And the patriotic lyrics of Lydia Koidula (1843–86), stirring as many of them are, are almost primitive compared with the poetic art of the people itself.

Genuine poetic originality of a new, unsuspected, but indigenous type appeared for the first time towards the end of the century, in the verse of a complete failure in life, JUHAN LIIV (1864–1913), a village schoolmaster and journalist who completed his career in a mental home. In his own way, this author of a score of precious lyrics and lyrical fragments was the Rimbaud of Estonian letters. A castaway of life, incapable of prolonged effort, he yet had moments of luminous vision which he communicated in simple, subtle, and unforgettable verse. Though hardly ever imitating the meter of folk poetry, he nevertheless instinctively captured something of its manner, steeping it in new, purely individual intensity of feeling. Glimpses of the melancholy landscape of his native district in Eastern Europe are illuminated by flashes of tragic emotion, which they seem to symbolize. Looking at the tall keep of Tallinn Castle all swathed in mist, Liiv pictured the misty vapours as streaming from his own mind. But from the fog of his madness an art emanated that had the symbolic, evocative power of Verlaine and was more genuine. Without having ever known the Symbolists, he created an Estonian Symbolism of sombre force. He loosened and invigorated the language by the intensity of his diseased mind, which had an underlying rhythm all its own. He describes the persistence of this rhythm in a brief poem, which shall be quoted in a prose rendering:

> When I was still a tiny youngster, a ringing pealed in my breast. And as I grew bigger, the ringing in my breast grew stronger. Now this ringing has almost buried me, my breast is crushed by it. This ringing is my life and my soul, the circle of the earth has become too narrow for it.

IN Liiv's poetry the gloom of the national fate, such as it had been until his time, seems to be embodied in a way which now, after even greater afflictions have befallen his people, makes of him more than ever a symbolic figure. Yet Liiv had the strength to evoke great beauty from ruin. His own view of the future of his people vacillated between extreme pessimism and equally extreme confidence. He succumbed to infirmity, but his poetry as well as his expressions of belief in his people exercised a great influence on the young generation of the turn of the century, who were to pursue deliberately the aims which to Liiv had revealed themselves mainly in visionary dreams.

These young men, some of them people of unusual gifts, believed in the necessity for Estonia to undergo the full impact of modern intellectual movements in order to reach maturity. "Let us become Europeans but at the same time remain Estonians!" exclaimed Gustav Suits, their standard

bearer, the principal poet and ideologist of the new "Young-Estonian" group. Those writers with their more secure economic background, their better education, and their more revolutionary temper were not willing to let the cause of Estonian culture drop. Realizing that the intellectual horizon of their people had hitherto been too narrowly circumscribed by Germany and Russia, they turned their eyes further west and north, towards France, England, Scandinavia, Finland, and the Italy of Leopardi, Carducci, d'Annunzio, and Croce. Marx, Nietzsche, Bergson, among many others, stimulated their sociological and philosophical thought, which was critical and probing yet imaginative. They were determined to thrash things out rather than adopt any ready-made ideology. Estonia, so they believed, could become her real, mature self only by going through the intellectual struggles and conflicts that were exciting the contemporary world, but she had to reach her own decisions.

There were important technical tasks to perform. One of these was the forging of a new, richer, and more flexible language. A philologist of unusual initiative and talent, JOHANNES AAVIK (b. 1885), inaugurated a language reform which may well be styled unique: while carefully exploring the resources of the native dialects, he often went as far as coining entirely new expressions derived from self-invented roots. The accidence and syntax of the language were overhauled with a radicalism completely unknown elsewhere. And this seemingly foolhardy enterprise was crowned with signal success. What seemed the results of mere pedantic lucubrations soon passed into literature and colloquial language: the artificial became natural. Inspired philology reshaped the living language.[1]

This, however, was certainly not done without the help of the poets and creative writers themselves, who made their own numerous and vital contributions. VILLEM RIDALA'S (1885–1942) quiet, brooding visions of the Estonian island scenery, with their rich, individual diction, were among the earliest products of this process of intense linguistic and artistic regeneration. Their slow but delicately varied movement evoked a world of typically native scenes as viewed by a sensitive, shy, lonely spectator. Precious lexical novelties were made to add both strangeness and precision to a fastidiously sifted medium of poetic expression.

But the leading poet of the period was GUSTAV SUITS (1883–1956). A scholar and philologist like Ridala, but much broader in his intellectual and

[1] See W. K. Matthews, *Anthology of Modern Estonian Poetry* (University of Florida Press, Gainesville 1953). See also Igor Severyanin, *Poety Estonii* (Tartu 1928), an anthology of Estonian poets from Kreutzwald to Vilmar Adams translated into Russian.

esthetic scope, much quicker and more passionate in his responses to life, art, and thought, and endowed with a greater gift for musical, incisive utterance, he soon became the real creator of modern Estonian poetry.[2] The bookish student will find echoes from the poetry of most countries and periods in his verse; but from his second volume onwards Suits never produced a line that could have been written by anyone else, everything on which his mind had seized undergoing a most individual transformation. Capable of perpetuating the hay-scented stillness of a midsummer evening in lines of otherwordly longing, he could with equal poignancy vent his — not infrequent — bitterness and indignation in mordant satire. Powerful (but never blatant) oratory and gentle (but never merely limpid) lyricism both suited him to perfection. There are always hardly perceptible undercurrents below the rippling or billowing surface of his verse; often there is a dangerous but deliberately planted snag to catch the unwary reader. The layers of his meanings are many, and frequently it is not easy to penetrate to their core; but the impact on the mind is immediate and compelling. His verbal and phraseological coinages, his tantalizing but evocative metaphors, his rhythmical versatility seem always new: Suits never fell into a rut. A watchful, inflammable, if often cryptic intellect lends edge to everything he says. That marriage of intellect and imagination which T. S. Eliot has been advocating to the poets of the English-speaking world, had become a striking reality in Suits's poetry before Eliot had written a line of critical prose. Although Suits wrote relatively little verse after the early 'twenties, his influence — always stimulating, never retarding — remains a potent factor to this day.

The "Young-Estonia" generation, which dominated Estonian literary life until 1917, laid broad and strong foundations for fuller development. A group of tense, questioning yet creative minds provided that atmosphere of intellectual alertness as well as that urge for absolute achievement without which no literature can hope to get very far. The seeds they — particularly Suits — had shown were so many and so vigorous that dozens of movements could spring out of them. They passed their keenness on to their immediate successors, a number of young writers, mostly poets, the so-called "Siuru" group (named after a mythical bird) who differed from them mainly in the more obviously spontaneous and lyrical nature of their inspiration. Volume after volume of often very beautiful lyrics was produced by this new generation,

[2] See W. K. Matthews, "The Background and Poetry of Gustav Suits: a Study in Estonian Symbolism," in *The American Slavic and East European Review*, IX, no. 2 (April 1950) 116–127, and Gustav Suits, *Flames on the Wind*, compiled and translated by W. K. Matthews (London 1953).

whose most gifted representatives were Marie Under and Henrik Visnapuu. The exuberant feeling of the moment — which happened to be one of great hope for the nation — found forcible expression in language of remarkable freshness and novelty. The public responded jubilantly. The poetical prologue to national independence was indeed impressive.

This independence, which was achieved by hard fighting in the wake of the first World War, only enhanced the momentum of the literary movement. Literature had served as one of the strongest stimuli to the national cause. This was not forgotten by the people and the State. A national Culture Fund, set up according to a plan drawn up by the Estonian writers and administered by themselves, soon enabled all gifted authors to devote themselves to their art instead of catering for the tastes of the masses. Literature thus became largely de-commercialized, while enjoying the greatest possible freedom of expression. The same applied to the theatre, the arts, and music. It was not feared that this would lead to any estrangement of the artists from the people or vice versa. This feeling proved to be justified. The masses, as soon appeared, were very willing to let themselves be levelled up instead of literature and the arts being levelled down. The popular response to the new non-commercial literature soon exceeded all expectations. A few facts may be adduced to illustrate the extent of this response. By the late 'thirties, at least one in every fourteen Estonians subscribed to a "highbrow" literary monthly. Only eight countries in Europe produced more books than Estonia, almost the smallest of the thirty or so independent nations of the continent, with a population only about a three-hundredth of that of Europe. The annual meetings regularly devoted to critical siftings of the previous year's literature were public events eagerly attended by large, keen audiences. As far as figures and the popular interest in good literature went, our writers had no cause for complaint.

It would have been strange if this had not stimulated the creative impulse also of the poets. The poetical crops of those years were accordingly rich and varied. Realism, intellectual experimentalism, nature poetry, and philosophic meditation all had their talented exponents. Dialect verse, e.g. that of Artur Adson (b. 1889), the husband of Marie Under, explored the past and present of quiet provincial corners, adding its attractive, homely notes to the combative chorus of more up-to-date writers of verse, such as, for instance, the members of the "Closeness to Life" group who delighted in challenging public opinion with their outbursts of "social protest." Thus Juhan Sütiste (1899–1945), wide-awake and restless, vividly reflected the life of the poor in his impressionist verse sketches, jotted down as a result of incessant travel both

at home and abroad. Villem Ridala, having lovingly traced the quiet charm of his island home, buried himself in the remote past, evoking archaic visions of legendary and heroic events. HENRIK VISNAPUU (1889–1951),[3] after his first rich vein of spontaneous, purely emotional song had given out, found the securest refuge for his imagination in nature and old-world village scenery, which he sometimes depicted with astonishingly musical effect.

The poetry, like the entire Estonian literature of the 'twenties and 'thirties, was characterized by a new confidence, a fresh vitality, a heightened receptiveness and vigor which, even when it reflected moods of melancholy and downright gloom, made it utterly unlike the "post-war" despondency of much of the Western literature of that time. Free to explore new avenues, to inquire into the life of their people and into their own self, the Estonian writers did this with zest and skill. It was a Renaissance on a minor scale, a constant breaking of new ground.

After a period of realistic expansiveness, which in poetry was best illustrated by the work of Sütiste, but which was mainly characterized by a remarkable flourishing of narrative prose, one of new intellectual and formal concentration set in. As was natural, this above all benefited poetry. A new poetic Romanticism, disciplined in its form, metaphysical in the ardour of its thought, produced fascinating results. HEITI TALVIK (1904–1945) compressed the turbulence of his thought and feeling into slim but explosive stanzas. The Orientalist UKU MASING (b. 1909) created a metaphysical dreamland of his own. BERNARD KANGRO (b. 1910) [4] lent new poignancy to half-forgotten symbols of our folklore. BETTI ALVER (b. 1906) embodied her brief but intense allegoric visions in verse of seeming fragility yet metallic coherence. Particularly in her work Estonian verse attained a degree of sonorous, delicate perfection not surpassed even by Suits.

Yet the greatest of the poets of the entire inter-war period, not so faultless as Betti Alver but much more comprehensive, ever open to new impressions but possessed of a creative spirit which transformed and remoulded everything as completely as ever Suits had done, and with even greater emotional force, was MARIE UNDER (b. 1883), the poet who in 1917 had emerged so suddenly as the most notable talent of the "Siuru" group. Beginning as an

[3] See Henrik Visnapuu, *Amores*, translated into Russian by Igor Severyanin (Moscow 1921); *Polevaya fialka* [Käoorvik] translated into Russian by Igor Severyanin (Narva 1938); and a selection of poems translated into English by W. K. Matthews, with an introduction by the translator (to be published, London 1958).

[4] See Bernard Kangro, *Earthbound. Selected Poems*, translated into English by W. K. Matthews, with an introductory essay by the translator (Lund 1951) and Bernard Kangro, *Flucht und Bleibe*, compiled and translated into German by Hermann Stock (Lund 1954).

exuberant impressionist and gradually developing into a writer of striking symbolic depth and power, she poured all her extraordinary gifts into her verse.[5] Apparently somewhat ill at ease when she wrote prose — of which she has published only a few dozen pages — she expanded in her poetry. A selection from it is characteristically entitled: "And the Flesh Became Word." Profoundly nervous and suffering from chronic insomnia most of her life, she could yet be the sunniest of writers when she dealt with nature, birds, animals, and children. But much of her work is gloomy and desperate — desperate in the grand manner, with a despair that seems to know no bounds except those of musical form. She overcame this gloom, reaching the serene heights of philosophic contemplation. This struggle — an unusually hard one — is reflected in a series of notable sonnets, among the greatest in the language, stormy at first, then gradually reaching tranquillity. Their atmosphere is one of high mountains. Later, when the existence of her nation was at stake and indeed seemed doomed, she attained even greater heights. Merging her sorrow and indignation in those of her people, she became the true national poet of Estonia. Her verse dominates the entire period of political independence.

Looking back on all this rich development — of which barely the peaks have been indicated — one would seem to notice a few characteristics common to all the best Estonian writers since 1904. They are: extreme individuality, intellectual keenness and agility, and a passionate striving for perfection. These writers are usually uncompromising. Their mentality is hardly ever leisurely. They follow a restless inner urge towards a goal whose distant vision drives them on and on. Betti Alver once wrote a poem about an "Iron Heaven" where everything rests in immobile, immaculate perfection — seas of bright metal, marble trees, a dazzling, lifeless sky, all so horrifying that she longs for the winged weakness of the earth. The emphasis is placed on the adjective "winged." In another poem she writes of the Titans of Thought waiting in the remote recesses of the universe for the destruction of this world, when they will come with flaming hands to rebuild it all — mankind, death, and the earth. This belief in the strength of the living spirit, whose behests have to be obeyed to the end and which is capable of creating a new

[5] See Marie Under: *Elektitaj versajoj*, a selection of poems translated into Esperanto by Hilda Dresen (Tallinn 1929); *Predtsvetyenie [Eelõitseng]* translated into Russian by Igor Severyanin (Narva 1939); *Stimme aus dem Schatten. Gedichte*, compiled and translated by Hermann Stock, with an introductory essay by Aleksis Rannit (Freiburg 1949); *Child of Man*, compiled and translated by W. K. Matthews, with an introductory essay by the translator (London 1955); *Les Mandragores*, a selection of poems translated into French by Mme Andrée Corda, with an introductory essay by Aleksis Rannit (to be published, Paris 1958).

world, is no mere poetic fancy; it is the deep impulse of a people that saw its future in genuine creative activity; a people that had few ancient laurels to rest upon but a haunting future to grasp; and that dimly felt that the time granted for realizing this urge might be short. It is this feeling that may possibly explain the unusual intensity of its intellectual effort.

THIS development — more than promising, for it was rich in real achievement — has been cut short. With Estonia, since June 1940, under Russian occupation, followed by German and then again Russian, censorship and deportations have silenced writers unwilling to serve the propaganda purposes of the regime in power. Creative literature, in such circumstances, survives largely in the work of refugees.

Writers of standing, now exiles scattered in Sweden, Canada, the United States, Australia, Germany, Finland, are still active. Some are editing literary journals and publishing books. Some are writing — Bernard Kangro for example — even more vitally than before, with a new depth and authority as spokesmen of their people. A new generation of poets — Ivar Grünthal (b. 1924), Aleksis Rannit (b. 1914),[6] Arno Vilhalemm (b. 1911) to name only a few — is maturing abroad. They have developed new attitudes and new forms of approach, but the spirit of eager search, the intellectual acuteness, and the ethical probing of their predecessors survive in their verse with undiminished intensity. In this respect the continuity of development remains unbroken even in the present exceptionally difficult phase of Estonian literature.

[6] See Aleksis Rannit, *Via Dolorosa*, a selection of early poems translated into Russian by Igor Severyanin, with an introductory essay by the translator: "The Poetry of Aleksis Rannit" (Stockholm 1940) and Aleksis Rannit, *Gedichte an Eduard Wiiralt und an das geklärte Gleichnis*, a selection of poems translated into German by Ants Oras (to be published by Woldemar Klein Publishing House, Baden-Baden 1958).

Gilder Poetry Collection

By LEWIS M. STARK

IN the *Bulletin* for July 1948 appeared a check list of the Richard Watson Gilder Poetry Collection, presented to the Library by Mr. Gilder's daughters, Miss Rosamond Gilder and Mrs. W. W. Palmer, and his son, Mr. Rodman Gilder. A supplementary gift was recorded in the June 1952 *Bulletin.*

Listed below is a group of books, nearly all inscribed to Mr. Gilder by their authors, recently added to the collection by Miss Rosamond Gilder.

Bhartrihari.

A century of Indian epigrams, chiefly from the Sanskrit of Bhartrihari. By Paul Elmer More. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1899. 3 p.l., 124 p., 1 l. 16.5cm.

Inscribed: *R. W. Gilder, Esq., with compliments of Paul E. More.*

[Fiske, Horace Spencer] 1859–1940.

The camp. [Chicago? 1907?] cover-title, 8 p. 1 l. illus. 19cm.

Inscribed: *To Richard Watson Gilder from the architect of "The Loggery" Horace Spencer Fiske December 24, 1907. The University of Chicago.*

Gosse, Sir Edmund William, 1849–1928.

Firdausi in exile and other poems. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1885. x, 224 p., 1 l. front. 17cm.

Inscribed: *R. W. Gilder from his affectionate Friend Edmund Gosse.*

[Howells, William Dean] 1837–1920.

Winifred Howells. [n. p., 1891] cover-title, 26 p. ports. 22cm.

One of 100 copies printed.
Memoir, including poems by Winifred Howells.

Lathrop, Rose Hawthorne, 1851–1926.

Along the shore. Boston: Ticknor & Co. [c1888] ix, [11]–104 p. 16 x 13cm.

Inscribed: *With love to Helena & Richard from Rose.*

MacDonald, George, 1824–1905.

A book of strife in the form of The diary of an old soul. London: Printed for the author, 1880. 265 p., 1 l. 17cm.

Printed on rectos only.
Inscribed: *Richard W. Gilder with love from George MacDonald. May 17, 1880.*

Mitchell, Silas Weir, 1829–1914.

Verse read before the University of Pennsylvania on the birthday of Washington, MDCCCCII. [Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1902] 1 p.l., vii p., 1 l. 26cm.

Inscribed: *R. W. Gilder fr[om] SWM.*

Monroe, Harriet, 1860–1936.

Commemoration ode written . . . at the request of the Committee on ceremonies and delivered at the dedication of the World's Columbian Exposition on the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. Chicago: Printed for the author, 1892. cover-title, 1 l., 15 p. 23 x 18cm.

Snowden, Yates, 1858–1933.

The Bourbon. The dirge in the pines. Walhalla, S. C.: The Keowee Courier Presses, 1906. 12 p. 23cm.

Inscribed: *Mrs. Richard Watson Gilder, with respectful greetings from Yates Snowden.*

Upson, Arthur Wheelock, 1877–1908.

Westwind songs. Minneapolis: Edmund D. Brooks, 1902. viii, 10–99 p. 15cm.

Inscribed on the title page: *To Richard Watson Gilder.* On the first flyleaf Mr. Upson has inscribed his poem "Arlington," headed: *For Richard Watson Gilder patriot and poet;* and on p. [9] "The Ruin and the Rose."

Watson, Sir William, 1858–1935.

Ode on the day of the coronation of King Edward VII. London & New York: John Lane, 1902. 36 p. 21cm.

Inscribed: *To Richard Watson Gilder from William Watson 18 June 1902.* Gilder has also inscribed and signed a six-line poem, "To William Watson," dated: New York June 26, 1902; and tipped in at the end of the volume is a signed holograph quatrain by Edith Wharton, dated: June 28th 1902.

Woodberry, George Edward, 1855–1930.

To 1903, Columbia. [New York? 1903?] 2 l. 26cm.

Inscribed: *To R. W. G. Published tomorrow in their class-book which is dedicated to me: this is in answer to their dedication G. E. W.* With several textual corrections in Woodberry's hand.

Woodberry, George Edward, 1855–1930.

The Players' Elegy on the death of Edwin Booth: read at the memorial service . . . Nov. 13, 1893. New York: Privately printed, 1893. 16 p. 19.5cm.

"Of this edition 85 copies, numbered and signed, have been made, of which this is no. *[4 George E. Woodberry. To R. W. Gilder]*"

Woodberry, George Edward, 1855–1930.

The roamer. [n. p., 1893?] 44 p. 20cm.

Inscribed: *R. W. Gilder with love G. E. Woodberry. June 30: 1893 Beverly.*

Twenty-five Rare Bibles 1455-1782

An Exhibition from the Reserve Division

By LEWIS M. STARK

THE TWENTY-FIVE BIBLES described briefly in the following list, taken from the exhibition labels, constitute only a small proportion of the extensive collection of rare and significant editions of the Scriptures on the Library's shelves. The great majority of them were acquired originally by James Lenox, whose famous library forms the nucleus of the present rare book collection in the Reserve Division.

This exhibition, ranging in date from 1455 to 1782, includes many great landmarks in the history of the printed Bible. The most important, of course, is the Gutenberg Bible, the first to be printed from movable type, and one of the enduring monuments of western civilization. Included also are many other "firsts," such as the first printings in Dutch, French, Hebrew, Bohemian, English, Swedish, Danish, and Armenian; Luther's translation of the New Testament, the first of all the many subsequent Protestant Testaments and Bibles; the first Catholic Bible in English; and the first Bibles to be printed in America.

The student of Bible publications will find many books on the subject in this and other reference libraries. A few such references are given here:

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY LIBRARY, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* Compiled by T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule. London, The Bible House, 1903–1911.

EDWIN A. R. RUMBALL-PETRE, *America's First Bibles, with a Census of 555 Extant Bibles.* Portland, Me., The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1940.

—— *Rare Bibles; an Introduction for Collectors and a Descriptive Checklist.* [2d ed., rev.] New York, Philip C. Duschnes, 1954.

JOHN WRIGHT, *Early Bibles of America; being a Descriptive Account of Bibles Published in the United States, Mexico and Canada.* 3d ed., rev. and enl. New York, T. Whittaker, 1894.

THE BIBLES

Bible. Latin

Mainz: Johann Gutenberg? 1455?

The first printed Bible, known as the Gutenberg, or "42-line" Bible, is unquestionably one of the great landmarks in the history of civilization. It was the first major work produced after the invention of movable metal type in Europe, and was printed in Mainz, Germany, probably by Johann Gutenberg, between 1450 and 1455.

The Library's copy is bound in two volumes, of which the first is shown here, opened to the beginning of the First Book of Chronicles. This copy, purchased by James Lenox in 1847, was the first one to be brought to America.

Bible. Latin

Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 14 August 1462

The 1462 Bible, printed by Fust and Schoeffer, is the first edition to give the place and date of printing, as well as the names of the printers. This colophon statement and the printers' famous device, the earliest one to be used, are shown here in the second volume of the Library's vellum copy. A copy on paper is also in the collection.

Biblia Pauperum (German)

Nördlingen: Friedrich Walthern and Hans Hurning, 1470

The blockbook "Bibles of the Poor" are today among the rarest of fifteenth century publications. Each leaf of these illustrated Bible selections comprises a scene from the New Testament between two scenes from the Old, with two prophets above, and two below the central scene. Each leaf, including both text and illustrations, was cut on a block of wood, inked and then impressed on paper. Most copies were then colored by hand.

Bible. German

Augsburg: Jodocus Pflanzmann, ca. 1475

The third printing of the Bible in German is of special interest since it was the first to be illustrated.

Bible. Latin

Paris: Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz, and Michael Friburger, ca. 1476

In 1470 Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz, and Michael Friburger established at the Sorbonne the first printing press in Paris. The Bible shown here, printed some six years later, was the first to be published in France. It is a very rare edition.

Bible. Latin

Venice: Nicolas Jenson, 1476

Nicolas Jenson's first printing of the Bible is typographically one of the most beautiful of the fifteenth-century editions. The copy shown here, printed on very thin vellum, is illuminated in the style of the finest Italian manuscripts.

Old Testament. Dutch

Delft: Jacob Jacobszoen and Mauricius Yemantszoen, 1477

The first book printed at Delft is this translation of the Old Testament from the Latin Vulgate into Dutch. It is the earliest appearance in that language of any part of the Bible. This is also the only book which includes the names of these printers, here shown in the colophon at the end of Maccabees, between the arms of Delft and the printers' device.

New Testament. French

Lyons: Guillaume Le Roy for Barthélemy Buyer, ca. 1478

One of the rarest editions of the Bible is the first printing of the New Testament in French. There are two undated editions, both printed by Guillaume Le Roy, the first printer of Lyons, one set in one column, or "long lines," the other in two columns. There has long been doubt as to which was actually the first, but Dr. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, in an article in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (v. 51, 1957) states that "it is now possible to assign priority unquestionably to the two-column edition." The only other copy in this country of this first edition of the French New Testament is in the Scheide Collection, Titusville, Pa.

Pentateuch. Hebrew

Bologna: Abraham b. Hayyim, for Joseph b. Abraham Caravida, 1482

This edition of the Pentateuch or "Five Books of the Law," is the first printing in Hebrew of any part of the Bible. It includes the Targum of Onkelos and the commentary by Rashi, an eleventh-century Hebrew scholar. The Library's copy, printed on vellum, is opened to the Ten Commandments, Exodus XX.

Bible. Bohemian

Prague: Jan Kamp for Jan Pytlik and others, 1488

The first edition of the Bohemian Bible was printed under the auspices of the civic authorities of Prague and with the aid of the university faculty. The text is based on the ancient version revised by Jan Hus and his followers. The Pierpont Morgan and Huntington libraries are the only others in this country in which copies have been located.

Bible. Italian

Venice: Guilelmus Anima Mia, 1493

One of the most important of the Venetian illustrated books of the fifteenth century is the famous Malermi Bible, so-called after Niccolò Malermi who translated it into Italian. The copy shown here, opened to St. Jerome's prologue to the Book of Proverbs, is in the Spencer Collection of illustrated books. It is the only copy of this edition located in this country by Miss Stillwell's *Incunabula in American Libraries* (1940).

Bible. Polyglot

Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldo Guillen de Brocar, 1514–17

Shown here is the first of the six volumes that comprise the so-called Complutensian, or Spanish, Polyglot Bible, the earliest of the great Polyglot editions. It takes its name from Complutum, the Latin name for Alcalá de Henares. It is also sometimes referred to as "Ximenes' Polyglot," from the fact that it was printed by order and at the expense of Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros.

The text is printed in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Chaldee. Although the printing was completed by July 10, 1517, there is reason to believe that the Bible was not released for publication until about 1522.

New Testament. Greek and Latin

Basel: Johann Froben, 1516

The New Testament in Greek and Latin, edited by Erasmus, is the earliest *published* edition in Greek. The Greek text in the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–17), also on exhibit, was actually *printed* earlier, but was not published until about 1522, some six years after Erasmus' famous edition appeared.

New Testament. German

Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter, 1522

Late in 1520 Martin Luther started his project of translating the complete Bible into German. He began with the New Testament, translating from Erasmus' Greek Testament, the first edition of which is shown in the preceding case. The printing of Luther's version was finished by September 21, 1522, hence it is sometimes referred to as the "Septemberbibel." The complete Luther Bible was not published until 1534. His 1522 New Testament, therefore, stands as the earliest monument of the great reformer's translation and the first of all the many subsequent Protestant Testaments and Bibles.

The book of Revelation is illustrated with twenty-one full-page woodcuts, attributed to Lucas Cranach and his school. The one shown here illustrates Chapter 6:12–17: "And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood."

Pentateuch. English

Antwerp: Johan Hoochstraten, 1530

William Tyndale's English translations of the Scriptures were the first to appear in print. Two editions of his New Testament were printed in 1525, one at Cologne and one at Worms, but only one copy of the former and two of the latter have survived, all in English libraries. The earliest edition of a Tyndale translation in this Library is the Pentateuch of 1530, the first portion of the Old Testament to be printed in English. A colophon at the end of Genesis begins: "Emprinted at Malborow in the lande of Hesse, by me Hans Luft." It has been established that this is a fictitious imprint and that this first edition of Tyndale's Pentateuch was printed at Antwerp by Johan Hoochstraten.

The Library's two copies are shown. The only other one recorded in this country is in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

Bible. English

Marburg? E. Cervicornus and J. Soter? 1535

The first edition of the complete printed English Bible was translated by Miles Coverdale and published in 1535, probably at Marburg. The former assignment of the printing to Christopher Froschouer at Zurich is now considered erroneous.

"It was Coverdale's glory to produce the first printed English Bible, and to leave to posterity a permanent memorial of his genius in that most musical version of the Psalter which passed into the Book of Common Prayer, and has endeared itself to generations of Englishmen." — British and Foreign Bible Society. *Historical Catalogue, no. 7.*

Bible. English

Southwark: James Nycolson, 1537

Two editions of Coverdale's translation were published in London by James Nycolson in 1537, one in quarto and the other, shown here, in folio. It is generally considered that the folio edition

preceded the quarto, thus having the distinction of being the first edition of the English Bible to be printed in England. Both editions are rarer than the Coverdale Bible of 1535. Of this folio edition, the only other copy recorded in this country is that in the Scheide Collection, Titusville, Pennsylvania.

Bible. Swedish

Uppsala: Georg Richolff, 1541

The first edition of the Bible in Swedish, sometimes known as "Gustavus Vasa's Bible," was translated chiefly from Luther's version, by Laurentius Petri, Archbishop of Uppsala, and his brother Olavus. By royal decree a "tunna" (about four bushels) of corn was deducted from the church tithe of every parish to help defray the cost of publication and a copy of the Bible was given to each church throughout Sweden.

Bible. Danish

Copenhagen: Ludowich Dietz, 1550

The first edition of the Bible in Danish, known as "Christian III's Bible," was translated from Luther's version by members of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Copenhagen.

Bible. English

Rheims: John Fogny, 1582

Douai: Laurence Kellam, 1609–10

The volumes shown here, although printed nearly thirty years apart, make up the first edition of the Roman Catholic version of the Bible in English. The complete work is frequently referred to as the "Douai-Rheims version," or simply as the "Douai Bible." Most of the translation was the work of Gregory Martin, a scholar and lecturer at the English Roman Catholic College established at Douai. The Rheims New Testament especially had a marked influence on the vocabulary and phraseology of the 1611 King James version.

Bible. English

London: Robert Barker, 1611

The imposing folio volume on display here is the first edition of the King James, or Authorized, version of the English Bible, one of the great landmarks of the English language. It was "newly translated out of the originall tongues: & with the former Translations diligently compared and revised," by some fifty scholars divided into six groups, each responsible for a certain section of the Scriptures. Based largely on earlier versions, such as Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's and the Bishops' and Geneva Bibles, the new version soon replaced even the popular Geneva Bible, and became established as the sole recognized version of the Scriptures in English, until the publication of the Revised Bible of 1881–85.

Bible. Massachuset

Cambridge, Mass: Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1663

The first Bible printed in America was translated into the language of the Massachusetts Indians by the Rev. John Eliot, "the Apostle of the Indians." Aside from its primary position in the history of American Bibles, it is of great importance as "the earliest example in history of the translation and printing of the entire Bible in a new language as a means of evangelization" (British and Foreign Bible Society, *Historical Catalogue*). Dr. Edwin A. R. Rumball-Petre, in his *America's First Bibles*, has further emphasized the remarkable nature of Eliot's accomplishment: "No dictionary or grammar existed to help the translator. He had to be phonetician,

lexicographer, and grammarian . . . John Eliot was the first human being to attempt and succeed in the accomplishment of this seemingly impossible task."

Two of the Library's copies are shown. The New Testament, dated 1661, was also issued separately before the complete Bible was finished.

Bible. Armenian

Amsterdam, 1666

This is the first edition of the Bible in the ancient Armenian translation from the Greek. "The Patriarch Jacobus Caractri about 1662 despatched an ecclesiastic named Uscan (or Osgan) to Europe to arrange for the printing of an edition of the Armenian Scriptures. This Uscan . . . went first to Rome, but afterwards moved to Amsterdam, where he supervised the publication of this Bible." — British and Foreign Bible Society. *Historical Catalogue, no. 1779.*

Bible. German

Germantown: Christopher Saur, 1743

The famous "Saur Bible," printed in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1743, is the first Bible in a European language to be printed in America. It can not be considered rare in the usual meaning of that word, since Dr. Rumball-Petre in *America's First Bibles* gives a census of 103 located copies and 31 additional copies listed in auction sales and other records, but which he could not otherwise locate. However, its bibliographical position is secure among the "firsts" of significant editions of the Bible and in the history of printing in this country.

Bible. English

Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1782

The Aitken Bible shown here is the first in the English language to be printed in this country. By a resolution of September 12, 1782, the Continental Congress "recommend this edition of the Bible to the inhabitants of the United States." Despite the fact that the Aitken Bible was printed in a much larger edition than Saur's German Bible, it is considerably scarcer. In 1940 Dr. Rumball-Petre was able to locate only fifty copies in institutional and private collections, besides twenty-one untraced copies previously listed or sold at auction.

The Case for Internal Evidence (3) *

Newspaper Sonnets Put to the Concordance Test: Can They be Attributed to Coleridge?

By DAVID V. ERDMAN

II

COLERIDGE'S reasons for collecting as his own the sonnet to Mrs. Siddons that Charles Lamb had written for him, rather than the "Fontrose" sonnet which he appears to have written himself, I shall not inquire into. But examination of the next group of variant sonnets draws us eventually into the question of his reasons for not wishing to collect, and hardly even to admit the existence of, any one of *three* alternative sonnets to Earl ("Citizen") Stanhope.

On January 31, 1795, two days after the appearance of Sonnet XI and the Fontrose sonnet, the *Morning Chronicle* published a sonnet *To Lord Stanhope* signed "One of the People." It looks like Coleridge's and was collected as his by James Dykes Campbell in 1893, but Professor Earl Leslie Griggs now doubts the ascription, and it must be added to our group for testing. If Coleridge was its author, he evidently felt misgivings about it or he should have signed it as Number XII of his series. A year later he supplied another and quite different sonnet for the climax of the collected series in his *Poems, Effusion 10, to Earl Stanhope* (there were only ten because he did not collect or replace the sonnets to Southey and Godwin); and still later he scolded his publisher for including it. I am afraid I must further thicken the plot by calling attention to an unsigned *Sonnet, Written on contemplating a very fine setting Sun. Inscribed to Lord Stanhope* which appeared in the Cambridge *Intelligencer* (another Coleridge outlet) on February 21, 1795, a sonnet beginning with an echo of the penultimate line of the sonnet in the *Morning Chronicle*. Can this represent a mid stage in Coleridge's struggle with the subject? That there took place a struggle in his mind is indicated by his drawing up and then not using a dedicatory inscription of his whole collection to the radical Earl: "To Earl Stanhope / A man beloved of Science and of Freedom, these Poems are / respectfully inscribed by / The Author." Let us see first what the concordance reveals.

Here are the three Stanhope sonnets — for we will want to compare the certain one with the uncertain two:

* Continued from the October *Bulletin*, p. 508–516.

January 31, 1795 [5] London *Morning Chronicle*

TO LORD STANHOPE.

ON READING HIS LATE PROTEST IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Stanhope! I hail, with ardent Hymn, thy name!
Thou shalt be bless'd and lov'd, when in the dust
Thy corse shall moulder — Patriot pure and just!
And o'er thy tomb the grateful hand of FAME

Shall grave — "Here sleeps the Friend of Humankind!"
For thou, untainted by CORRUPTION'S bowl,
Or foul AMBITION, with undaunted soul
Hast spoke the language of a Free-born mind,

Pleading the cause of Nature! Still pursue
Thy path of Honour! — To thy Country true,
Still watch th' expiring flame of Liberty!
O, Patriot! still pursue thy virtuous way,
As holds his course the splendid Orb of Day,
Or thro' the stormy or the tranquil sky!

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

February 21, 1795 Cambridge *Intelligencer*

POETRY

SONNET,

Written on contemplating a very fine setting Sun.

Inscribed to LORD STANHOPE.

BEHOLD yon splendid Orb, whose dazzling rays
We long have seen this earthly Ball illume,
Which now descending into Ocean's womb,
E'en brighter in its waning seems to blaze.
So ends the illustrious Patriot, who his days
Has spent in seeking to amend Man's doom,
When full of years he sinks into the Tomb,
Crown'd with his brightest wreath, a Nation's praise.

And as at morning's dawn that Orb shall rise,
Again with splendor to the admiring sight,
So when the Archangel's Trump sounds thro' the Skies,
The Patriot shall revive from Death's long night.
Then, *Stanhope*, thou shalt gain a glorious prize,
A Crown of never-fading joy and light.

[unsigned]

[5] Reprinted with modified punctuation in E. H. Coleridge, ed., *Poems* (Oxford 1912) 89.

[To Earl Stanhope, *Contents*] *Poems*, 1796, p. 54 [6]

Effusion X.

NOT, STANHOPE! with the Patriot's doubtful name
I mock thy worth — FRIEND OF THE HUMAN RACE!
Since scorning Faction's low and partial aim
Aloof thou wendest in thy stately pace,
Thyself redeeming from that leprous stain,
NOBILITY: and aye unterrify'd
Pourest thine Abdiel warnings on the train
That sit complotting with rebellious pride
'Gainst * her, who from the Almighty's bosom leapt
With whirlwind arm, fierce Minister of Love!
Wherefore, ere Virtue o'er thy tomb hath wept,
Angels shall lead thee to the Throne above:
And thou from forth it's clouds shalt hear the voice,
Champion of FREEDOM and her God! rejoice!

* Gallic Liberty. [Coleridge's note.]

All three sonnets abound in Coleridgean vocabulary. In the first there are unusually few unique words (as defined above) and even these are variants of words or phrases in the concordance. Thus "untainted" is unique, but "taint" and "tainted" occur with the same political sense. In "the language of a Free-born mind," "Free-born" is unique, but Coleridge had used "language" in this sense and "low-born mind." Fame's "grateful hand" matches Heaven's "bounteous hand" and "liberal hand" in recent lines, and Coleridge had used "grateful hand" and "grateful hymn." "Orb of Day" appears shortly in the *Watchman*, and "The stormy or the tranquil sky" parallels loosely "The stormy Morning into cloudless Noon" of *Destiny of Nations*. "Untainted by Corruption's bowl," as Dykes Campbell pointed out, is a variant of "Yet never, Burke! thou drank'st Corruption's bowl" in the second sonnet of the series. Corruption also possesses slimy track and wolfish throng, the latter in a considerable cluster of related images in 1796:

Verses to Tooke: Patriot . . . thy struggles . . . shall . . . bless . . . tho' foul Corruption's wolfish throng . . . Thy Country's . . . Freedom's . . . Lamps extinguish'd . . . corse.

To Lord Stanhope: Thou shalt be bless'd . . . Thy corse . . . Patriot . . . untainted by Corruption's bowl, Or foul Ambition . . . To thy Country . . . th'expiring flame of Liberty!

[6] Reprinted in *Poems* (1912) 89–90, with modifications. I give the text from a copy of the first edition in the library of Carl H. Pforzheimer.

The opening line, "Stanhope! I hail, with ardent Hymn, thy name!" seems a variant of "and hymn thee, Godwin! with an ardent lay" in the ninth of the series. But "Hymn, thy name!" has a particularly magnetic effect upon the concordance, leading us to the discovery that in the contemporaneous *To the Nightingale* several words and images from the Stanhope sonnet appear regrouped and inverted as in a distorting mirror in a way that suggests we are observing the economy of a creative mind at work. In the sonnet *To Lord Stanhope*, "I hail, with ardent Hymn, thy name!" is addressed to a "pure" and "undaunted soul" "Pleading the cause of Nature" who must "Still watch" under the aegis of "the splendid Orb of Day" so that he will be "bless'd and lov'd" as "Friend of Humankind" when his corse is "in the dust." In *To the Nightingale* the dust appears as mud and the ardor has become amatory instead of patriotic, but the main elements remain. "I hymn thy name" is addressed to a feathered Watchman whose "pity-pleading" strains under the aegis of the "full-orb'd Queen" of night are only surpassed by the "pure soul" breathed by the "best beloved of human kind!" who promises a future high above "the kennell'd mud." This demonstrable relationship, more organic than my schematic analysis may suggest, between an effusion to a just man under (or as) a masculine sun and an effusion to a tender woman (My Sara, who supplants the bird) under a feminine moon — and see Coleridge's versified exclamation *On the Curious Circumstance, that in the German Language the Sun is Feminine, and the Moon Masculine* — is for me the strongest indication of common authorship. Further ramifications of the theme of the Patriot as Orb may be deferred to a later point in the discussion.

Turning ahead to the third Stanhope sonnet, which we know is by Coleridge, we find about the same proportion of characteristic words and phrases, almost no unique words but many unique pairings. "Doubtful name" is unique, but the concordance has "doubtful war" and "dread name." "Friend of the Human Race!" is as unique as "Friend of Humankind!" in the first sonnet. From "Faction's aim" the concordance takes us to "faction's veil" and visage and pack — in Southey's part of the *Robespierre*. "Partial aim" recurs in *France*. "Leprous" is unique, though "leprosy" defines Life-in-Death in the *Mariner*. For the first reference to "Nobility" as a leprous stain we have again Southey's part of *Robespierre:* "Stain'd with the deep dye of nobility." (I should have noted that "foul Ambition" in the first Stanhope sonnet is also in Southey's part of that play.) The second word of "aye unterrify'd" is unique, but Coleridge has written "aye unprofaned," "aye unconfounded," and will laugh at his fondness for *"aye"* in the third Higginbottom sonnet.

The ideas and images in the third quatrain of the sonnet have intimate links with passages in *Religious Musings* and *Destiny of Nations* which it will be unnecessary to explore. Otherwise, aside from the "tomb" and related images which we shall take up in a moment, the strongest fibre of association arises from the word "stately" in "Aloof thou wendest in thy stately pace," addressed to the noble patriot Earl who remains unattached to faction. Compare "Will he retire; he has a stately seat" (in *Piccolomini*) and Kubla Khan's retirement to a "stately pleasure-dome."

The newly discovered, or second, Stanhope sonnet *Written on contemplating a very fine setting Sun* displays rather closer obvious links with the accepted corpus. The "dazzling rays" of the "splendid Orb" (which itself comes, however, from the questioned first sonnet) are common — though Coleridge, after laughing as Higginbottom at "paly ray," eschewed rays altogether for eleven years. "Waning" indicates what Coleridge's orbs do, while at the same time they "blaze" (see *Evening Star*). "This earthly Ball" is unique, though its components are not; and so is "Ocean's womb." But in earlier or contemporary work we have "Ocean's bed," a "flaming child" who leaps from the "dark womb" of "the startling East," and a cloud which is "womb" of tempests. We may describe as all in the same family of Freedom: the flamy child seen to "leap" from the dark womb (*Religious Musings*, 13–14, 1796), the orb-patriot who descends into the same cosmic womb (in the present sonnet), and the Liberty "who from the Almighty's bosom *leapt*" (in *To Earl Stanhope*).

In "amend Man's doom" the first word is unique, but this sense of "doom" is common. "Full of years" appears in application to Stanhope's fellow Patriot-Sage, Joseph Priestley, in the 1803 revision of *Religious Musings* (missed by the concordance). "He sinks into the Tomb" has precedent in "sank him to the tomb." "Morning's dawn" matches "Morning's break" in the contemporary *The Kiss*. All the words of the sestet are in the concordance in some form, except "never-fading."

Internal evidence for Coleridge's authorship of this sonnet is strong, but not really as impressive as the evidence for his authorship of the first sonnet.

The largest general connection between this second sonnet and the others is the equation of Patriot and blazing Sun, the imaginal center of each of these poems and a constant equation in Coleridge's verse of the period. Chatterton in the 1794 *Monody* "pours the bright blaze of Freedom's noon-tide ray," and in 1796 the same pouring is ascribed to the *Man of Ross*. Blaze and patriot are linked in Coleridge's portion of *Robespierre*. In the fourth sonnet in the *Morning Chronicle* series La Fayette wakes Life's better Sun so that

"Morning struggles into Day"; in the ninth sonnet Godwin comes "t'illume a sunless world." But even more particularly the idea, variously used in all three Stanhope sonnets, of the Patriot's blaze shining beyond the tomb had first appeared in the first sonnet, to Erskine:

> And when the doom
> Of Nature bids thee die, beyond the tomb
> Thy light shall shine, as sunk beneath the West,
> Though the great Summer Sun eludes our gaze,
> Still burns wide Heaven with his distended blaze!

Consider all these sonnets as a linked progression by a single author. Erskine, he writes, shall shine from beyond the tomb as does the sunken Sun. Stanhope, he continues, shall have a name bless'd beyond the tomb; but for a variation of the solar comparison, he suggests a comparison of the living Patriot to the daytime, if not noon-tide, sun. In the next sonnet he reverts to the Erskine idea but devotes his whole octave to the full pageant of the setting Patriot-Sun sinking into the Tomb; then in the sestet the idea of light from beyond the tomb is extended: comfort is to be taken not in the evening afterglow but in the full splendor of the next day's dawn, for both Orb and Patriot. Finally, in the 1796 sonnet, he explicitly buries the Patriot image and quietly mutes the Orb image; but both are essentially and structurally there — the Patriot whose Virtue survives his tomb, and the orb of Heaven radiating "from forth its clouds." It would take a good deal of space to demonstrate the details of this evolution and intermeshing, but a close reading of the Stanhope sonnets in sequence should impress anyone with the difficulty of maintaining the hypothesis of a separate authorship for any one of them, except perhaps the second, which might possibly be accounted for by imitation.

The question of external evidence must be considered, however. The possibility of Coleridge's having written the sonnets of January 31 and February 21 is not in question, but there are some indications against the probability. In this it is well to remember that historical fact is not always the most probable of possibilities, as we are currently reminded by M. Pierre Vendryès *(De la Probabilité en Histoire)*. Professor Griggs has told me [7] that he rather doubts the authorship of the January and February sonnets, from certain external considerations. A letter of Coleridge to George Dyer, once thought to have been written in January, announces: "I shall soon transmit to the Morning Chronicle 5 more Sonnets to Eminent characters — among

[7] See also his "Notes Concerning Certain Poems by Coleridge," *Modern Language Notes*, LXIX (1954) 27–31; also E. L. Griggs, ed., *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Oxford 1956) I, 156 n.

the rest, one to Lord Stanhope! —" This was naturally taken to refer to the sonnet of January 31. But now the letter turns out to have a postmark of March 10 (and the letter contains an allusion to the arrest of Richard Brothers, an event of the first week of March); so Professor Griggs finds it "inconceivable that Coleridge would write in this fashion if he had already contributed a sonnet on Stanhope." But several interpretations of the letter and its ambiguous exclamation mark seem possible. Does it mean, "Stanhope, of all people!" (with a recognition that Stanhope among the nobility was as radically untouchable as Godwin among the philosophers, the sonnet to whom Coleridge never did collect)? Does it mean, "I'm still working at that plaguey sonnet to Stanhope and may soon have one worth signing"? Or does Coleridge assume that Dyer is unaware of the appearance of two unsigned sonnets already, in which case the exclamation is private and cryptic? [8]

If we accept Coleridge as author of the two anonymous attempts at praising Lord Stanhope, a more eminent character than any praised in the signed series in the sense of being more likely to become the patron of a Patriot sonneteer, and if we regard the extant MS of a dedication of the *Poems* to Stanhope as evidence of an attempt to attract him as a patron, either through printing the dedication or through sending him an inscribed copy, or both, we can easily understand the poet's silence about the anonymous sonnets or sonnet as well as his later dissatisfaction with the authorized sonnet printed in the *Poems* of 1796. The *Poems* were published on April 16; in his first *Watchman*, March 7, p. 32, Coleridge praised Earl Stanhope as a man who not only talked but acted in contempt of aristocratic principles, for his daughter was marrying an apothecary. And a copy of the *Poems* was sent to Stanhope, with a letter of some sort, as Coleridge admits. Yet no ray of gracious acknowledgment came from the Patriot Earl to illume the poet's world. Half a year later, giving Cottle instructions about the second edition of *Poems*, Coleridge said, "I am not solicitous to have any thing omitted, except the sonnet to Lord Stanhope and the ludicrous poem" [9] (i. e. some coarse lines on "Vicar and Vicar's Wife"). Actually none of the sonnets to eminent characters was retained in the 1797 edition, but when they reappeared in the third edition, 1803, the Stanhope sonnet remained among them, because the "fool of a Publisher" (Longman this time, not Cottle) was uninfluenced by the stipulations of 1797. As a matter of record, a copy of the 1803 edition

[8] Of the "5 more Sonnets" only the Stanhope is known to exist.

[9] *Collected Letters*, I, 242 (Oct. 18, 1796). This is the earliest record of Coleridge's wish not to print the Stanhope sonnet, and it is in reference to "the second edition." Griggs must be mistaken in his statement (I, 156 n.) that the sonnet "was first published against [Coleridge's] wishes in his *Poems* of 1796."

is extant which belonged to Sara Hutchinson and which contains a marginal note by Coleridge complaining that the Stanhope sonnet had been "maliciously reprinted in my absence." [10]

The whole story was, unhappily, revised and recreated by the poet four years later. Professor Griggs' further objection to accepting the two sonnets of 1795 is that "in writing to Miss Cruikshanks in 1807 Coleridge admits writing only one sonnet on Stanhope — that published in the *Poems* of 1796." In this letter, a curious fabric of omissions and false denials constructed on half truths, Coleridge was attempting to erase the record of his terrible Jacobinism in the nineties. He did not need to mention the sonnet to Godwin, since it had never been reprinted from the newspaper; nor, certainly, any anonymous poems; but the damaging evidence of the sonnet to Stanhope lay manifest in the *Poems* of 1796 and 1803.

Coleridge's way of reconstructing the past as he does in this letter may be illustrated with a simple example about which there is no question. In the *Biographia Literaria*, in a note near the end of the first chapter, he tells an anecdote of "an amateur performer in verse" who hesitated to be introduced to Coleridge "on the score that 'he was, he must acknowledge, the author of a confounded severe epigram on my *Ancient Mariner*, which had given me great pain.' I assured my friend . . . and begged to hear it recited: when, to my . . . amusement, it proved to be one which I had myself some time before written and inserted in the 'Morning Post,' to wit —

> To the Author of the Ancient Mariner.
> Your poem must eternal be . . . ."

True, the quatrain cited had been inserted by Coleridge in the *Morning Post*, January 24, 1800; but there its title was "To Mr. Pye [the poet laureate] On his Carmen Seculare." The anecdotist's title, and the claim that he had published a severe epigram on his own *Ancient Mariner*, and who knows how much else of the anecdote, are a work of pure imagination.

[10] "On p. 103 there is a 5 line note in S. T. C.'s hand referring to the sonnet 'Not, Stanhope!' He complains that this rejected sonnet has been 'maliciously reprinted in my absence,' explaining that it had been deleted from the second edition. The signature 'S. Hutchinson' appears on the title [page]." *Sale Catalogue No. 41, 1954* (Brick Row Book Shop, New York) 21.

Charles Lamb's letters of March 20 and May 27, 1803, show how little malice was involved. With Coleridge "300 miles" away, the publisher, Longman, and the printer, Biggs, proceeded on the principle that a third edition should include everything in the first and second; Lamb "told Longman I was sure that you would omit a good portion of the first edition. I instanced several sonnets, etc.; but that was not his plan, and, as you have done nothing in it, all I could do was to arrange 'em on the supposition that all were to be retained." Cottle had no manuscript authority when he emended the Cruickshanks letter from "the fool of a Publisher" to "Biggs, the fool of a printer," but he was only trying clumsily to prevent the finger of scorn from pointing mistakenly to himself (as publisher of the first two editions) — as of course it did, mistakenly, when his emendation was detected.

What Coleridge told Miss Cruikshanks in 1807 was that "There was inserted [in the first edition he seems to imply] without my consent, [but then where did it come from?] a sonnet to Lord Stanhope, in direct contradiction, equally to my then, as to my present principles, a sonnet written by me in ridicule and mockery of the bloated style of French jacobinical declamation, and inserted by the fool of a Publisher in order, forsooth, that he might send the book, and a letter, to Earl Stanhope, who, to prove he was not mad in all things, treated both book and letter with silent contempt." This nicely lets Miss Cruikshanks (for the ears of Lady E. Perceval, whose husband may have some political patronage for a good anti-Jacobin) understand that Coleridge has always thought Lord Stanhope rather mad. But the anecdote of the sonnet's career will hardly stand up against the more credible assertion by Cottle that in 1796 "The book, handsomely bound, and the letter, were sent to Lord Stanhope by Mr. Coleridge himself."

Much more fabulous, and certainly inaccurate, is his description of the sonnet itself. Indeed, if it was an obvious burlesque of Jacobinism, why apologize for having published it — unless Miss Cruikshanks is presumed to be as obtuse as the fool of a publisher? But it is not, of course, a Higginbottom sonnet at all. Far from being written in "direct contradiction" to the poet's "then" principles, it is an eloquent assertion of them.[11] And far from being written in mockery of a "bloated style," the opening lines make explicitly the point that it would be to "mock" Stanhope to call him by the "doubtful name" of Patriot, and the poet proceeds, presumably in avoidance of mockery and ridicule, to call him "Friend of the Human Race," "Abdiel," and "Champion of Freedom and her God!" Indeed, if we refuse to be put off by the anecdotist's red herring, we can find valuable evidence in the poem that relates it to the earlier efforts.

The poet who, anonymously, has hailed Stanhope as "illustrious Patriot," "Patriot pure and just," and "Friend of Human kind!" is trying again. The question he raises in the opening lines defines his difficulty. For how does one address an Earl who calls himself "Citizen" and whose "worth" has seemed "dazzling"? "Patriot" was becoming a term of political ambiguity, linked with "Faction." But "Friend of Humanity" was all right (the *Anti-Jacobin* satire was yet unborn), especially if given the theological connotation and emphasis that Coleridge in 1796 was applying to Joan of Arc, warrior-maid

[11] Dulany Terrett notes that as Coleridge used "hereditary leprosy" to describe nobility in 1798, his regret about the political principles in the sonnet must have developed only much later. Unpubl. diss. (Northwestern, 1941) "Coleridge's Politics, 1789–1810," p. 20, quoted with the author's permission. And we have seen that Coleridge was still praising Stanhope, in the *Watchman*, not only after the writing but after the publication of the sonnet.

of Freedom and "Delegate of Heaven" (see *Destiny of Nations* passim). So Coleridge arranges in his final sonnet to have a voice from Heaven, no Nehemiah Higginbottom, address Stanhope as "Champion of Freedom and her God!" Only when the Champion remained silent did praise from the Watchman cease. And only when times and factions, if not principles, had changed did the poet see malice or folly in the publisher's failure to leave in oblivion the "French jacobinical declamation" of the past.

(To be concluded in an early issue.)

Ten Year Report of The New York Public Library

V. FINANCES AND THE FUTURE

SINCE IT IS the busiest library in the world, The New York Public Library has large expenses. Although it has fewer books than the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, or the Library of Congress, more readers use more books in its Reference Department than in any of the national libraries and, in addition, its Circulation Department, through its eighty branch libraries, lends about 12,000,000 books a year for reading at home.

The cost per instance of use of operating and maintaining this extraordinary library service is quite low, but the number of these instances is high, probably between 20,000,000 and 30,000,000 in any year. Large as this use is it would be greater if the Library had the books, buildings, and staff to meet the reading needs of its community. In New York City the Library's Reference Department is the principal and often the only source of current and historical information vital to commerce, industry, and the arts. In the three boroughs served by the Circulation Department the Library is the principal source of books for study or recreation.

There is no table of weights and measures by which the value of the Library to its community can be measured exactly. Presumably the individuals who use it derive some personal benefit, but that is only the beginning. Some of them will translate their Library discoveries into books, plays, and music; business enterprises; inventions; economic and social policies. Some will gain a better knowledge of current affairs and so be more ready to accept the responsibilities of citizenship.

These contributions which the Library makes to its community through its readers are its reasons for existence. Its earnings statement is therefore not simply a matter of income and expense but is rather one of income, regarded as a trust, and service rendered. On that basis the balance is heavily in the Library's favor and would be even more so if income came closer to opportunity.

The financial record for the ten-year period shows large increases in income from both public and private sources. Public sources are the City and State, the principal supports of the Circulation Department. Private sources are primarily the Library's endowment, made up of the combined assets of the three consolidating libraries plus later gifts and bequests, and current private and corporate donations. Income from these sources is the principal support of the Reference Department.

Circulation Department financing represents a fairly successful and continuous effort to persuade the City to assume the costs of an expanding

operation. Reference Department financing represents continuous and effective effort by the Trustees to increase private income so that rising costs of operation can be met and, whenever possible, service may be improved. There have been many improvements. Some evening hours have been restored in special reading rooms; book funds have been increased; salaries have been improved. About $6,000,000 of new money has been added to endowment; steady campaigning has greatly increased annual gifts; the investment program has been carefully and thoughtfully managed. In spite of all this, large deficits have been incurred in nine of the ten years.

These cash deficits have totaled more than $1,400,000. This amount has been withdrawn from capital funds and potential income has been lost. The real loss is even greater. The Library has done well, but we have not been able to keep up with current publishing and so have not acquired many things needed for current reference and for the next generation of research workers. We have not been able to preserve or replace hundreds of thousands of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and newspapers which have been worn out through use or have disintegrated with time. The deficit financing has kept us alive but not as vigorous as we should be.

Reference Department Needs

While in retrospect the achievements of the Reference Department have been considerable, the problems of a research library are never all solved. The need for increased bibliographical control grows as the collection becomes larger. To give but one or two examples, there is well-defined need for indexing current periodicals in Hebrew, Yiddish, and many other fields; otherwise, valuable material is lost in the immensity of the collection. Likewise, foreign government documents need more adequate cataloging. As matters stand, the Library has material of which the staff is unaware; duplicates are ordered in a slightly different form, thereby complicating the space and cataloging problems, and frequently the public is denied materials which in reality are in the Library.

Much has been said about the general backlog in the Preparation Division, but more must be said about special backlogs, particularly of non-book material. The Manuscript Division has an estimated forty man-years of work piled up, the Theatre Collection 10–12 man-years.

The Library urgently needs a union catalog of rare books. Many rare books are unlisted even in the Official Catalog, and both order work and public service are greatly impeded. Physically, existing catalogs are a major problem.

Many cards have been thumbed or broken into illegibility. Guide cards are entirely too few in number and otherwise inadequate.

There are important research materials which should be purchased but which seem beyond the Library's financial capacity. These materials include German patent specifications, the increasingly available Soviet publications, and Japanese scientific periodicals. In at least one other area, phonograph records, the Library owns a major collection with no facilities for its use.

But nothing surpasses in seriousness the problems of physical deterioration of books and the need for space.

The physical condition of the collections was particularly bad from 1946–49. A considerable backlog of binding had accumulated, and current quotas for binding and repair were too low. Gradually, this situation was ameliorated; the real problem then became apparent — the vast amount of material that is beyond repair or binding but which must be preserved by other means. The Newspaper Division has approximately 20,000,000 pages of newsprint which need microfilming, at least half of them on a very high priority basis. Several years ago, the Slavonic Division placed its microfilm preservation need at a minimum of three million pages. In 1956, 40% of the material sent to the Bindery from the central stack was adjudged to be too poor to bind. To protect such material, by segregation, until filming becomes possible multiplies the problems of locating, and speedily making available, stack books.

The space problem is equally ominous. The mere lack of room to put new accessions is only the obvious part of the difficulty. Collections are split within the building and between Forty-second Street and the Annex, thereby impeding service and increasing its cost. In 1949–50, 869,000 stack books were shifted to make space for additions; the Science and Technology Division moved 100,000 books for the same reason. These expedients drain off countless hours of effort and adversely affect the condition of at least a million volumes each year.

To serve its community well the Reference Department should have more books, more staff, more space. Studies are now being made by a committee of the Board of Trustees to determine, so far as predictable, the desirable program for the next fifty years. The Central Building has been overcrowded for a long time and extensive additions will have to be made internally, externally, in a separate building, or by some combination of all three. Whatever plan is adopted will require a corresponding revision of the Library's financing. Large capital will be needed but the results in service to the City and its people should more than justify the expense.

Circulation Department Needs

In spite of its considerable gains in staff, collections, and facilities from 1946 to 1956 the largest branch library system in the world has many unmet needs. While some of these can be solved through continuing improvements in efficiency and organization, most will require additional funds which must be sought largely from city and state sources.

Having achieved an equitable distribution of its presently authorized staff, future plans call for a more scientific determination of staff requirements based on present and potential service needs and opportunities. If additional staff can be authorized and recruited it will be possible to extend present hours of branch service, particularly in the evenings for adults, in the mornings for children and parents, and on weekends for all library users. It will also be possible to strengthen the staff available for community reference and advisory services through increased staffing at peak use periods and to expand, where appropriate, present group activities for children, young adults, and adults.

Special staffing problems requiring attention include the Picture Collection, Municipal Reference Library, Municipal Archives and Records Center (including the entire question of its continued operation by the Library), and the collections of musical recordings and related materials in the Library Centers. In fact, the next decade will be a period of intense scrutiny of the function, goals, and operations of the Library Centers as the principal circulation, popular reference, and reading guidance libraries in each borough of the city. Increased staff will also be needed in the technical service offices of the Department if the collections grow as projected below.

While the condition and range of the circulating collections show marked improvement over the past decade, the cumulating deficiencies indicate the urgent need for both short term and long term increases in funds for developing the book collections and for establishing strong collections of recordings and films. Over a period of years the annual appropriation for library materials should be increased by approximately 50 percent. At the same time, existing gaps should be filled by provision of non-recurrent funds in an amount estimated as high as $3,000,000. Specific deficiencies exist in the holdings of picture and easy books for children in all boroughs; in the general adult book collections, particularly in the Bronx; in the borough reserve collections for all age levels; and in the Library's non-book collections including pictorial reproductions, educational and documentary films, musical and non-musical recordings, and periodicals.

Considering only the present population distribution in the three boroughs served by the Circulation Department, space is the least pressing problem thanks to the active post-war building and rehabilitation program conducted by the City. Completion of the scheduled capital budget program will be necessary and service to some newly populated areas will have to be planned. Increasing emphasis should be placed on the private construction of branch library buildings for lease by the Library. This program may be particularly important on Staten Island since the population of Richmond is expected to double within the next decade.

State Aid

The auditor's and treasurer's reports for each year show the Library's receipts and expenditures in detail. Since they are available in those documents, the complete figures need not be repeated here. Increases in both income and expenditure have been gradual and reflect both inflation and growth. The most marked exceptions to the general trend are in State aid and gifts to the Reference Department.

The increase in State aid is the result of the amendment to the Education Law, adopted in 1950. This amendment changed the formula for State grants from one of $100 annually to each registered library to one of a maximum of 22½ cents per capita in the area served by a county or multi-county library. The grant is based on a library's expenditures for books, periodicals, and binding and, up to the per capita maximum, returns 75% of these expenditures to the library through the fiscal officers of the county or counties. For The New York Public Library this increase has been from $6,000 in 1946 to $1,040,000 in 1955–56. The State grants are paid to the City and are divided by the City authorities. Since the Circulation Department is supported by City funds City authorities have allocated to it the full amount of its "earnings" under the State law. The Reference Department is treated as a remainder man and receives only such part of its "earnings" as may be left after the circulating libraries in New York, Brooklyn, and Queens have been given full grants. As a result, State aid for the Reference Department, which was $350,000 in 1953, was only $210,000 in 1955–56, will be only $64,000 in 1956–57, and will disappear entirely unless some more equitable interpretation can be made, or the law can be amended.

The Circulation Department has been greatly helped by the State grants, partly through the sums received by the City and even more by the stimulus the improved book collections, resulting from larger buying, have given to library service generally. The City has responded generously and has more than matched the increases in State grants.

In the comparative tables of income and expense, 1946 and 1955–56, which follow, the percentage figures bring out the general stability of the Library's operation. Capital expenditures, such as those for new branches and book stock in the Circulation Department, are not included. In comparing the amounts it should be remembered that the 1955–56 dollar was worth only about three quarters of that in 1946.

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

INCOME

	1946		*1955–56*	
SOURCE	AMOUNT	%	AMOUNT	%
Endowment	$1,475,000	72.0	$2,542,000	67.6
Current Gifts	181,000	8.9	430,200	11.4
City of New York	61,000	3.0	204,000	5.5
State of New York	100	.0	210,000	5.6
Deficit	70,000	3.4	263,000	6.9
All Other	260,000	12.7	111,800	3.0
TOTALS	$2,047,000	100.0	$3,761,000	100.0

EXPENSE

Personal Service	$1,375,000	70.5	$2,565,000	70.0
Employee Benefits	80,000	4.1	284,000	7.7
Books — general	92,000	4.7	250,000	6.8
Books — special funds	188,000	9.7	123,000	3.4
Other	215,000	11.0	444,000	12.1
TOTALS	$1,950,000 *	100.0	$3,666,000 *	100.0

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

INCOME

	1946		*1955–56*	
SOURCE	AMOUNT	%	AMOUNT	%
City of New York	$2,043,000	91.6	$4,632,000	77.6
State of New York	6,000	.3	831,000	13.9
Investments	13,000	.6	18,000	.3
Fines, etc.	116,000	5.2	403,000	6.8
Pay Duplicate	40,000	1.8	72,000	1.2
Gifts	12,000	.5	11,000	.2
TOTALS	$2,230,000	100.0	$5,967,000	100.0

* The differences of about $100,000 in income and expense represent unexpended balances in restricted funds income not available for general purposes.

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT — *Concluded*

EXPENSE

Personal Service	$1,679,000	75.3	$4,048,000	67.9
Employee Benefits	107,000	4.8	444,000	7.4
Books	275,000	12.4	942,000	15.8
Other	169,000	7.5	533,000	8.9
TOTALS	$2,230,000	100.0	$5,967,000	100.0

Fund Raising for the Reference Department

The Decade of Inflation

In 1946, because of growing deficits in the operation of the Reference Department, the Trustees decided to seek annual gifts to supplement the investment income from the endowment fund. The deficits were caused mainly by two factors, both stemming from the general inflation in our economy. These factors were the increased cost of all materials purchased by the Library, and the higher salaries paid to the staff.

The Trustees chose a group of corporations in New York who were known to use the Library. Questionnaires were sent to each of them, asking how much they used the Library's facilities and for what purpose. Based on the answers to the questionnaires, appeals for annual gifts were made to the corporations whose use of the Library's facilities appeared to suggest they were good prospects. This project was successful, and produced about $120,000 in 1946–47 and about $125,000 in 1947–48.

The 100th Anniversary Campaign

With the start of the fiscal year 1948–49 the budgeted deficit had risen to such proportions that it became apparent to the Trustees that much more vigorous fund raising efforts would have to be adopted. It was decided to launch a full-fledged fund raising campaign to the public. This was done with reluctance, under compulsion of red figures staring the management of the Central Reference Library in the face. A firm of professional fund raisers was retained, and the campaign was conducted throughout the fall and winter months of 1948–49. The time coincided with the Library's becoming 100 years old, and thus the theme of the drive was a rededication of the Library to the public service upon its 100th anniversary. This drive was successful and raised $290,000 in regular gifts, $90,000 of non-recurring gifts, plus $33,000 in gifts for special purposes.

The Citizens Advisory Committee

As the fiscal year 1948–49 closed, the Trustees decided that it would be better to have the fund raising effort handled in the future within the Library, using its own staff members rather than an outside professional fund raising firm. The Executive Officer was, therefore, given the responsibility of organizing a fund raising office and of directing a continuing fund raising effort from year to year, without the high pressure of a professional drive. The same type of gift soliciting organization initiated during the 100th anniversary campaign was built up. A group of leading businessmen, each acting as chairman of his particular industry, was formed, and appeals for business gifts were made through these men. This group eventually expanded into the Citizens Advisory Committee, under the leadership and chairmanship of the Library's First Vice President, Mr. Henry Bruère. In addition, appeals were made by the Library Trustees to foundations and individuals.

The Citizens Advisory Committee, which was launched in 1950, was formed for a three-fold purpose. First, to advise the Library on how to improve its services and facilities to business and the professions; second, to give assistance in connection with the Library's relations with the City of New York and the State of New York; and third, to aid in broadening the base of annual gifts to the Reference Department from corporate, foundation, and individual contributors. Each year, since July 1, 1949, the fund raising effort has been pushed forward, using the Library's own staff and the members of the Board of Trustees and the Citizens Advisory Committee as manpower.

Endowment Income Not Adequate

The Library has a private endowment fund with a market value of over $70,000,000 the income from which is all used for operating expenses of the Central Reference Library. The income is supplemented by a grant from the State of New York and payment towards expenses of the Central Building by the City of New York. The securities in the Library's endowment fund are supervised as to investment policy by a finance committee of five Trustees which meets monthly from October to June. In addition, daily supervision of the specific securities is conducted by the United States Trust Company. The bonds and stock certificates are deposited in a safe-keeping account at the United States Trust Company. The endowment fund has shown a healthy growth over the years both by enhancement of market values and from bequests and gifts.

Since income is $2,971,700, however, and the annual cost of operating the Central Reference Library is roughly $3,664,900, it is essential to raise annual gifts from industry, foundations, and individuals to help close the gap. Although the amount received in annual gifts is a relatively small percentage of the entire income of the Central Reference Library, it is a vital part. It must be increased from year to year if the Library is to bridge the gaps in both its materials and staff to keep its place in the front rank of reference institutions.

Annual Fund Drives 1949–1956

During the past seven years of fund drives, it has become apparent that little by little the Library's needs are being more clearly appreciated by corporations, foundations, and individuals. The figures tell the story. The amount collected in 1949–50 was $297,000. This gift total increased gradually each year, to the latest season 1955–56 when the gift total was $430,000. It is significant that the dollars received from the business and professional group (namely, Commerce, Industry, Finance and Lawyers) increased from $155,000 in 1949–50 to $226,000 in 1955–56.

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Headquarters: Donnell Library Center, 20 W. 53rd Street, New York 19, N. Y.

JOHN MACKENZIE CORY, Chief

MRS. JEAN GODFREY, Assistant Chief

PUBLIC SERVICE COORDINATORS

CHILDREN'S SERVICES, Mrs. Frances Lander Spain

YOUNG ADULT SERVICES, Miss Margaret Scoggin

ADULT SERVICES, Miss Leona Durkes

TECHNICAL SERVICE COORDINATORS

BOOK ORDER, Miss Mary E. Neubert

CATALOGING, Miss Ellen Peters

BINDING AND PROCESSING, William Stern

READERS' ADVISER, Miss Mary C. Hatch

INTERBRANCH LOAN, Miss Henrietta Quigley

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Mrs. Lilian Wilson

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, Gerald Gold

SPECIAL ASSISTANT, Miss Janice Ferguson

MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS CENTER, James Katsaros

LIST OF BRANCHES AND LIBRARIANS

MANHATTAN

COORDINATOR,

ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Mrs. Blanche Brauneck

AGUILAR. 174 East 110th Street. Mrs. Helen B. Matthews

BLOOMINGDALE. 206 West 100th Street. Miss Emily F. McCormick

CHILDREN'S ROOM. 2710 Broadway.

CATHEDRAL. 564 Lexington Avenue. Robert Powers

CENTRAL CHILDREN'S ROOM. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Miss Helen A. Masten

CENTRAL CIRCULATION. Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Miss Ellen M. FitzSimons

* CHATHAM SQUARE. 33 East Broadway. Miss Marion E. Lang

COLUMBIA. Room 101, Butler Library, Columbia University. Miss Clara Rees, acting

COLUMBUS. 742 Tenth Avenue.

COUNTEE CULLEN REGIONAL. 104 West 136th Street. Mrs. Dorothy Homer

DONNELL LIBRARY CENTER. 20 West 53rd Street. Miss Katherine O'Brien

EPIPHANY. 228 East 23rd Street. Mrs. Beulah T. Sheetz

FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET. 127 East 58th Street. Raymond Harris

FORT WASHINGTON REGIONAL. 535 West 179th Street. Miss Winifred Gambrill

GEORGE BRUCE. 518 West 125th Street. Howard Rickert

HAMILTON FISH PARK. 388 East Houston Street. Miss Gertrude Finkel

HAMILTON GRANGE. 503 West 145th Street. Mrs. Dorothy Pitman, acting

HARLEM LIBRARY. 9 West 124th Street. Miss Eliza Marquess

HUDSON PARK. 10 Seventh Avenue South. Mrs. Alice Vielehr

INWOOD. 4790 Broadway. Miss Edith Rees

JACKSON SQUARE REGIONAL. 251 West 13th Street. Miss Ruth Shinnamon

LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND. 166 Avenue of the Americas. Miss Regina Sludock

MACOMB'S BRIDGE. 2560 Seventh Avenue. Miss Ann Judge

MUHLENBERG. 209 West 23rd Street. Miss Alice McQuaid

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. 2230 Municipal Building. Miss Amelia H. Munson

Public Health Division. 125 Worth Street. Room 224.

MUSIC LIBRARY. 121 East 58th Street. Mrs. Catharine K. Miller

NATHAN STRAUS. 20 West 53rd Street. Miss Elizabeth A. Boyle

* NINETY-SIXTH STREET REGIONAL. 112 East 96th Street. Miss Irene Patjens

115TH STREET. 203 West 115th Street. Miss Marie Ferrigno

125TH STREET. 224 East 125th Street. Miss Barbara Reevers

OTTENDORFER. 135 Second Avenue.

PICTURE COLLECTION. Central Building. Miss Romana Javitz

RIVERSIDE. 190 Amsterdam Avenue. Miss Myrtle Reynolds

ST. AGNES REGIONAL. 444 Amsterdam Avenue. Miss Dorothy Cobb

* *Closed temporarily.*

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

LIST OF BRANCHES AND LIBRARIANS, *continued*

MANHATTAN, continued

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION. 103 West 135th Street. Miss Jean Blackwell
SEWARD PARK. 192 East Broadway. Miss Ida Malamud
SIXTY-SEVENTH STREET. 328 East 67th Street. Miss Margarethe Kortenbeutel
TOMPKINS SQUARE REGIONAL. 331 East 10th Street. Mrs. Alice Alexander
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. 1000 St. Nicholas Avenue. Mrs. Regina M. Andrews
WEBSTER. 1465 York Avenue. Miss Edna Thomson
YORKVILLE. 222 East 79th Street. Miss Emily Davis

THE BRONX

COORDINATOR, Miss Isabel Jackson
ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, Ralph Long

CITY ISLAND. 325 City Island Avenue. Mrs. Stella Webber
CLASON'S POINT. Harrod Place. Mrs. Nadine George
EASTCHESTER. 1281–83 Burke Avenue. Mrs. Hermine Schmauder
FORDHAM LIBRARY CENTER. 2556 Bainbridge Avenue. Miss Phyllis Tinkler
FRANCIS MARTIN. 2150 University Avenue. Mrs. Eleanor Horton
GUN HILL. Building 10. 740 Gun Hill Road. Philip Wolcoff, acting
HIGH BRIDGE. 78 West 168th Street. Miss Charlotte Harrison
HUNT'S POINT REGIONAL. 877 Southern Boulevard. Miss Erna Obermeier
KINGSBRIDGE. 3041 Kingsbridge Avenue. Miss Eileen Riols
MELCOURT. 730 Melrose Avenue. Miss Helen I. Rawstron
* MELROSE. 910 Morris Avenue. Miss Mary Read
MORRISANIA. 610 East 169th Street. Mrs. Miriam Phillips
MOSHOLU. 285 East 205th Street. Mrs. Florence Currie
MOTT HAVEN. 321 East 140th Street. Miss Mildred Nelson
PARKCHESTER. 1384 Metropolitan Avenue. Miss Casindania Eaton
PELHAM PARKWAY. Building 16. 2280 Wallace Avenue. Miss Grace Iijima
RIVERDALE. 5521 Mosholu Avenue. Walter Roziewski, acting
SEDGWICK. Building 4. 1553 University Avenue. Miss Ethel E. Frey
THROG'S NECK. 3817 East Tremont Avenue. Miss Carolyn Edie
TREMONT. 1866 Washington Avenue. Mrs. Polly Post Nelson
VAN CORTLANDT. 3871 Sedgwick Avenue. Miss Florence Hoch
VAN NEST. 707 Rhinelander Avenue. Miss Rachel Graciany
WAKEFIELD. 4100 Lowerre Place. Miss Jewel Drickamer
WEST FARMS. 2085 Honeywell Avenue. Miss Mary Dana
WESTCHESTER SQUARE REGIONAL. 2521 Glebe Avenue. Mrs. Eleanor Janssen
WOODLAWN HEIGHTS. 4303 Katonah Avenue. Mrs. Lucilia Pates
WOODSTOCK. 761 East 160th Street. Eugene Bockman

RICHMOND

COORDINATOR, Mrs. Marion Stock
ASSISTANT COORDINATOR, John Hulton

DONGAN HILLS. 1576 Richmond Road. Donald Browne, acting
GREAT KILLS REGIONAL. 56 Gifford's Lane. John Robotham
HUGUENOT PARK. Huguenot Avenue at Amboy Road.
NEW DORP (Hughes Mem. Lib.). 155 Third Street. Miss Charlotte W. Fleck, acting
PORT RICHMOND. 75 Bennett Street. Mrs. Mary Jane Bowles
PRINCE'S BAY. 6054 Amboy Road.
ST. GEORGE LIBRARY CENTER. 10 Hyatt Street. John Hulton
SOUTH BEACH. 100 Sand Lane. Miss Louisa Larsen
STAPLETON. 132 Canal Street. Miss Muriel H. Bedell
TODT HILL. 255 Westwood Avenue. Mrs. Helen Little
TOTTENVILLE. 7430 Amboy Road. Miss Genevieve Wells
WEST NEW BRIGHTON. 976 Castleton Avenue. Miss Eleanor Ayoub

* Closed temporarily.

CURRENT EXHIBITIONS

CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS AROUND THE WORLD — MAIN LOBBY

A holiday exhibition of North and South American, European, Baltic, Asian, and other Christmas festivities as depicted in materials in the Library. Through January 15.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS SUGGESTED AS HOLIDAY GIFTS — ROOM 78

A selection of outstanding children's literature published during 1957 with original drawings from some of the books. Through January 6.

CHRISTMAS & OTHER PICTURE BOOKS — ROOM 323

An exhibition from the Arents Collection of Books in Parts.

MY LADY NICOTINE — ROOM 324

Tributes to the joys of smoking by the great and the witty, from the Arents Tobacco Collection. Opens December 15.

FAMOUS POEMS IN MANUSCRIPT — ROOM 318

An exhibition from the Berg Collection of manuscripts by 44 well-known English and American poets from John Donne to Robert Graves. Opens December 18.

EDGARD VARÈSE — MUSIC DIVISION

The second of a series of exhibits titled "Three Major Revolutionaries in XXth Century American Music." Through January 10.

ESTONIAN POETRY — SECOND FLOOR CORRIDOR

Books, prints, maps, manuscripts, and photographs, in honor of the 100th anniversary of *Kalevipoeg*, the Estonian national epos, and the 40th anniversary of the "Siuru" literary movement. Through December 31.

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE THEATRE COLLECTION — MAIN LOBBY — WEST WALL

Two showcases of memorabilia from the Annie Russell - Dorothy Lockhart Collection. Through January 13.

THE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT — ROOM 322

A chapter in the history of Gothic and Early Renaissance printing, as seen in original works from the Spencer Collection.

IGAS, 1952–1957 — PRINT GALLERY

A showing of 75 prints by contemporary artists in honor of the International Graphic Arts Society's fifth anniversary. Through January 15.

HISTORICAL VIEWS OF AMERICAN CITIES — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR NORTH

Exhibition from the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection of American Historical Prints.

PERMANENT EXHIBITIONS

UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS — MAIN LOBBY

An almost complete collection of United States postal issues and airmail stamps, 1847–1926.

WASHINGTON IRVING — THIRD FLOOR CORRIDOR

Selections from the Seligman and Hellman collections of Irvingiana consisting of first editions, manuscripts, sketchbooks, etc.

HISTORY OF PRINTING — FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR

Examples of the recorded word and the graphic arts from Babylonian tablets to modern press work.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTRAITS AND OTHER NOTABLE PAINTINGS — ROOM 318

Works by Copley, Stuart, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Morse, Raeburn, and others.